Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

Faculty of Economics and Management

Department of Humanities

Master's Thesis

Development of Local Self-Government in the Municipality of Psáry

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Faculty of Economics and Management

DIPLOMA THESIS ASSIGNMENT

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Development of Local Self-Government in the Municipality of Psáry

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Objectives of thesis

The aim of the diploma thesis is to identify the factors influencing the development of local self-government in the municipality of Psáry (Czechia). The partial objectives of the thesis within the topic are: 1/ To characterize the main socio-economic indicators of the municipality and evaluate their impact on the development and functioning of local self-government. 2/ To identify the actors of the political process in the municipality (local political entities, interest groups, etc.), analyze their mutual relations and influence on the local political process. 3/ To define the character of the local government's decision-making process based on a comparative analysis of the development of the local socio-economic and political environment over the last three decades.

Methodology

The diploma thesis will have the character of a case study, so a combination of qualitative and quantitative research techniques will be used. The theoretical part will be based on a literature review and the study of similar research outputs related to the topic of the thesis. In the practical part, quantitative data will be collected from publicly available databases and secondary data of both quantitative and qualitative character will be collected based on the study of relevant documents. Standard methodological procedures of comparative analysis will be used for data processing and interpretation of the research results.

The proposed extent of the thesis

60 pages

Keywords

Psary; Local Self-Government; Municipal Elections; Local Political Party System; Coalitions; Citizen Participation.

Recommended information sources

Balík, S. Komunální politika. Obce, aktéři a cíle místní politiky. Praha: Grada, 2009, ISBN 978-80-247-2908-4.

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Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my master's thesis titled "Development of Local Self-Government in the Municipality of Psáry" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the master's thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break any copyrights.

In Prague on 30.11.2023 _____

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank to Mr. Ing. Václav Bubeníček, Ph.D., my thesis supervisor, for valuable advice and guidance throughout the writing of this thesis. Furthermore, I extend my thanks to my entire family and my girlfriend.

Development of Local Self-Government in the Municipality of Psáry

Abstract

The thesis focuses on studying the functioning, development, and transformations of local self-government in the village of Psáry, located in the Prague-West district. It covers the period from the elections to the municipal board in 1990 to the first half of the year 2023. Literary research is based on the theoretical concepts of Jüptner and other political scientists dealing with issues of municipal politics. The practical part of the thesis thoroughly analyses the election results for these years and based on them, classifies the municipality into categories defined in the theoretical section. In processing the data, not only theoretical literary sources and electronic resources are utilized but also information from the Czech Statistical Office and conducted interviews.

Vývoj místní samosprávy v obci Psáry

Abstrakt

Práce se zaměřuje na studium fungování, vývoje a transformací místní samosprávy v obci Psáry, zařazené do okresu Praha-západ. Sleduje období od voleb do obecního zastupitelstva v roce 1990 až po první polovinu roku 2023. Literární rešerše vychází z teoretických konceptů Jüptnera a dalších politologů, kteří se zabývají problematikou komunální politiky. Praktická část práce podrobně rozebírá volební výsledky za tato léta a na základě nich klasifikuje obec do kategorií definovaných v teoretické části. Při zpracování dat jsou využity nejen teoretické literární prameny a elektronické zdroje, ale také informace z českého statistického úřadu a provedené rozhovory.

Klíčová slova: Psáry

Samospráva

Obec

Komunální volby

Lokální stranický systém

Komunální koalice

Participace občanů

Česká republika

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1 Introduction

Political developments at the municipal level represent a fascinating topic in the field of political science, one that is relatively underexplored and not discussed as frequently. The main reason for this is the enormous number of self-governing entities in the Czech Republic, exceeding 6000 municipalities, making it challenging to gain an overview of the overall functioning of individual local governments.

Another factor may be the reality that electoral preferences often stem from personal relationships rather than from election programs and the political positioning of political parties.

In the context of this master's thesis titled "Development of Local Self-Government in the Municipality of Psáry," the author delves into the factors influencing political developments in the given municipality. In the theoretical part of the thesis, basic concepts related to municipal politics, such as the municipal assembly, municipal board, mayor, and their powers and responsibilities, will be defined initially to provide the reader with a better understanding of the subsequent sections of the work. The thesis will then focus on the municipal electoral system and the method of calculating electoral votes, followed by a brief description of local partisanship and its comparison with the parliamentary scene.

For the practical part of the thesis, two studies by Czech political scientists will be crucial. These studies examine various factors influencing political events in municipalities, and these factors will be further analysed in the examination of election results in the municipality of Psáry, along with the evolution of political developments in local self-government. Furthermore, a socio-economic analysis will be conducted, contributing to an overall understanding of the context of political events in the specified locality. Lastly, a budget analysis will be carried out, investigating its preparation, composition, and the factors influencing its amount.

2 Objectives and Methodology

2.1 Objectives

The primary objective of this diploma thesis is to comprehensively explore and identify the various factors that play a pivotal role in shaping the development of local self-government in the municipality of Psáry, located in Czechia. In pursuit of this overarching goal, the thesis delineates specific partial objectives within the given framework:

Characterization of Socio-economic Indicators: This involves a detailed examination and characterization of the key socio-economic indicators pertaining to the municipality. By scrutinizing factors such as economic activities, demographics, and infrastructure, the thesis aims to evaluate how these indicators impact and shape the overall development and functioning of local self-government.

Analysis of Political Actors: The thesis endeavours to identify and analyse the diverse actors involved in the political process within the municipality. This includes local political entities, interest groups, and other influential stakeholders. Through a nuanced examination of their roles, relationships, and interactions, the thesis seeks to comprehend their collective influence on the local political dynamics.

Characterization of Decision-Making Processes: An integral aspect of the thesis involves defining the character of decision-making processes within the local government. This will be achieved through a comparative analysis, spanning the last three decades, that considers the evolving socio-economic and political landscape. By delving into historical trends, the thesis aims to shed light on the nuanced changes in decision-making mechanisms and their impact on the local governance structure.

By addressing these partial objectives, the thesis aspires to provide a comprehensive and insightful understanding of the multifaceted dynamics shaping the development of local self-government in the municipality of Psáry.

2.2 Methodology

The master's thesis will take the form of a case study, and thus, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research techniques will be employed. The theoretical part of the work will be grounded in a literature review, primarily focusing on two theories by Czech political scientists, Jüptner and Balík. These theories delve into local politics, the behaviour of actors in municipal politics, and, most importantly, the factors influencing it.

In the practical section, quantitative data will be gathered from publicly available databases, complemented by secondary data of both qualitative and quantitative nature obtained through the study of relevant documents. These documents include, notably, election results, resolutions of the municipal assembly and board, and interviews with ordinary board members as well as with the mayors. Standard methodological procedures will be applied, particularly the comparative methodological approach for comparing election results across different electoral periods.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Local government bodies

The Czech Republic has two levels of local government: regional and municipal, both operating under a mixed system of public administration within a single institutional structure that includes local self-government, regional self-government to some extent, and local state administration. There are 14 regions in the country, including Prague, which is both a community and a region. These regions vary widely in size and population, with the smallest having 300 000 residents and an area of 3314 km2, while the largest has 1.26 million residents and 11015 km2. The regions are largely artificial and don't correspond with the natural borders of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Czech Republic has over 10,000 settlements that function as municipalities, with 6,250 self-governing municipalities currently in operation. The average municipality size is among the smallest in Europe, with an average of 1,661 people and 12.6 km2 of coverage. Most municipalities have less than 1,000 residents and only five towns with a population of over 100,000.[1]

The municipality and its bodies are defined by the Act on Municipalities No. 128/2000 Coll, according to which the municipality is a "... *key territorial self-governing community of citizens; it constitutes a territorial unit delineated by the municipality's boundaries.*"[2]

Local government bodies are municipal assembly, municipal board, municipal hall, deputy mayor and a mayor.[3]

3.1.1 Municipal assembly

In various professional texts, there are two designations for the municipal assembly. The first is the term "municipal assembly" and the second is "municipal council". I have decided to use the term "municipal assembly".

The municipal assembly is the highest-ranking body in the municipality, and other municipal bodies are derived from it. Members of the municipal assembly are directly elected by the citizens of the municipality who have the right to vote in municipal assembly elections,

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[1] Čmejrek 2012
[2] Part 1 of the Act no. 128/200 Coll – Establishment of municipalities
[3] Čmejrek 2012

which are held every four years. As a result of this electoral law norm, it becomes the only body created by direct election. From among the members of the Municipal Assembly, other bodies such as the mayor and the municipal board are subsequently elected.[4]

The number of members for the next election term is always determined by the Municipal Assembly in accordance with the Act on Municipalities, at least 85 days before the new elections, taking into account the number of inhabitants and the size of the territorial district.

For the Municipal assembly in a municipality with a population of up to 500 inhabitants, the upper limit is set at 15 members and the lower limit at 5 members. The number of inhabitants ranging from 500 to 3,000 raises the lower limit to 7, compared to the previous limit, but the upper limit remains the same. For the category of 3,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, the Municipal assembly is composed of 15 to 25 members, and for the population range of 10,000 to 50,000, there are 15 to 35 members of the Municipal assembly. In municipalities with a population of 50,000 to 150,000 inhabitants, the number of Municipal Assembly members ranges from 25 to 45, and for municipalities with over 150,000 inhabitants, there are 35 to 55 members.[5]

At the outset of the first meeting of a newly elected municipal assembly, a member is required to take an oath that reads, „*I hereby pledge loyalty to the Czech Republic. I promise on my honour and consciousness that I shall discharge my office conscientiously, in the interest of the municipality (town, township) and its citizens, and adhere to the Constitution and laws of the Czech Republic.* "[6]

Among the responsibilities of the municipal assembly is the decision-making process regarding the local development program, changes in cadastral areas, approval of budgets and final accounts, establishment or dissolution of legal entities and organizational units, matters concerning the composition and activities of other municipal bodies, and others specified in the Act on Municipalities.[7]

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[4] Čmejrek 2008

[5] Part 1 of the Act no. 128/200 Coll – Establishment of municipalities

[6] Part 1 of the Act no. 128/200 Coll – Establishment of municipalities

[7] Čmejrek 2012

The role of a municipal assembly member is of great importance, as they are tasked with making critical decisions on behalf of their community. The oath they take demonstrates their commitment to the ideals of the Czech Republic and their duty to serve their constituents to the best of their abilities, while adhering to the principles of fairness and transparency. In fulfilling their responsibilities, they play an integral role in shaping the future of their municipality and contributing to the overall welfare of their fellow citizens.[8]

3.1.1.1 Municipal Assembly meeting

Meetings of the municipal assembly are convened as needed, but at least once a quarter, within the administrative district of the municipality. The mayor convenes and chairs the meetings. They are obliged to convene a meeting if requested by the regional governor or at least one-third of the assembly members. The assembly may make decisions if more than half of all members are present. If the attendance of all members at the meeting is lower, the chairperson is obliged to end the meeting. A replacement date must be set within 15 days of the cancellation of the original meeting.

Municipal assembly meetings are public. The municipal office is obliged to inform about the date, place, and program to be discussed at the meeting. This information must be posted on the official notice board of the municipal office at least 7 days before the meeting. A written record is created for each meeting, which records the course of the meeting, the number of assembly members present, the order of matters discussed, the course and result of voting, and the resolutions passed. The record is signed by the mayor or deputy mayor and designated verifiers. This record must be prepared within 10 days after the meeting ends and then stored at the municipal office, where it is available for inspection.[9]

3.1.2 Municipal board

The Municipal board is the executive body of the municipality for independent jurisdiction and is responsible for its activities to the municipal assembly. In the area of

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[8] § 69 of the Act no. 128/200 Coll – Establishment of municipalities
[9] Čmejrek 2009

transferred jurisdiction, it is up to the board to make any decisions only if the law provides for it (e.g. issuing municipal regulations).[10]

Unlike meetings of the municipal assembly, board meetings are not public. Proposals for the municipal assembly meetings are prepared during these meetings and the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the board is ensured. The board of the municipality is responsible for the management of the municipality according to the approved budget and for implementing budgetary restrictions within the limits approved by the municipal assembly.

The board of the municipality is composed of the mayor, deputy mayor, and other members of the board, elected from the municipal assembly.

The board is not elected in municipalities where the municipal assembly has fewer than 15 members. The board can be elected even in smaller municipalities if the municipal assembly has 15 members – see municipal assembly (page 12). In municipalities where the board is not elected, the mayor exercises its powers (except for exceptions set by law in § 102 para. 4 of the Municipal Establishment Act).[11]

The number of board members is always odd, ranging from 5 to 11 members, and cannot exceed one-third of the number of members of the municipal assembly.

If the mayor or deputy mayor resigns or is removed from office, they automatically cease to be a member of the board and the municipal assembly. If the number of board members falls below 5 during the term and this number is not replenished at the next meeting of the municipal assembly, its powers pass to the municipal assembly, which may entrust the decision-making on certain matters either exclusively or partly to the mayor.[12]

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[10] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010
[11] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010
[12] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010

3.1.3 Mayor

The mayor belongs to the highest representatives of the municipal administration and represents it externally. The mayor must be a Czech citizen and is elected, just like the deputy mayor, by the elected members of the municipal assembly. The mayor is accountable to the assembly for their performance. The mayor convenes and usually chair the meetings of the municipal assembly and the municipal board, signs and approves the minutes of the meetings of the assembly and the board with verifiers. Together with the Deputy Mayor, they sign legal regulations of the municipality. The mayor may suspend the implementation of resolutions of the municipal board if they consider it to be incorrect. A proposal to suspend the implementation shall be submitted at the nearest meeting of the municipal assembly. [13]

3.1.4 Deputy mayor

In case the mayor is removed or resigns, and a new mayor is not elected simultaneously, their function is represented by a deputy mayor designated by the municipal assembly. If a deputy mayor has not been selected or also resigns from the position, the municipal board will authorize one of its members to perform the duties of the mayor. [14]

3.2 Suburbanization

The process of suburbanization involves the migration of residents, their activities, and certain functions from the core city to the surrounding areas. Many inhabitants of metropolitan regions work in the central urban area but live outside it in satellite communities known as suburbs, commuting to work by car or public transportation. These processes often occur in economically advanced countries.

Apart from suburbanization, there is also another form of suburban development in municipalities near larger cities. This includes various processes, activities, and their changes taking place in the hinterlands of cities.[15]

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[13] http://www.rokvobci.cz/
[14] Čmejrek 2012
[15] Šašek, M., Hlaváček, P., & Holub, J. (2019)

3.2.1 Developmental Phases

3.2.1.1 Initial Suburbanization

The very origins of suburbanization can be traced back to the distant Middle Ages. Most medieval cities evolved by placing individual structures in close proximity to the castle, giving rise to what is known as the "sub-castle" area. An illustrative example of this phase in the territory of the Czech Republic is the capital city, Prague.

Reasons for the Emergence of Suburbanization – Factors Supporting Suburbanization Growth

Suburbanization is influenced by numerous factors, which this chapter will delve into more closely. Many people at the turn of the century opted for suburbanization because they perceived better living conditions in suburban areas. This may include lower crime rates, a cleaner environment, and often more green spaces.

A primary motivator for incoming residents was suburban areas, which often offer more living space compared to dense urban neighbourhoods. Individuals seeking larger homes or a garden may explore options in suburban locations. These areas are also attractive for family life, providing a pleasant family-friendly environment close to nature and ensuring a safe space for children. Property prices are also a highly appealing factor. Sometimes, property prices in suburban areas are lower than in the city centre, which can be a decisive factor for some people when looking for housing.

Some individuals seek a different lifestyle and culture, which they can find in suburban communities. This may involve a different approach to leisure activities, restaurants, or cultural events. Some people opt for suburban living due to better accessibility with automobiles. Suburban areas typically offer better parking options and fewer issues with traffic congestion and parking in general.[16]

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[16] Šašek, M., Hlaváček, P., & Holub, J. 2019

3.2.1.2 Consequences of Suburbanization for Municipalities

In most cases, suburbanization is perceived as a threat to both the landscape and society, and its consequences are often negative. The main three consequences considered unfavourable for municipalities include economic, environmental, and governmental factors.[17]

3.2.1.2.1 Economic Factors

Suburbanization can have adverse economic effects on municipalities. As residents move to suburban areas, the economic base of the city centre may decline. This can lead to reduced tax revenue for the municipality, impacting its ability to fund public services and infrastructure projects. Additionally, businesses may follow the population shift to suburban areas, further affecting the economic vitality of the urban core.

3.2.1.2.2 Environmental Factors

The environmental consequences of suburbanization are often negative. The expansion of suburban areas can lead to the loss of green spaces, increased pollution due to greater reliance on cars for commuting, and habitat destruction. The increased demand for housing and infrastructure in suburban regions may result in the conversion of natural landscapes into developed areas, contributing to biodiversity loss.

3.2.1.2.3 Governmental Factors:

Suburbanization can pose challenges for local governance. The decentralized nature of suburban development may strain the efficiency of municipal services, such as transportation, waste management, and emergency response. Coordinating and planning for the needs of a dispersed population can be more complex, requiring effective urban planning and governance strategies to address the diverse needs of suburban communities.
It's important to note that while these consequences are often viewed as negative, there can also be positive aspects to suburbanization, such as improved living conditions for residents

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[17] Vobecká, J.; Kostelecký, T. 2007

and economic opportunities in suburban areas. Balancing the benefits and challenges of suburbanization requires careful urban planning and policy considerations.[18]

3.2.2 Local election system

This is a proportional representation electoral system, also known as a proportional voting system.

A voter has as many votes as there are representatives to be elected in their municipality, which in practice means that in a municipality of four thousand inhabitants, they have between 15-25 votes, depending on the number of representatives in that municipality.

Using the example of an 18-member board, let's explain the principle of this electoral system. Each ballot paper comes with detailed instructions on how a voter can use their votes.

The first option is to mark one of the political parties that are running for election, which is the simplest way, and all of the voter's votes will go to that party. If this political party has fewer than 18 candidates, the remaining votes will be lost.[19]

The second alternative is to mark the names of the candidates regardless of which party they belong to. This way, the voter does not lose any of their votes that they may not use if they choose the first voting option with fewer candidates than the prescribed number of representatives. However, the voter cannot mark more candidates than they have votes, otherwise their ballot paper will become invalid.

The third option is a combination of the first two options. The voter marks a political party and then marks individual candidates from other parties. If the party marked by the voter has a total of 18 candidates and the voter marks 4 candidates from other parties, they will deprive this political party of 4 votes, and it will receive only 14 votes. In this case, the four candidates in the marked party with the lowest positions would lose their votes.[20]

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[18] Šašek, M., Hlaváček, P., & Holub, J. 2019
[19] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010
[20] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010

3.2.2.1 How the election votes are counted

This text describes the process of how political parties in the Czech Republic receive mandates in elections. First, the votes are counted for both political parties and individual candidates. If a voter chooses both a party and an individual candidate, they are essentially voting for multiple parties.

Next, the parties that have surpassed the 5% threshold necessary to receive mandates are identified. These parties can then compete for mandates. Parties that do not fill their entire slate of candidates will have their votes artificially recalculated based on the number of candidates they had. This is done to ensure that these parties are not unfairly disadvantaged and to determine if they would have crossed the 5% threshold if they had filled their entire slate.

The d'Hondt method is used to allocate mandates. This method is commonly used in the Czech Republic to allocate mandates in local, regional, parliamentary, and European parliamentary elections. The method tends to favour larger parties, so smaller parties generally need more votes per mandate than larger parties.

The actual calculation for distributing mandates is multi-round. In the first round, the number of votes received by each party is divided by 1, and the party with the highest result is awarded the first mandate. In the subsequent rounds, the number of votes for each party is divided by the next sequential number, except for the party that received the previous mandate, which is divided by one plus the number of mandates it has already received. The party with the highest result in each round is awarded the next mandate until all mandates have been distributed. The d'Hondt method increases the divisor by one for each party that has been awarded a mandate.[21]

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[21] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010

3.2.2.2 Dividing mandates between elected candidates

The position on the candidate list is more decisive than the preferential votes that the candidates themselves received in the division of mandates among individual party members.[22]

In contrast to parliamentary elections, where a candidate must receive at least 5% of all votes that their political party received, the situation is different in municipal elections. A candidate who would be entitled to preferential election due to preferential votes must receive at least 10% more votes than the average number of votes per candidate in municipal elections. Although these two options may seem similar, they are two different methods.

In municipal elections, party or preferential votes are not distributed as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The calculation for preferential election is created by adding all the votes for a given party in the municipality, dividing by the number of candidates, and adding 10% to the result to make it clear at first glance which candidate is entitled to preferential election. If none of the candidates exceed this threshold, the mandates are obtained by the candidates in order on the candidate list.[23]

3.2.3 Local political partisanship

The number of political parties operating in a municipality depends on the population size. In large cities, the structure of the political system is similar to that at the national level. In municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants, the majority or all political parties represented in the Chamber of Deputies are also present, along with other political entities of local or regional character.[24]

Looking at the attached table, it is apparent at first glance that the largest number of communities in the Czech Republic falls into the category of those with populations under 2000, accounting for a whopping 88.81%.[25]

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[22] Čmejrek, Bubeníček, Čopík, 2010
[23] Kruntorádová, Jüptner, 2015
[24] Čmejrek 2003
[25] Data of CSZO 2018

NUMBER OF INHABITANST IN THE MUNICIPALITY	NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES	NUMBER OF MUNICIPALITIES	PERCENTAGE OF INHIBITANTS IN MUNICIPALITIES ACCORDING THEIR SIZE
0 - 199	1 432	178 327	1,68%
200 - 499	1 992	650 760	6,13%
500 - 999	1 379	974 837	9,19%
1 000 - 1 999	755	1 052 794	9,92%
2 000 - 4 999	427	1 288 242	12,14%
5 000 - 9 999	142	969 575	9,14%
10 000 - 19 999	69	967 946	9,12%
20 000 - 49 999	44	1 317 144	12,41%
50 000 - 99 999	12	870 531	8,20%
Over 100 000	6	2 339 899	22,05%
Total	6 258	10 610 055	

Table 1 - Municipalities by number of inhabitats as of 1.1.2018

Source: Self-prepared according to data CSZO[26]

The situation in municipalities with populations under 2,000 is very different from that of larger cities, where established parliamentary parties dominate. In smaller communities, on the other hand, independent candidates and their associations prevail. According to Čmejrek's study, in the municipal elections of 2006 in rural municipalities of the South Bohemian Region, parties represented in the Chamber of Deputies accounted for only 21.6% of the mandates. The rest of the mandates were divided among independent candidates and associations.

Compared to the parliamentary scene, political parties are not fully represented in communities with populations under 2,000. In municipalities with populations under 1,000, it is not uncommon to find only independent candidates and their associations. It is also not

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[26] https://www.czso.cz/

uncommon to find no political party that we would recognize from the Chamber of Deputies in small communities.[27]

As we can see from the table of election results in 2018 bellow, almost 90% of elected candidates are non-partisan. This complicates the overall analysis of election results.

Name of political party	Number of candidates	Proportion of candidates of the respective party	Number of elected representatives	Proportion of elected representatives of the respective parties
No political affiliation	166 198	84,97%	53 377	89,96%
Občanská demokratická strana (Civic Democratic Party)	4 820	2,46%	1 174	1,98%
Křesťan.a demokrat.unie-Českosl.strana lidová (Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party)	4 388	2,24%	1 104	1,86%
Česká strana sociálně demokratická (Czech Social Democratic Party)	5 550	2,84%	901	1,52%
ANO 2011	1 892	0,97%	765	1,29%
Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia)	6 591	3,37%	757	1,28%
TOP 09	1 052	0,54%	224	0,38%
MAYORS AND INDEPENDENTS (MAYORS AND INDEPENDENTS)	308	0,16%	202	0,34%
Česká pirátská strana (Czech Pirate Party)	502	0,26%	145	0,24%
Svoboda a přímá demokracie - Tomio Okamura (SPD) [Freedom and Direct Democracy - Tomio Okamura (SPD)]	1 247	0,64%	101	0,17%

Table 2 - Election 2018 political affiliation

Source: volby.cz

3.2.4 Theory of coalitions

The theory of coalitions describes the essence of forming governments in parliamentary systems.[28] The classic theory of coalitions deals only with examining coalitions at the national level.

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[27] Čmejrek 2006
[28] Jüptner 2004

"In general, the term coalition refers to the partnership of at least two players, most often political parties, which have gained representation in parliament."[29]

The basis of the logic of coalition formation is primarily the effort to secure a legislative majority to push forward proposals for laws prepared by the government. In this theory, political parties are considered unitary actors. Political parties are viewed as units that act as one during political negotiations, and their composition does not influence any party to such an extent that this factor has to be taken into account in this theory.[30]

Two Czech political scientists, Petr Jüptner and Stanislav Balík, deal with coalitions at the municipal level.

3.2.4.1 Typology of coalition governments

Coalition government can be divided into two basic types based on its size, minimal size coalition and a grand coalition.

3.2.4.1.1 Minimal size coalition

The first type is the minimal winning coalition, which is composed of the smallest possible number of members needed to achieve a majority, with no member whose vote could be dispensed with. The biggest advantage of such a coalition is the maximization of power, as executive positions don't have to be shared with more members than necessary.[31]

"The minimal winning coalition is therefore considered to be the basic, general norm, and all other types of coalitions or governments (minority and so-called grand coalitions) are considered to be deviant."[32]

The disadvantage of such a coalition is the risk that disagreements between coalition partners may lead to a loss of legislative majority.[33]

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[29] Říchová 2014
[30] Říchová 2006
[31] Říchová 2006
[32] Říchová 2014
[33] Říchová 2006

3.2.4.1.2 Grand coalition

A grand coalition includes at least one member who is not needed to achieve a parliamentary majority. In terms of the number of ministerial seats and other executive positions gained, this type of coalition lacks logic. Mandates are divided among several political parties, resulting in less "power" for each party. Superfluous members therefore do not bring any advantages and rather represent a burden for the government. For example, during negotiations between coalition partners, where more different interests must be taken into account.[34]

3.2.4.2 Coalition according to Petr Juptner theory

In his work, Jüptner tries to apply coalition theory studies to the municipal level. He compares the government to the municipal board, parliament to the assembly, and the prime minister to the mayor, even though the relationship between the prime minister and the government is not as strong as the relationship between the mayor and the municipal board.

In his work, he divides local self-government units into five categories based on size.

3.2.4.2.1 The smallest villages and creation of coalitions

The upper limit of the population of the municipality of Jüptner has been set at 1,700 residents. In these smallest municipalities, candidates without political affiliation and their associations prevail. On average, two political parties are visible on the candidate lists. In such municipalities, political parties have a very small number of members, and often form shortly before elections due to the easier registration of candidates. "*Running for parties is rarely seen as a necessary evil, and according to some municipal representatives, it is basically irrelevant who the person is running for. Even most candidates of political parties are independent candidates and do not identify with their parties at all; they immediately resign from any affiliation with the candidate lists and forget about it.*"[35]

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[34] Říchová 2006
[35] Jüptner 2004

Therefore, in the smallest municipalities, the majority of representatives are independent candidates, whether as individuals, associations, or independent on party candidate lists. In his study, Jüptner approached several mayors of the smallest municipalities who commented on the candidacy of independent candidates with the words "*Running as an independent is natural and logical.*"[36]

In the smallest municipalities, people see political parties as a source of discord and politicking. One of the mayors surveyed states, "*I support independent candidates. If parties are represented in the board, there are constantly disagreements, and it is not possible to agree on seemingly simple matters. I had the opportunity to lead such an assembly. Not much was accomplished, and most of the time was wasted.*"[37] Another mayor adds even harsher criticism, stating that "*independent candidates are only a reaction to incompetent politicians.*"[38]

After these opinions, it is clearer why independent candidates win in elections. Residents of the smallest villages often perceive political parties and their ideologies as "politicking," relying instead on common sense, personal (in many cases even kinship) relationships, individual and group interests. Several of the surveyed mayors criticized or completely rejected the logic of the electoral system, especially the way mandates are distributed. In their opinion, candidates should receive votes regardless of their political affiliation. Then, the assembly members would not be perceived as unclassified and disorganized individuals.[39]

In the smallest municipalities, the disadvantage of pre-election coalitions is most evident (the combination of two or more parties in a pre-election coalition, for which slightly different rules apply than for parties. To be eligible for the distribution of mandates, they do not have to exceed the threshold of 5%, but this threshold is multiplied by the number of parties running in the coalition. Therefore, when three parties join in a pre-election coalition, they must exceed the threshold of 15%). According to the surveyed mayors in Jüptner's study,

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[36] Jüptner 2004
[37] Jaroslav Pospíchal – mayor of Šlapanov – Jüptner Politická Revue 2004
[38] Jiří Hudeček – mayor of Libočany - Jüptner Politická Revue 2004
[39] Jüptner 2004

unlike larger cities, pre-election coalitions in the smallest municipalities are not very common.[40]

3.2.4.2.2 Villages Small to medium-sized municipalities

Jüptner defines small to medium-sized municipalities as having a population between 1701 and 9000. With an increasing number of inhabitants, the number of candidates belonging to political parties also increases, and they begin to defeat their colleagues without political affiliation. It should be noted that I am referring to Jüptner's study, which includes "communal" associations of independents and regional parties in the set of political parties in this case, and that elected candidates from political parties are mostly without political affiliation. In the candidate lists of municipalities falling within the mentioned population interval, up to ten political party names appear, as opposed to two in the previous category. Even though as many as ten political parties present their candidates in municipalities of this size, some few activists form the core of these parties, supplemented by candidates without the desire to win a board seat in order to maximize the electoral gain.[41]

Political parties operating at the local level can be divided into several types. The first type includes established parties that can be seen in the Chamber of Deputies (ODS, KDU-ČSL, ČSSD), while the second type includes regional-communal parties that serve to enable political participation at lower levels of our political system. These parties are further divided into regional parties, universally communal parties (associations of independents, independent movements), and locally communal parties (Association of Tenants of Prague 1). Locally communal parties have not yet appeared at the level of smaller medium-sized municipalities.

In these municipalities, it is no longer possible to unambiguously designate them as a non-competitive "big family" type, as in the previous category; in this case, the non-competitive type of system is mixed with the competitive type in most cases. They function competitively as needed, usually when distributing mandates, but non-competitively throughout the electoral term.[42]

Political parties in this category have low party morale and either exert no or very little activity. In some municipalities, no party meetings are held at all. In most municipalities in this category, party meetings are held sporadically or a meeting is held for all member of

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[40] Jüptner 2004
[41] Jüptner 2004
[42] Jüptner 2004

board or their large coalition before the board meeting. Due to the low party morale, voters still evaluate parties based on the names on the candidate lists rather than political affiliation.

"In the described municipalities, coalitions often take the form of a closed and informal grand coalition, in which there is an unwritten delimitation of spheres of influence, and individual actors do not attack each other so as not to be excluded from this 'big family'."[43]

Thus, coalitions are still predominantly created based on personal relations rather than political party affiliation.

3.2.4.2.3 Municipalities of large medium size

Jüptner defined the size of this category of municipalities as ranging from 9,001 to 45,000 inhabitants. At this level, independent politicians are no longer predominant, but rather established political parties or movements. Typically, five to thirteen political parties present their candidates, with zero to two independent associations complementing them.

In the boards of such municipalities, candidates with affiliation to established political parties prevail.

"The ratio of party members is actually higher for established political parties than in the table provided, with a large proportion of non-party members on party candidate lists being candidates from regional-communal parties such as the Association of Independents (SNK) or Independents."[44]

In larger medium-sized municipalities, independent associations are almost non-existent, which is due to the complexity of the candidacy process, which requires a much larger number of signatures for a party to be able to run. Independent associations are therefore rare and use signature gathering as part of their pre-election campaign to gain

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[43] Jüptner 2004
[44] Jüptner 2004

visibility among voters. Independent candidates prefer to back their candidacy with a regional-communal political party.[45]

In some larger medium-sized municipalities, local-communal parties also appear, such as the Independent Association of Citizens of Blansko.

Locally established political parties have tens of members, nationwide political parties have hundreds of members. The number of members of regional-communal parties is in the range of a few members, in some cases they are completely without members and have exclusively proposed candidates without political affiliation. "*The Association of Independents in Český Těšín or the Democratic Regional Party in Česká Lípa have exclusively proposed non-partisan candidates.*"[46] Party morale begins to rise at this level, and parties are more active. It is more common for them to hold regular party meetings and for party members to speak uniformly, with the same opinion and similar or identical goals.

At this level, the "non-competitive" model of the political system is no longer present. "*This system is characterized by filling executive positions based on election results and a reduced level of competitiveness in the inter-election period. The reduced level of competitiveness in some municipalities is determined by large executive coalitions that we could encounter in the relevant election periods.*"[47] In some cases, respondents from municipalities even described their political system as competitive, with the principle of "government and opposition."

In this category of municipalities, pre-election coalitions are rare, and the formation of coalitions after the elections is crucial. This is when seats in the board are distributed, from which the mayor, his deputies, and members of the board are elected. The most common type of coalition is a large coalition, which although does not include all parties, is formed by a significant majority of member of board. Coalitions in medium-sized municipalities are mostly composed of members of political parties. Coalition formation is not based on the same ideology, and therefore coalitions consisting of purely left-wing parties with right-wing parties are not uncommon.[48]

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[45] Jüptner 2004
[46] Jüptner 2004
[47] Jüptner 2004
[48] Jüptner 2004

3.2.4.2.4 Largest Municipalities

Jüptner established a minimum population size of 45,000 for municipalities, which are represented by large cities. In the political systems of the largest municipalities, independent candidates and their associations are not found, and only established political parties, both national and regional-communal, exist. The number of political parties running ranges from 6 to 13. The introduction of a five percent threshold for entry into municipal boards resulted in the formation of more pre-election coalitions. According to officials from surveyed cities, the number of members in established national parties such as ODS, ČSSD, and KSČM is in the hundreds, while other parties like US-DEU and KDU-ČSL have tens of members.

"For a long time, the distribution of power at this level resembled the power ratio at the parliamentary level, but with the rise of regional-communal parties, this idea began to lose its validity after the 2002 elections. Regional-communal political parties in the largest cities and in the elections defeated established parliamentary parties, and the European Democrats ("Democrat Jan Kasl") even became the second strongest political group in Prague after the ODS in terms of the number of representatives."[49]

Political systems in such large municipalities mainly operate on a competitive model of "government and opposition." Although some officials compared their boards to a "large family."

Party morale is very high at this level, with regular party meetings held and the unification of political views of members of individual parties. The most successful municipal politicians at this level often move on to parliamentary politics.[50]

Voters no longer give their votes based on personal relationships, but rather based on the political affiliation of candidates.

At this level, the term coalition is commonplace, and pre-election coalitions are formed, mainly to make it easier to exceed the five percent threshold. Political factions with

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[49] Jüptner 2004
[50] Jüptner 2004

their leaders are formed before the elections, and they then try to gain a majority of board seats, the city board, the position of mayor or mayor's deputy, or deputy mayor. Minimal coalitions are quite common, but they are often expanded, so we cannot speak of minimal winning coalitions.

Quite often, large coalitions can be found in such large municipalities, their formation has several factors, most often leading to the formation of a large coalition to maintain a balance of power in the board or to eliminate one of the parties from the possibility of governing, such as in Most, where a large coalition was formed to prevent the leftist KSČM from entering the board. Generally, when forming coalitions, more attention is paid to the concentration of power rather than the effort to promote party programs.[51]

3.2.4.3 Coalitions according to Stanislav Balík

Balík comments on the commonly used classification of coalitions in his study, in which coalitions are divided into two main categories based on the number of actors, and he expands it to include additional types.

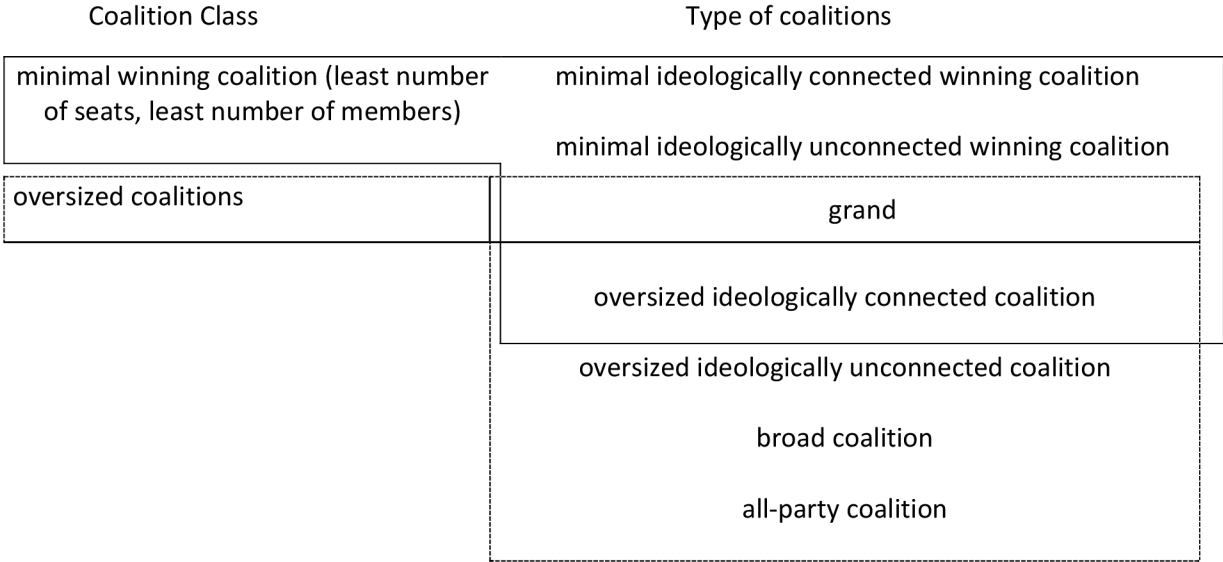| Coalition Class	Type of coalitions
minimal winning coalition (least number of seats, least number of members)	minimal ideologically connected winning coalition
	minimal ideologically unconnected winning coalition
oversized coalitions	grand
	oversized ideologically connected coalition
	oversized ideologically unconnected coalition
	broad coalition
	all-party coalition

Figure 1 - Coalition scheme - Balík

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[51] Jüptner 2004

The first category of coalition division is the minimum winning coalition, which is a coalition with the smallest number of actors with enough mandates to achieve a majority. In such a coalition, there is no actor without whom the coalition could gain confidence. The minimum winning coalition is further divided into two distinct types based on ideological connections.[52]

3.2.4.3.1 Minimal ideologically connected winning coalition

The minimal ideologically connected winning coalition represents the smallest possible coalition whose members share similar ideologies. According to Balík, "*this type of coalition (along with a one-party executive) is the most logical solution to the post-election situation in terms of rational choice theory and the optimality of ideological connection.*"[53]

Balík also points out that this type of coalition promotes the competitiveness of the party system the most by providing voters with a clear hope for the possibility of policy change caused by different election results in the next election. Furthermore, he states that "*the actors who create it are guided by the motives of rational choice theory - they maximize political influence with minimal energy expenditure.*"[54]

3.2.4.3.2 Minimal ideologically unconnected winning coalition

According to Balík, this is a relatively unique type of coalition that is formed by the smallest possible number of parties, or with the smallest number of seats sufficient for a majority but is composed of parties from opposite ends of the political spectrum. Such a coalition involves the cooperation of ideologically unrelated and, in some cases, opposing parties. More political entities remain in opposition. Balík cites the example of a coalition between ODS and KSČM, with ČSSD, KDU-ČSL, and SZ remaining in opposition. It arises mainly in two situations. The first situation is when the winner is unable to form a minimal ideologically connected winning coalition due to the fact that the second party does not have sufficient seats.

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[52] Balík 2009
[53] Balík 2009
[54] Balík 2009

The second situation is when it does not form an ideologically connected coalition, even though it is possible, for personnel reasons.[55]

3.2.4.3.3 Grand coalitions

Balík considers the grand coalition type to be exceptional, the main reason for its exceptional nature being the way the coalition is composed, as two dominant, ideologically opposing actors cooperate in the executive branch. In some cases, these two parties may also cooperate with other smaller, centrist entities. In most cases, a grand coalition arises when it is possible to conclude a minimal ideologically connected winning coalition, but this does not happen for personnel reasons. To speak of a grand coalition, it is a condition that at least two relevant opponents who are not ideologically linked remain in opposition. An exception may be a situation where a coalition of two main actors is formed and only one entity remains in opposition. Such a coalition would rather be called a broad coalition, given the requirement for the number of opposition actors not being met. In this case, communication within the coalition should be a priority over its relations with the opposition.

As an example, Balík mentions the alliance of the ODS and ČSSD parties after the 2002 and 2006 elections in Prostějov. Both parties significantly exceeded other political entities in terms of their vote gains. In 2002, they won 20 out of 35 mandates, and after the 2006 elections, they added another 4 mandates. In opposition from 2002-2006 were KSČM, US-DEU, KDU-ČSL, and Prostějov 21. After the 2006 elections, the opposition parties changed and the composition of the opposition was KSČM, KDU-ČSL, and SZ.[56]

3.2.4.3.4 Over-sized ideologically linked coalition

Two characteristics are necessary for an excessive ideologically linked coalition. It belongs to the class of excessive coalitions, meaning that there must be at least one political party in such a coalition without which the coalition would still have a majority of votes. The second characteristic is ideological affinity between the cooperating actors, and it is more of a requirement that there is not a significant distance on the political-ideological scale between

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[55] Balík 2009
[56] Balík 2009

its extreme parties. Its functioning may resemble a broad coalition, but it differs in ideological affinity among the participants. Unlike a broad coalition, there are no significant ideological compromises in an excessive ideologically linked coalition.

Excessive ideologically linked coalitions often arise in systems where a supermajority of all (not just present) legislators is required for any decision, such as in the Czech municipal and regional system.

Another situation that leads to the formation of such a coalition is when the winning party significantly dominates others but does not have a majority of votes. It does not want to ally with only one smaller, ideologically close partner due to its significant influence in decision-making. Therefore, it joins forces with multiple actors to spread this influence.

"The same situation may also arise at the instigation of a smaller partner who does not want to be in a coalition alone with the hegemon. The last situation (which, however, can serve as a supporting argument in the enumerated reasons) leading to the formation of such an arrangement is the indiscipline of political factions that have enough strength to form a minimum winning coalition. In fear of pressure from their own MPs/member of board who are aware of their indispensability, party leaders resort to creating excessive coalitions with ideologically close partners."[57]

Balík gives an example from the post-election situation in 2002 from Tanvald, where an excessive ideologically linked coalition was formed composed of ODS, New Choice for Tanvald, and SNK. This coalition had 14 out of 21 mandates. By merging ODS with either New Choice for Tanvald or SNK, it would have obtained 11 mandates, which is the narrowest majority. In opposition were KSČM, ČSSD, and ČSNS.

The situation after the 2006 elections was almost identical when ODS, Choice for Tanvald, and SNK ED joined forces, gaining 15 out of 21 mandates, although ODS joining with any other party would have been enough for a supermajority. In opposition remained ČSSD and KSČM.[58]

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[57] Balík 2009
[58] Balík 2009

3.2.4.3.5 Excessive Ideologically Unconnected Coalition

The Excessive Ideologically Unconnected Coalition is almost the same as the previous type, but its composition differs in that it is made up of ideologically distant political entities. It stands on the borderline between broad and large coalitions, so legitimate debates can often arise as to whether it is rather a broad or a large coalition type. The excessive ideologically unconnected Coalition is similar to the minimal winning ideologically unconnected coalition, but with the difference that there is at least one surplus member present. The opposition is also characteristic here, where there must be at least two entities, but at least one of the coalition entities must be located on the ideological spectrum between them.

"*The motivation for concluding this coalition is similar to that of the previous type, with the exception that the price for cooperation with ideologically more distant entities is lower in the given situation than it would be in cooperation with ideologically closer partners (greater demands from a closer entity, its potential greater power, etc.).*"[59]

The text cites an example from Bystřice nad Pernštejnem, where after the 2006 elections an excessive ideologically unconnected coalition was formed consisting of the Association for the Development of the Bystřice Region, the Czech Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and Elections for Bystřice. The SNK ED, which was the dominant force in local politics from 1994 to 2005, and the Civic Democratic Party remained in opposition.[60]

3.2.4.3.6 Broad coalition

Broad coalition or rainbow coalition is a combination of almost all relevant political forces, consisting of at least two members and involving ideologically diverse parties. Additionally, one political actor or current remains outside of this union for ideological reasons. The reason for creating such a coalition is to spread collective responsibility among as many parties as possible, while there may be reasons why one party cannot participate.

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[59] Balík 2009
[60] Balík 2009

Such coalitions can be formed either without a specific political party or against it, with the latter being more likely to occur when the coalition is formed for "protection" against a excluded actor.[61]

Balík provides an example from Velké Meziříčí after the 2002 elections, where KDU-ČSL, ČSSD, SNK, ODS, KSČM, and Political Club SDS, SV-SOS won mandates. The coalition included all parties except KSČM, with representatives from each party in the board, except KSČM.[62]

3.2.4.3.7   All-party coalition

The following is a description of a type of political coalition known as a "všestranická koalice," or an all-party coalition. This type of coalition is characterized by the participation of all relevant political forces, with no party distancing itself from the coalition.

The main reason for the formation of this type of coalition is to create a consensus-driven atmosphere of cooperation among all parties after an election, which promises to maintain a respectful and civil approach to politics, even in the face of opposing political forces.[63]

In contrast to a minimal winning coalition, which may create an opposition and lead to conflict, an all-party coalition is justified by respecting the wishes of the voters who prefer this type of power-sharing arrangement, while also seeking security.

This type of coalition was exemplified by the Lipník nad Bečvou election in 2002, in which all five parties present in the board formed a coalition due to the balanced election results, with only a 9% difference between the winner and the weakest party.[64]

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[61] Balík 2009
[62] Balík 2009
[63] Balík 2009
[64] Balík 2009

3.2.4.3.8 Municipal Executive Coalition

According to Balík, researching executive coalitions at the municipal level is the most challenging topic of all executive coalition research. It is very difficult to apply coalition theory to this entire political scene, which includes more than 6,000 self-governing municipalities.

To simplify the research, Balík excludes municipalities with populations of less than 1,000, which account for 80% of all municipalities but only contain one-fifth of the population. These municipalities typically have small seven-member boards, with only slightly more candidates than there are board seats. Another reason for excluding these large self-governing entities from the study is that political parties cannot be considered unitary actors in them, which makes the use of coalition theory impossible.[65]

A different situation arises in a group of municipalities where the board is at least fifteen members and there is a municipal board. Unfortunately, for research on such municipalities, it is necessary to know the local conditions and be able to say whether at least the majority of political parties and independent associations behave unitarily. Without these assumptions, we cannot apply coalition theory, although coalitions are formed here. Political science probably has no tool for researching such coalitions.[66]

Another problem in applying coalition theory at the municipal level is political parties, which we need to expand to include associations of independent candidates. However, we must take into account the fact that, especially in smaller and medium-sized municipalities, these associations can be understood as free coalitions or groupings of individuals, which can cause considerable methodological problems when using coalition theory.

Another important factor in the formation of coalitions at the municipal level is personal relationships in municipalities and ideological differences among individual independent entities. "Despite all these objections and limitations, it is possible to cautiously apply coalition theory at the municipal level."

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[65] Balík 2006
[66] Balík 2009

At this level of governance, it is necessary to specify one of the types of coalitions listed in the table above. This is the type of broad coalition, where it is possible to find a reason for the emergence of a broad coalition in "association against" someone, often a former mayor. This coalition then includes all members except for the mentioned former mayor.

Another peculiarity, which is not common at the regional or national level, is the "phenomenon of single-color boards." Although this possibility is not likely in a proportional electoral system, it can happen. This is a situation where one political party or association has a majority of the seats in the board and only appoints its own members to the municipal board, without allowing anyone else in.

"Czech political science does not yet have (and probably will not have for a long time) data covering a significant part of the local scene. It is therefore necessary to be content with individual case studies.

Balík uses a case study of the Šumperk district to analyse local executive coalitions, which he himself developed for his doctoral thesis. The results of his study relate to municipalities and towns in Šumperk, which established a municipal or city board between 1994 and 2006. Their number ranged from 24 to 28 because each municipality in the Czech Republic can have a board, but only those with more than 1000 inhabitants are required to have one.[67]

A single party board appeared seven times in three election periods, six times in a board formed by two political groups. The minimum winning coalition was formed eight times, most often in the period 1994-1998, five times, only once in one municipality in the next election period of 1998-2002. Two were formed in the 2002-2006 election period. This shows that large, broad, and general coalitions dominated in municipalities in the Šumperk district.

Among them, the least common was the large coalition, although there was a growing trend. In the first election period, there was only one such coalition, in the second two, and in

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[67] Balík 2006

the third already five. The most common type was the broad coalition, which was formed nine times in the first election period, fourteen times in the second, and nine times in the third. These coalitions were most often composed without the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM).

General coalitions were formed eleven times in the first period, four times in the second, and seven times in the third.

Balík states that it is not possible to determine the relationship between the size of the municipality and the type of coalition, except for ideologically interconnected minimum winning coalitions. These were exclusively formed in municipalities with 2000-5000 inhabitants. "*It is not excluded that this fact is related to the special mentality of this type of municipality, which sets it apart from smaller and larger municipalities.*"[68]

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[68] Balík 2006

4 Practical Part

4.1 Demographical and socioeconomic analysis of the municipality of Psáry

The municipality of Psáry is located in the Central Bohemian Region, in the district of Prague-West. It lies southeast of Prague, between the towns of Jílové u Prahy and Jesenice. The municipality is only 7 km away from the southern boundary of the capital city Prague.

Additionally, the municipality of Psáry also includes another village, Dolní Jirčany, which is situated on the southern side and shares a border with Psáry.

The cadastral area of the village is 11.245 square kilometres, which corresponds to 1124.50 hectares.

Land type table
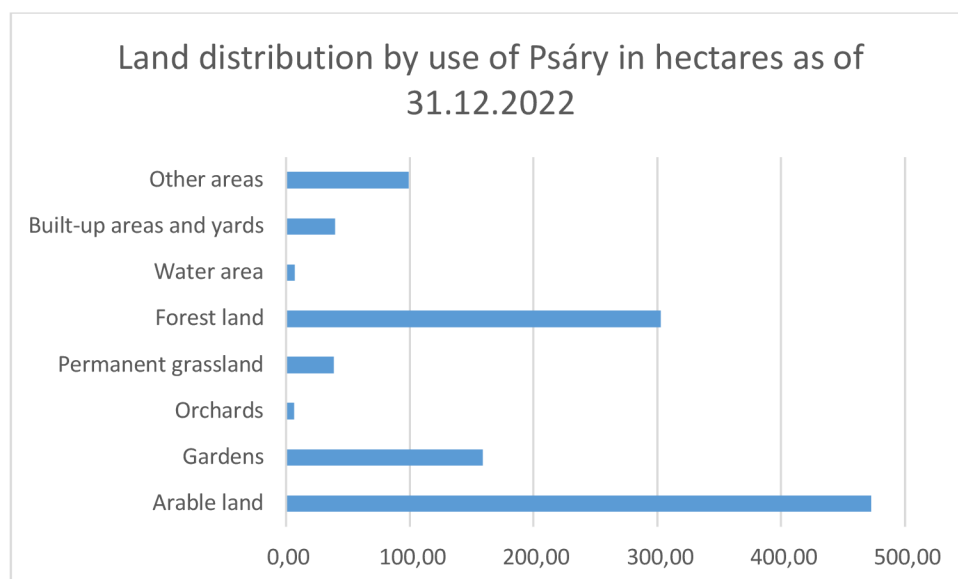
Graph 1 - Land distribution of Psáry

Source: Self-prepared according to data from CSZO[69]

4.1.1 Population and its development

As we can see in the graph 2 bellow, the population of the village of Psáry was constantly increasing until the year 2021. According to the data from the Czech Statistical Office, as of January 1, 2018, the population reached 3,917, of which 1,906 were men and

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[69] www.cszo.cz

2,011 were women. Another 1,000 people live in Psáry, but do not have permanent residency registered here. The population has tripled since 1992.

Various factors contribute to the population growth, mainly the trend of migration of people from rural areas to cities and adjacent areas. Another trend is the movement from cities to suburban areas, due to a better quality of life than in the city. People typically move to large cities and their surrounding areas for better job opportunities than those available in rural areas.
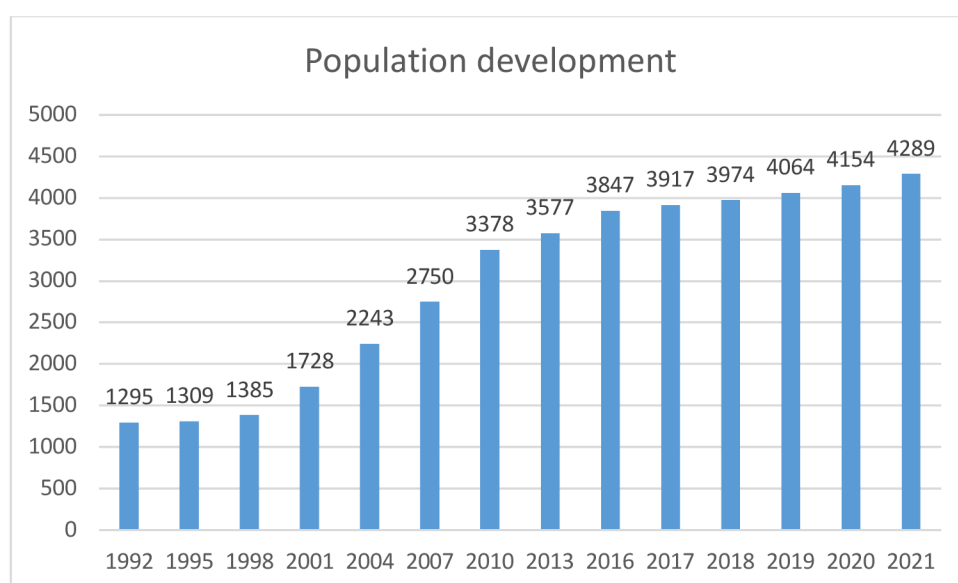

Graph 2 - Population development of Psáry 1992 - 2021[70]

In 2004, the village of Psáry was the third fastest-growing settlement in the Czech Republic. A significant population increase from 1998 to 2010 resulted from extensive construction activities, leading to the creation of new homes, and nearly doubling the built-up area of Psáry. Most new residences were occupied by people originally from Prague, which slowed down the average age growth in the town. In 1998, Psáry's average age was 34.9, while in 2010, it was 36.2, increasing by 1.3 years during the 12-year period. In contrast, the Czech Republic's average age increased by 2.6 years (from 38.2 to 40.8 years) in the same timeframe. Thus, the average age in Psáry grew at half the rate compared to the nationwide average during the observed period.

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[70] www.cszo.cz

Table 3 - Population by education

		Total	Males	Females
Population 15+, total		3 448	1 686	1 762
by the highest educational attainment	No formal education	56	36	20
	Primary and lower secondary	384	175	209
	Secondary, incl. vocational	773	437	336
	Upper or post secondary	1 098	474	624
	Post-secondary professional, Conservatoir	55	21	34
	Tertiary	943	466	477
	Not identified	139	77	62

Source: CZSO Public database, data from census 2021[71]

From the data in this table, it is immediately apparent that there is a high concentration of residents with university education. A total of 27,35% of the population hold a university degree, indicating that this is a suburban area of Prague. Meanwhile, the nationwide average in the same year (2021) was 17,58%.[72]

4.1.2 Age structure in the municipality of Psáry

The average age of Czech population is 42,7, with woman 44,1 and men with 41,2 years. The average age of citizens in Psáry is 39,4, respectively woman 39,8 and men 39,1.

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[71]www.cszo.cz
[72]www.cszo.cz
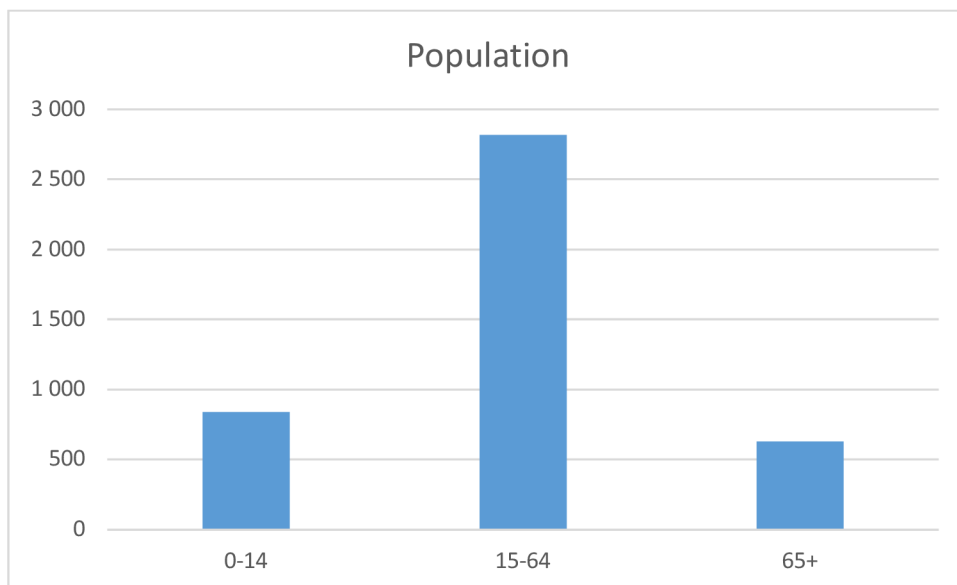
Graph 3 - Population by age

Source: CZSO Public database, data from census 2021[73]

The graph clearly shows that residents between the ages of 15-64 predominate in the municipality, with a percentage comparison of as much as 65.68%.

Despite the average age being 39,4 years old, which is lower than the national average of 42.7 years old, there has been an increase in the average age compared to 2010, when the average age was 35.9 years old, and the national average was 40.6 years old. The municipality still belongs to the 10% youngest municipalities in the Czech Republic, with the Prague-West district being the "youngest" district in the country.

One of the consequences of this demographic situation is the emphasis on topics such as life with children and schools, their quality, capacity, and availability, quality of life, the suburban location, which attracts people "escaping" from Prague to a cleaner environment, the environment, pollution, etc. Transportation to Prague, where a large percentage of residents commute to work or school, is also an important issue.

These topics become determining factors in the election programs of individual candidates. The demographic composition of the population is, therefore, one of the determining factors influencing the main topics in the elections of individual municipalities or regions.

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[73] www.cszo.cz

4.1.3 Transportation – Commuting

A proportion of local residents commute daily for work or school to neighbouring municipalities, especially to the capital city which is approximately 20-30 minutes away by car or bus. This is evidenced by a table with data from 2011 that reports the number of residents commuting for work and school.

Table 4 - Commuters

Commuters, total			1 229
of which	Commuting to work		870
	of which	within the municipality	44
		within the district	106
		within the region	73
		within the Czech Republic	639
		Abroad	8
	Commuting to school		359
	of which	within the municipality	37
		outside from municipality	322

Source: CZSO, census 2011

Out of the total number of 1,870 economically active residents, 870 commute for work, which represents more than 46% of economically active residents traveling for work.

Considering that there are up to an additional thousand residents who do not have a registered permanent residence here, there is an assumption that the number of people commuting to the capital city for work may be even higher. This only supports the fact that this is a suburban municipality.

For this reason, traffic jams were formed on nearby roads during working days. The situation improved significantly in the fall of 2010 when the Prague Ring Road - D0 highway was opened. The nearest entrance to the highway has been within a radius of up to five kilometres from the municipality since then.

4.1.4 Municipal equipment

The village of Psáry used to have only a small school, which provided education up to the fifth grade, and a kindergarten. However, in March 2018, with the help of a government grant, a new school was built that ends with the ninth grade, like a traditional primary school in Czech educational system. The mentioned school was completed in 2019 and has been in operation since September 3, 2019. In 2020 the school, which was made to be highly energy efficient, was given a title "Building of the year of Central Bohemian region". This once again highlights the fact that it is a suburban community. Additionally, there are two separate doctor's offices, and a fairly large complex called the Laguna Psáry Home in the village. This complex includes a social care institute, a swimming pool, and a gym, which can be made available to the public by appointment.

4.1.5 Municipal budget

One of the fundamental tools for managing a municipality is its budget. It reflects the focus on individual areas of community life, such as the construction of water supply or sewerage, roads, public greenery, schools, and public services. The priorities in these areas reflect the election program of the winning candidates and the will of the majority of their voters.

Under the Constitution of the Czech Republic, municipalities have the right to self-government and are regarded as public corporations. They may have their own property and manage it according to their own budget. Budget management for regions and municipalities falls within their independent sphere of activity. Therefore, it is up to the municipal board to decide how to create its budget and how to manage it.

The main sources of financing for municipalities are tax, non-tax, capital, and transfers. The total income of municipalities in the Czech Republic amounted to CZK 282 billion in 2016.

Tax revenues are the backbone of municipal finance, accounting for 72.7% of all municipal revenues in 2019. Transfers accounted for 16%, non-tax revenues (such as rental income from municipal property) 9.3%, and capital revenues (such as income from the sale of property) 1.9%.

Municipal tax revenues are derived from value-added tax, corporate income tax, personal income tax, property tax, gambling tax, and various types of fees, particularly local and administrative fees.

In contrast to municipalities, regional tax revenues are generated solely from value-added tax, corporate and personal income taxes, and administrative fees. The amount of tax revenues is defined by Act No. 243/2000 Coll. on Budgetary Allocation of Taxes (BAT), and is calculated according to three criteria, taking into account the number of inhabitants in the municipality, the size of the cadastral area, and the number of children in kindergartens and primary schools.

The current scheme of the aforementioned budgetary allocation of taxes is shown in the table2 bellow.

Budgetary allocation of taxes scheme
from 1.1.2021

Value added tax

| 9,78 % - regions | 25,84% - municipalities | 64,38% - state budget |

Tax on corporate income,
including tax on corporate income withheld at a special rate, excluding taxes paid to municipalities and regions

| 9,78 % - regions | 25,84% - municipalities | 64,38% - state budget |

Tax on corporate income paid by municipalities and regions, excluding tax on corporate income withheld at a special rate

| 100% - taxes paid by regions | 100% - taxes paid by municipalities |

| Property tax | → | 100% - municipalities (According to the allocation of the property) |

Tax on personal income of individuals
withheld at a special rate

| 9,78 % - regions | 25,84% - municipalities | 64,38% - state budget |

Tax on personal income from self-employment,
including lump-sum tax

| 9,78 % - regions | 25,84% - municipalities | 64,38% - state budget |

Tax on personal income from dependent activity

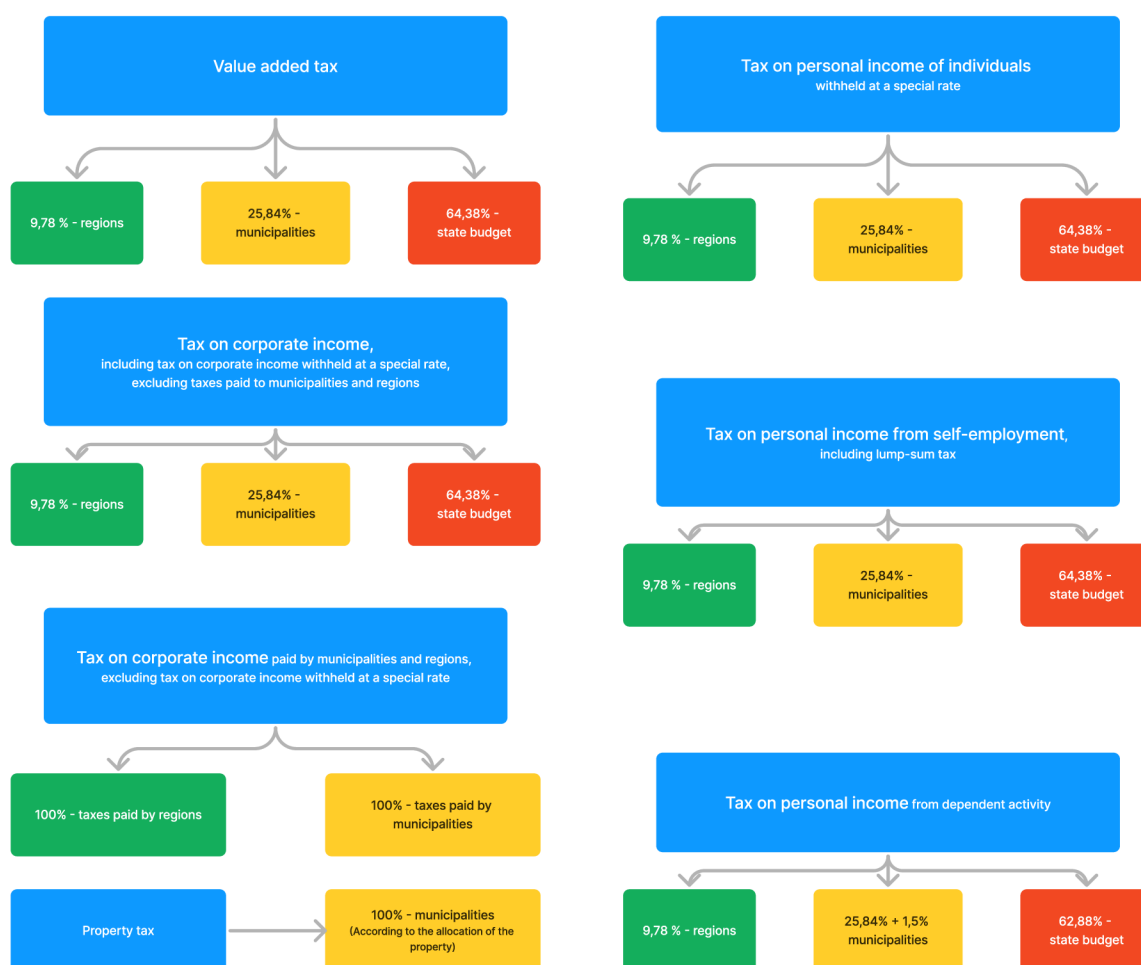| 9,78 % - regions | 25,84% + 1,5% municipalities | 62,88% - state budget |

Figure 2 - Budgetary allocation of taxes scheme

Source: Self-prepared[74]

Tax collection is ensured by the Czech Financial Administration, which subsequently transfers the corresponding share to the accounts of municipalities, in most cases twice a month. This does not apply to property tax, although its collection is ensured by the Czech Financial Administration, the full value of which is transferred to the relevant municipality.

As stated on page 42 of this paper, approximately 1,000 inhabitants live in the municipality of Psáry who do not have a registered permanent residence here, and therefore are not included in the population count, resulting in a loss of funds for the municipal budget.

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[74] https://www.financnisprava.cz

During the interview, former mayor and since December 2022 deputy mayor Vácha explained how the budget is specifically created in the municipality of Psáry and who is involved in the process.

The accounting department of the municipal office, in cooperation with the property and investment management, begins by creating the budget, which includes mandatory expenses defined by the Municipalities Act No. 128/2000 (such as school operations, waste disposal, road maintenance, etc.) and other recurring expenses (such as subsidies to non-profit organizations in the community, expenses related to public transportation, etc.). Additionally, the preliminary approved investments, discussed by the board and the assembly throughout the year according to the strategic plan, which is based on the STAN electoral program, are included. The prepared budget is then handed over to the municipal board, which puts it into paragraph form, approves it, and posts it on the official bulletin board of the municipality.

This happens no later than 15 days before the last board meeting of the year, where the budget is approved by the board.

The mayor gave an example of an investment in road repairs, where project documentation needs to be created in the first year, and the project is implemented in the following year.

Table of municipal budgets in the period 2010 - 2023

Table 5 - Budget of Psáry

Budget of Psáry	
Year	Budget amount
2010	35 886 000 CZK
2011	42 630 500 CZK
2012	33 873 000 CZK
2013	41 318 900 CZK
2014	58 095 900 CZK
2015	59 573 912 CZK
2016	61 627 152 CZK
2017	83 390 912 CZK
2018 without EU grant	119 467 312 CZK
2019	414 698 580 CZK
2020	176 623 740 CZK
2021	135 286 950 CZK
2022	119 415 000 CZK
2023	98 171 800 CZK

Source: Self-prepared based on data accessible from https://psary.cz/rozpocet-obce

In the table we can observe an increasing tendency of the budget development until 2019, which corresponds with the increasing population in the municipality of Psáry.
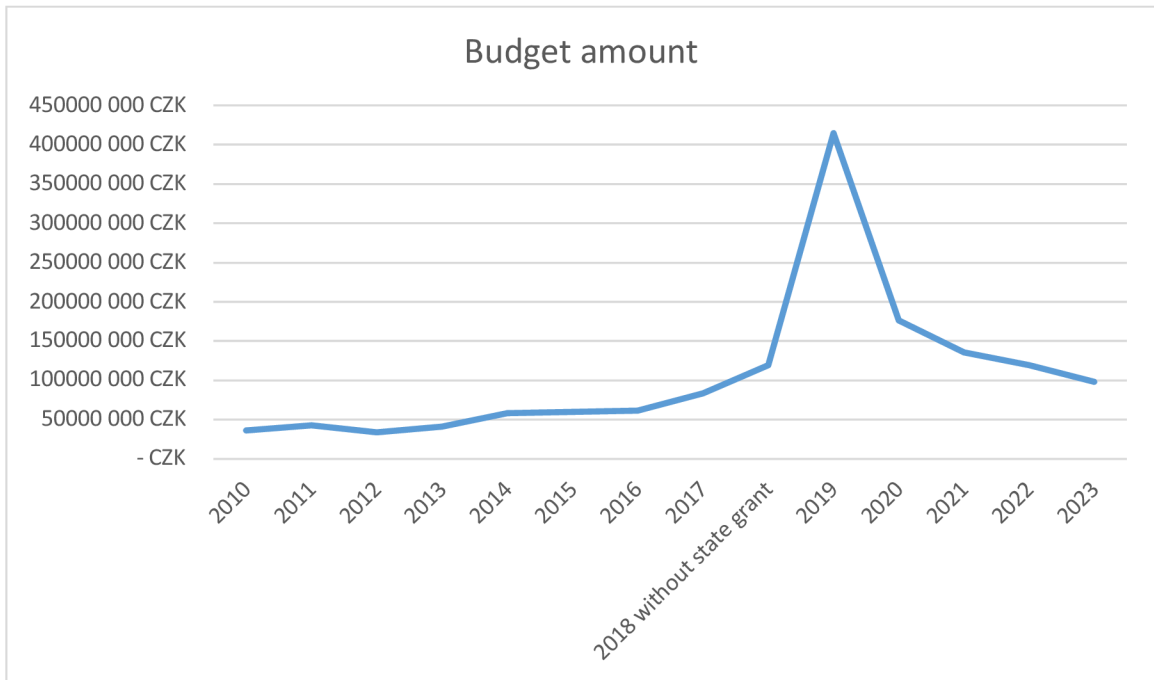
Graph 4 - Development of budget amount 2010 - 2023

Source: Self-prepared based on data accessible from https://psary.cz/rozpocet-obce

However, in 2019 there is more than a twofold increase. This is due to the construction of a new school, which was mostly paid for by a subsidy from the Ministry of Education in the amount of CZK 238 540 thousand, the State Environmental Fund in the amount of CZK 49 973 thousand, the Central Bohemian Region in the amount of CZK 10 000 thousand, the EU Integrated Regional Operational Programme in the amount of CZK 2 903 thousand, and the remaining CZK 110 000 thousand was provided by the municipality of Psáry from the surplus accumulated in previous years.[75] The costs for the construction of the school building mounted to CZK 323 144 thousand without 15% VAT .[76] The additional costs for interior equipment were almost CZK 39 987 thousand without 21% VAT.[77] That means that more than three-quarters of the budget were spent in connection with the construction of the school.[78]

When excluding non-recurring expenses such as expenses related to the construction of the school, the growing budget trend disappears in 2021. The years between 2021 and 2023

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[75] https://psary.cz
[76] https://psary.cz
[77] https://psary.cz
[78] https://psary.cz

show a decreasing budget amount. According to the former mayor, this reduction is attributed to several factors. He listed two main factors, with the first being the Covid-19 pandemic, which significantly impacted the economy not only in our country but worldwide. The second significant factor was the government's decision to abolish the so-called super gross wage. This change lowered the taxation of employees in their advantage. The elimination of this item resulted in a shortfall of approximately CZK 130,000,000 in state tax revenue. This led to a reduction in the tax income of the municipality of Psáry by approximately 30%. Given that the majority of municipal revenues come from taxes, combined with unexpected expenses, such as those associated with the pandemic, this could have significant long-term consequences. The former mayor expressed dissatisfaction with this government move not only in our interview but also in his two-page article in the Psáry Newsletter.[79]

An example of the municipality of Psáry and a comparison of its budgets in the years 2010 and 2018 (the final budget execution report for the municipality of Psáry for 2010 and 2018 is attached, ref. - official notice board of the municipality of Psáry). By comparing them, a similar structure and proportional amount of revenues and expenditures can be observed.

Regarding the topic of grants, the former mayor Vácha added that the administrative procedures required to obtain a grant are very time-consuming, and he mentioned that he had received 700 new emails related to grants in just the last week. As an example, he mentioned the grant application for the reconstruction of an old school building in Psáry, where a kindergarten is planned to be opened. Before submitting the grant application, it is necessary to have a complete project documentation, for which the municipality in this case spent over half a million Czech crowns from the municipal budget. The approval of the grant depended on the timing of the application, and the municipality submitted the application at the zero second, thus meeting the condition and being granted the grant. However, municipalities that submitted the application after the eighth second did not receive the grant. For example, the neighbouring town of Jesenice, which also had a project documentation for the reconstruction of a kindergarten, submitted its application only at the twenty-third second, and the investment in the project documentation was in vain. Due to the complexity and low chances of success in obtaining a grant, the former mayor considered whether he would even apply for another one in the future.

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[79] https://psary.cz

4.2 Analysis of Election Results

The municipality of Psáry belongs, in terms of size, to the category of smaller medium-sized municipalities defined by Jüptner. Jüptner characterized this category as municipalities in which up to ten political parties field their candidates. Political parties that operate at the municipal level can be divided into several types. The first type is established parties that operate at the national level. The second type is regional parties that operate at lower levels of the political system, and further divides them into universally municipal parties such as independent associations and locally municipal parties.

According to an interview with former Mayor Jana Valášková, who served as mayor from 2006 to 2010 and provided information about the functioning of the board from 1990 to 2010, it is possible to get a better understanding of the situation in the municipality during these years.

4.2.1 Elections 1990

The municipal assembly elections were held on November 24, 1990, with 15 members of municipal assembly elected for this term. One association of independent candidates and the Czechoslovak People's Party (Československá strana lidová) submitted candidate lists.

Voter turnout approached the 80% mark, specifically 77.42%. There were 859 registered voters, 665 envelopes were issued, and 665 were returned. A total of 6,310 valid votes were counted.[80]

4.2.1.1 Election results

In the 1990 elections, the association of independent candidates won with 95% of the vote and obtained fourteen mandates. The second place was taken by the Czechoslovak Democratic Party with a total of 5% of the vote and one mandate.

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[80] Source <volby.cz>

Table of results

Table 6 - Election results 1990

Name of political party	Votes in total	Votes in percentage
Czechoslovak Democratic Party	313	4,96%
Association of independent candidates	5 997	95,04%

Source: volby.cz

Composition of municipal assembly

Table 7 - Composition of municipal assembly 1990

Surname, name	Candidate list	Votes in total
Adámek František	SNK	316
Zela Josef	SNK	304
Adámek Jiří	SNK	296
Votoček František	SNK	292
Menda Jiří	SNK	282
Hubička Václav	SNK	270
Žižka Jan	SNK	265
Šimšík Jiří	SNK	265
Kříž Jiří	SNK	265
Budač Cyril Ing.	SNK	259
Skřivan Petr	SNK	246
Pavlíčková Jana	SNK	245
Krčmář Vladimír Ing.	SNK	235
Kylar Pavel	SNK	234
Adámková Eva	ČSL	188

Source: Self-prepared[81]

4.2.1.2 Options for minimal winning coalitions

As we can see in the table above, options for forming a minimal winning coalition are very limited, if not non-existent. A reasonable option and the most probable one here appears to be a single-party board.

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[81] www.psary.cz

4.2.1.3 Actually created coalition

The post-election negotiations were not long and on December 3, 1990, at the constituent meeting, the election of the mayor, deputy mayor, and members of the board took place. Josef Zela was elected mayor with 8 votes, and František Votoček was elected deputy mayor with the same number of votes. Jiří Menda, Jana Pavlíčková, and Jiří Kříž were also elected to the municipal board.

4.2.2 Election 1994

Compared to the previous election period, two changes occurred. The first was quite significant, and that was the division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The second change was a reduction in the number of municipal assembly members from 15 to 11.

In this election period, only one association of independent candidates submitted a candidate list, which was composed of members of municipal assembly from the previous period.[82]
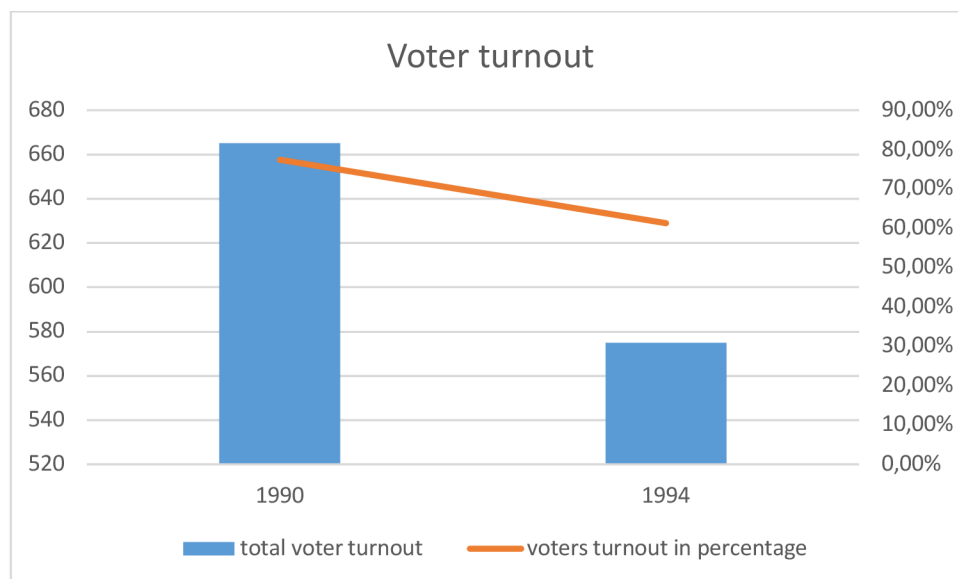
Graph 5 - Voter turnout Graph 1990-1994

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

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[82] Source <volby.cz>

As we can see from the graph, the voter turnout was lower than in the previous period at 61.3%. There were 938 registered voters, 575 envelopes were issued, and the same number was returned. A total of 4,708 valid votes were counted. The lower voter turnout is explained by the fact that there was only one candidate list, meaning that voters had only one option to vote for. In such a situation, it is understandable that this did not motivate voters to attend the polling station.

4.2.2.1 Election results 1994

All 11 board seats were filled by the association of independent candidates.

Composition of municipal assembly

Table 8 - Composition of municipal assembly 1994

Surname, name	Candidate list	Votes in total
Zela Josef	SNK	490
Votoček František	SNK	437
Kříž Jiří	SNK	403
Menda Jiří	SNK	414
Jusko Štěpán	SNK	418
Kylar Pavel	SNK	417
Adámek František	SNK	459
Pavlíčková Jana	SNK	423
Adámek Jiří	SNK	423
Veselý Vladimír	SNK	412
Dvořák Ivo	SNK	412

Source: volby.cz

4.2.2.2 Options for minimal winning coalitions

Due to the reduction in the number of member of board below the limit of 15 member of board, no municipal board was elected, and therefore no coalition was formed.

Josef Zela was elected mayor for the second time, and František Votoček was elected deputy mayor.

Table 9 - Candidates movement 1990 - 1994

1990

voters = 859
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 2{,}0$

1994

voters = 938
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 1{,}0$

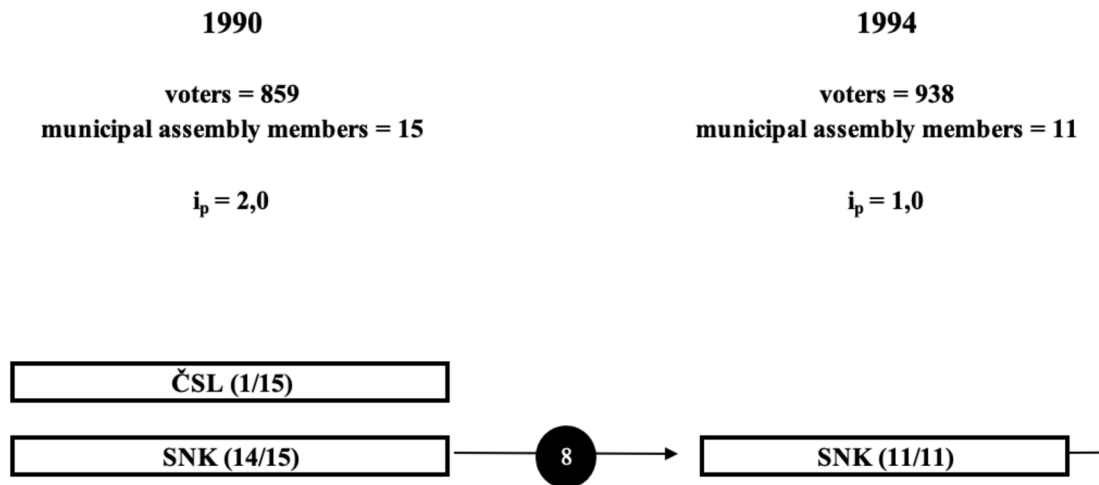| ČSL (1/15) |
| SNK (14/15) | → 8 → | SNK (11/11) |

Table shows movement of individual candidate between election period, from the above we can see that 8 of the initial (SNK) association of independents went to the new association of independents.

4.2.3 Election 1998

Elections to municipal boards were held on November 13-14, 1998, and again 11 member of board were elected for this term. There were 1,073 registered voters, 528 envelopes were issued, and 526 were returned, with 4,631 valid votes counted. Voter turnout decreased again, dropping below the 50% threshold to 49.21%.
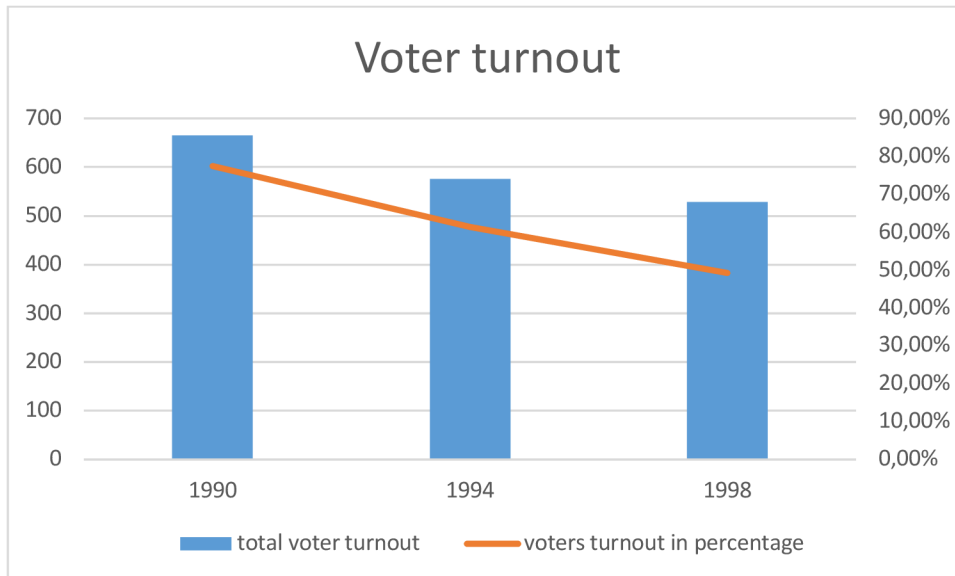
Graph 6 - Voter turnout 1990 - 1998

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

In this election, two groups submitted their candidate lists. The first was an association of independent candidates and the second was the newly formed Czech Social Democratic Party.

4.2.3.1 Election results 1998

The winner of the election was again the Association of Independent Candidates with 88.4% of the votes and 10 seats. One seat went to the Czech Social Democratic Party, which received 11.6% of the votes.

Composition of municipal assembly 1998

Table 10 - Composition of municipal assembly 1998

Surname, name	Candidate list	Votes in total
Zela Josef	SNK	377
Vacková Irena, PaeDr.	SNK	374
Tesař Jiří, Ing.	SNK	412
Harenčáková Hana	SNK	374
Kordík Stanislav	SNK	330
Moravec Josef	SNK	365
Adámek Jiří	SNK	406
Mlejnek Petr	SNK	364
Jusko Štěpán	SNK	328
Kylar Pavel	SNK	404
Baxa Karel	SNK	139

There was no coalition negotiation again as no board can be formed in a board of this size. Josef Zela became the mayor. As deputy mayor Ing. Jiří Tesař was elected.

Table 11 - Candidates movement 1994 – 1998

1994

voters = 938
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 1,0$

1998

voters = 1 073
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 1,5$

ČSSD (1/11)
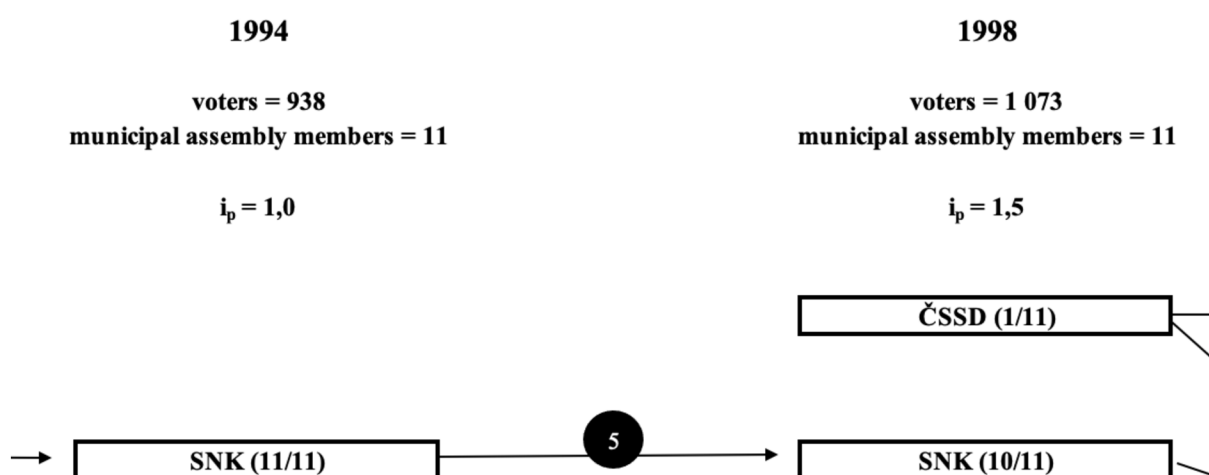
SNK (11/11) → 5 → SNK (10/11)

Table above shows the movement of candidates between candidates list between the years 1994 – 1998. We can see 5 candidates that continued within the same association of

60

independents. This is further more exeminated in the subchapter 4.2.12 Analysis of the continuity of candidacies.

4.2.4 Elections 2002

The elections to municipal boards took place on 1.11.-2.11.2002, and 11 member of board were elected for this term. Three associations of independent candidates and the Czech Social Democratic Party submitted candidate lists. Voter turnout was close to the 70% threshold, specifically 68.02%. There were 1473 registered voters, 1002 envelopes were issued, and 1000 were returned. There were 10,562 valid votes counted.
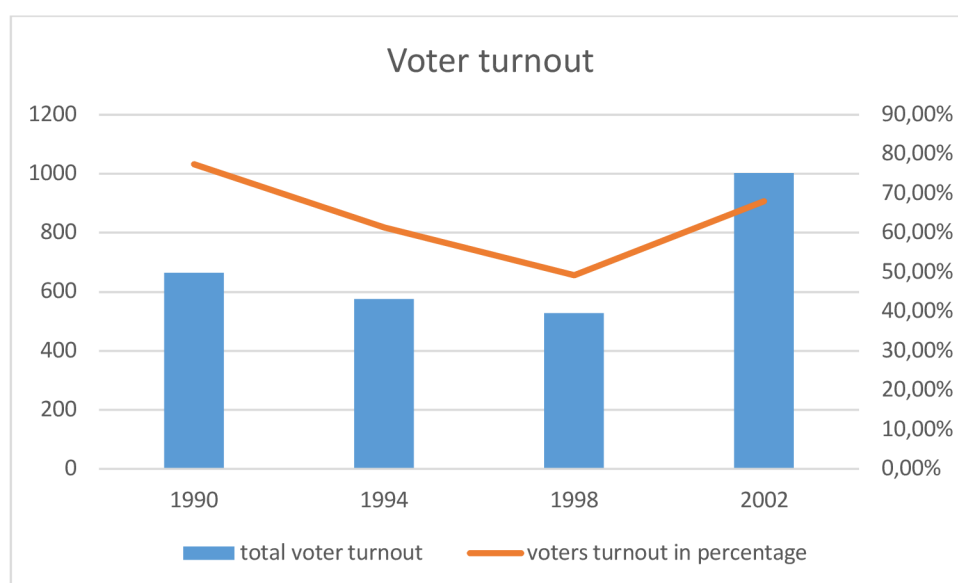
Graph 7 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2002

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

4.2.4.1 Election results

In the 2002 elections, the association of independent candidates "Čistá obec" won with 39.37% of the votes and obtained five seats, second place with a loss of just under 10% was SNK - Psáry, Dolní Jirčany with three seats. The third, the Ecological Association of Citizens of Psáry, also obtained 3 seats. The national ČSSD party did not win any seats and did not even fill their candidate list, of the 11 possible candidates, only 8 seats were occupied.[83]

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[83] Source <volby.cz>

Table 12 - Election results 2002

Name of political party or association	Votes in total	Votes in percentage
SNK - Čistá obec	4158	39,37%
SNK - Psáry, Dolní Jirčany	3166	29,98%
Ekol.sdruž.občanů obce Psáry	2867	27,14%
Česká str.sociálně demokrat.	371	3,51%

Source: self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

During this election period, the municipality did not have a board, so no coalition was formed. Jakub Krejčí was elected mayor by the assembly, and the post of deputy mayor went to Vladimír Kadeřábek. The composition of the board looked as follows after the election.

Composition of municipal assembly 2002

Table 13 - Composition of municipal assembly 2002

Surname, name	Candidate list	Votes in total
Janata Jiří	SNK - Čistá obec	489
Vrba Jan	SNK - Čistá obec	446
Balouš Zdeněk	SNK - Čistá obec	422
Krejčí Jakub	SNK - Čistá obec	404
Zvolský Karel	SNK - Čistá obec	388
Kadeřábek Vladimír	Ekol.sdruž.občanů obce Psáry	357
Podlaha Josef	Ekol.sdruž.občanů obce Psáry	357
Tesař Jiří	SNK - Psáry, Dolní Jirčany	329
Adámek Jiří	SNK - Psáry, Dolní Jirčany	328
Novák Václav	SNK - Psáry, Dolní Jirčany	323
Taláb Bedřich	Ekol. sdruž. Občanů obce Psáry	277

Source: self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

In mid-2003, there were two personnel changes: Valášková replaced Balouš in the board, and the second change was the replacement of the mayor, with Janata replacing Krejčí.
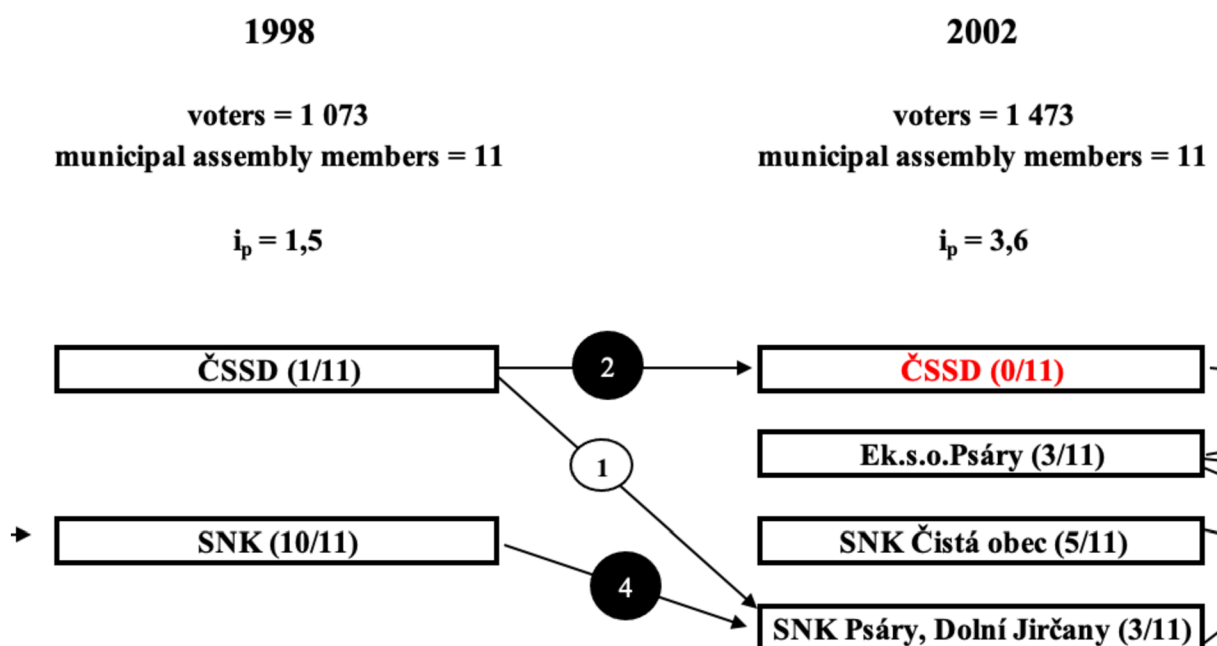
1998

voters = 1 073
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 1{,}5$

2002

voters = 1 473
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 3{,}6$

ČSSD (1/11)	→ 2 →	ČSSD (0/11)
SNK (10/11)		Ek.s.o.Psáry (3/11)
		SNK Čistá obec (5/11)
		SNK Psáry, Dolní Jirčany (3/11)

Table 14 - Candidates movement 1998 – 2002

The table above shows the movement of candidates between candidate lists between the election period 1998 – 2002. The movements within candidate lists are not as important as the movement between the lists. In this case it was Jan Rubáš, who did not agree with the direction of the political party ČSSD on the national level.

4.2.5   Elections 2006

The municipal elections took place on October 20-21, 2006. Voter turnout was at the level of 56.70%. There were 1,933 voters on the list. 1,096 envelopes were issued, and 1,095 envelopes were delivered. Fifteen members of board were elected. Valid votes were counted at 15,794. Two political parties and one association of independent candidates submitted candidate lists, all of which had the same number of candidates - fifteen.
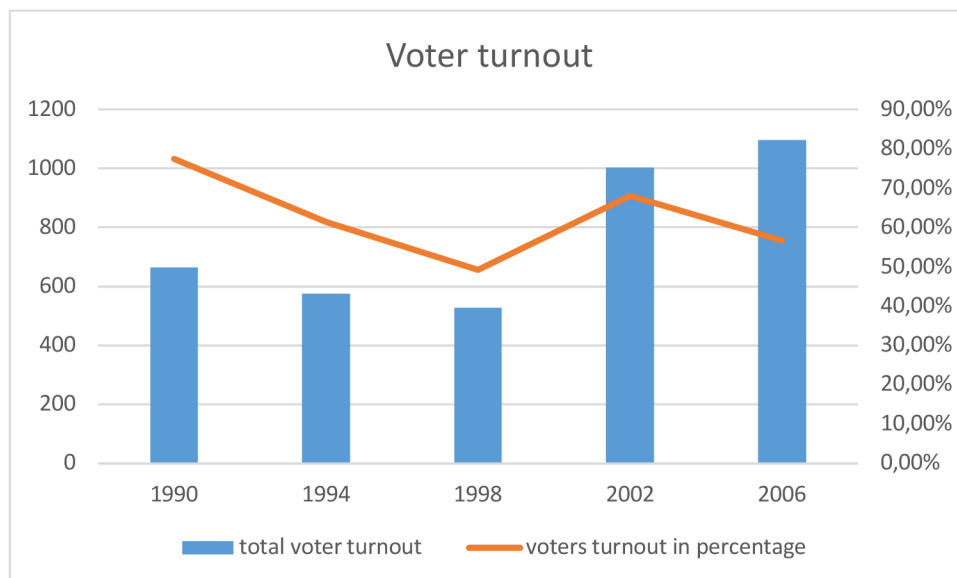
Graph 8 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2006

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

4.2.5.1 Election Results

The independent candidate association "Obec pro občany" won the most votes in these elections, with 7,099 votes, which is almost half of all valid votes, exactly 44.95%. The second place was taken by the Civic Democratic Party with 33.61%, followed by the Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party with 21.44%.

When converted to seats, the results were as follows. SNK Obec pro občany won 7 seats, the Civic Democratic Party won 5 seats, and KDU-ČSL won 3 seats.[84]

Table 15 - Election results 2006

Name of political party or association	Votes in total	Votes in percentage
SNK "OBEC PRO OBČANY"	7 099	44,95%
Civic Democratic Party	5 308	33,61%
Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party	3 387	21,44%

4.2.5.2 Options for minimal winning coalitions

With these election results, there are three options for creating minimal winning coalitions.

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[84] Source <volby.cz>

The first option is a coalition between the independent association "OBEC PRO OBČANY" and the Civic Democratic Party, together they would get a majority of 12 out of 15 possible votes.

The second option for a minimal winning coalition is a combination of the independent association "OBEC PRO OBČANY" and the Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party. Such a combination would provide a majority of ten votes, which is not as significant as the first option.
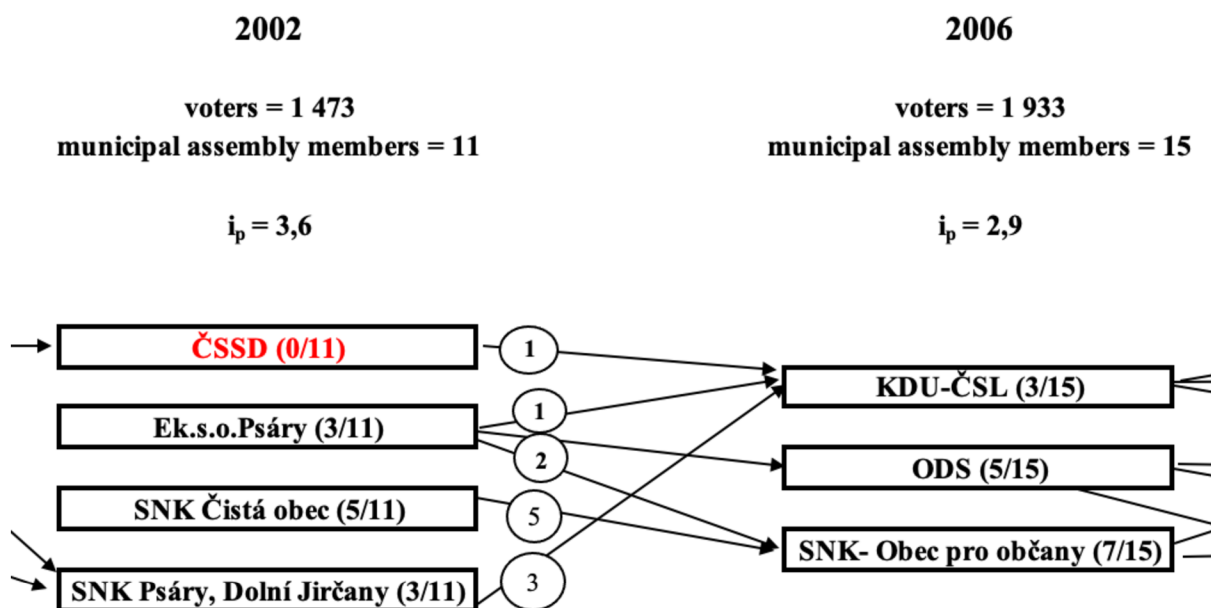
The third option was a combination of the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party. This option would only just meet the requirement for a majority, with eight votes.

The composition of the municipal assembly in 2006 was as follows.

Table 16 - Composition of municipal assembly 2006

Name, Surname	Candidate list	Votes in total
Jiří Janata	Association of independents	578
Jana Valášková	Association of independents	554
Josef Podlaha	Association of independents	541
Monika Kriegsmanová	Association of independents	525
Jan Vrba	Association of independents	525
Jan Šimeček	Association of independents	483
Bedřich Taláb	Association of independents	460
Lucie Kubalošová	ODS	447
Petr Odstrčil	ODS	443
Josef Žižka	ODS	412
Štěpánka Nezmarová	ODS	401
Milan Vácha	ODS	363
Vladimír Kadeřábek	KDU-ČSL	307
Pavel Otruba	KDU-ČSL	273
Václav Novák	KDU-ČSL	267

Table 17 - Candidates movement 2002 – 2006

2002

voters = 1 473
municipal assembly members = 11

$i_p = 3,6$

2006

voters = 1 933
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 2,9$

ČSSD (0/11) — 1

Ek.s.o.Psáry (3/11) — 1
— 2

SNK Čistá obec (5/11) — 5

SNK Psáry, Dolní Jirčany (3/11) — 3

KDU-ČSL (3/15)

ODS (5/15)

SNK- Obec pro občany (7/15)

The table displays the movement of candidates between the candidate lists of individual political parties or associations, which is further discussed in subsection 4.2.12 Analysis of Continuity of Candidacies.

4.2.5.3 Actually created coalitions

After the elections, a coalition was formed between the Independents and the Civic Democratic Party. According to Balík's classification, we can speak of a minimal winning ideologically interconnected coalition, given that this association of independent candidates was right-leaning, as confirmed by the mayor in an interview. According to Mayor Valášková, it was a competitive system. The composition of the board changed during the period, but the post of mayor, deputy mayor, and deputy mayor did not change. The final composition of the board was as follows: Jana Valášková - mayor, Ing. Jiří Janata - deputy mayor, Lucie Kubalošová - deputy mayor, Václav Novák - board member, Josef Žižka - board member.

4.2.6   Elections 2010

The municipal elections in 2010 were held on October 15 and 16. The voter turnout was higher than in previous elections, with 1,435 voters, which is undoubtedly due to the fact that the municipality of Psáry had 822 fewer inhabitants in the previous elections. In percentage comparison, the voter turnout was higher, reaching 60.95%, which is almost 5% higher than in the previous elections. The comparison is shown in the following graph.[85]
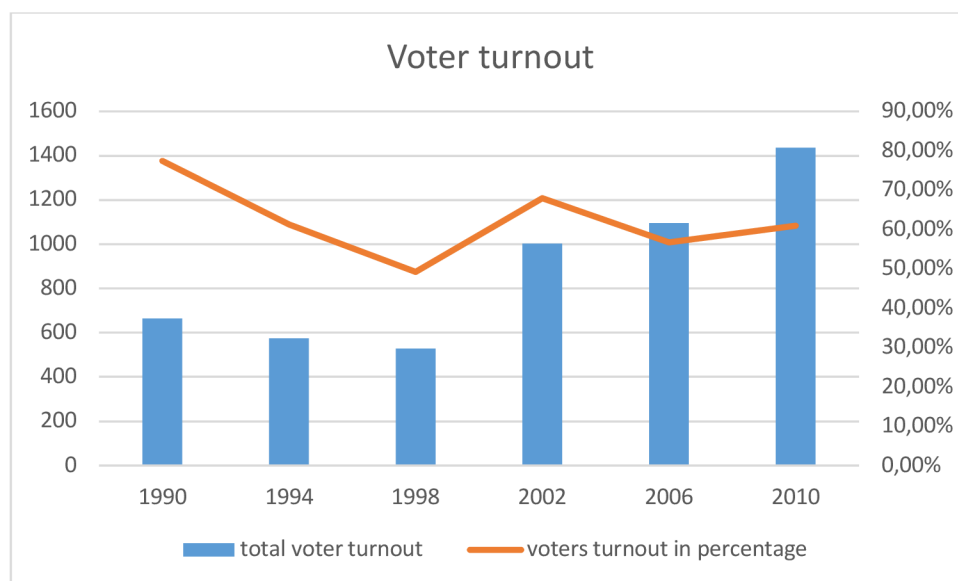
Graph 9 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2010

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

Again, a fifteen-member assembly was elected. There were 2,379 voters on the list. 1,450 envelopes were issued, and 1,435 envelopes were returned, with 19,838 valid votes counted. Six parties and associations presented their candidate lists, twice as many as in the previous elections. Five of them had fifteen candidates, while one party proposed only two candidates.

4.2.6.1 Election results

The political group "Obec pro změnu" (Community for Change) performed the best in the municipal assembly elections in Psáry, winning 5,635 votes and 28.4%. The Civic Democratic Party with the support of independent candidates came in second with 4,380 votes

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[85] Source <volby.cz>

and 22.07%. The third place was narrowly won by the political party TOP 09, which received 4,298 votes and 21.66%. The "Občané" (Citizens) party came in fourth with 2,696 votes, corresponding to 13.59%. "Obec pro občany" (Community for Citizens) received 2,637 votes and barely secured fifth place with 13.59%. The last party to run was the established Czech Social Democratic Party, which did not fill its candidate list and had only two candidates. Nonetheless, it received seats in the board through a vote calculation based on the number of candidates. It received slightly over 7% in recalculated votes, precisely 7.25%.

"Obec pro změnu" gained 5 mandates, while TOP 09 and ODS with the support of independent candidates received three mandates each, and "Občané" and "Obec pro občany" each received two mandates. In these elections, the Czech Social Democratic Party did not gain any mandate.

Table 18 - Election results 2010

Name of political party or association	Number of votes in total	Number of votes in percentage	Number of candidates	Recalculated base according to the number of candidates.	Recalculated % of valid votes
OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	5635	28,41	15	19838	28,4
ODS with support of Independents	4380	22,08	15	19838	22,07
TOP 09	4298	21,67	15	19838	21,66
"Občané"	2696	13,59	15	19838	13,59
"Obec pro občany"	2637	13,29	15	19838	13,29
ČSSD	192	0,97	2	2645,06	7,25

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

4.2.6.2 Option for minimal winning coalitions

From these election results, it was possible to form a total of five minimal winning coalitions.

The first such coalition could be a combination of Obec pro změnu and TOP 09, which would get a total of 8 out of 15 possible votes, which is sufficient.

The second option again includes Obec pro změnu, but this time it would join forces with ODS with the support of independent candidates and again would reach 8 votes.

The third possibility is a coalition of Obec pro změnu, Občané and obec pro občany. This coalition would reach a majority with 9 votes.

The fourth option would be a combination of TOP 09, ODS with support of independent candidates and Občané, which would reach 8 votes.
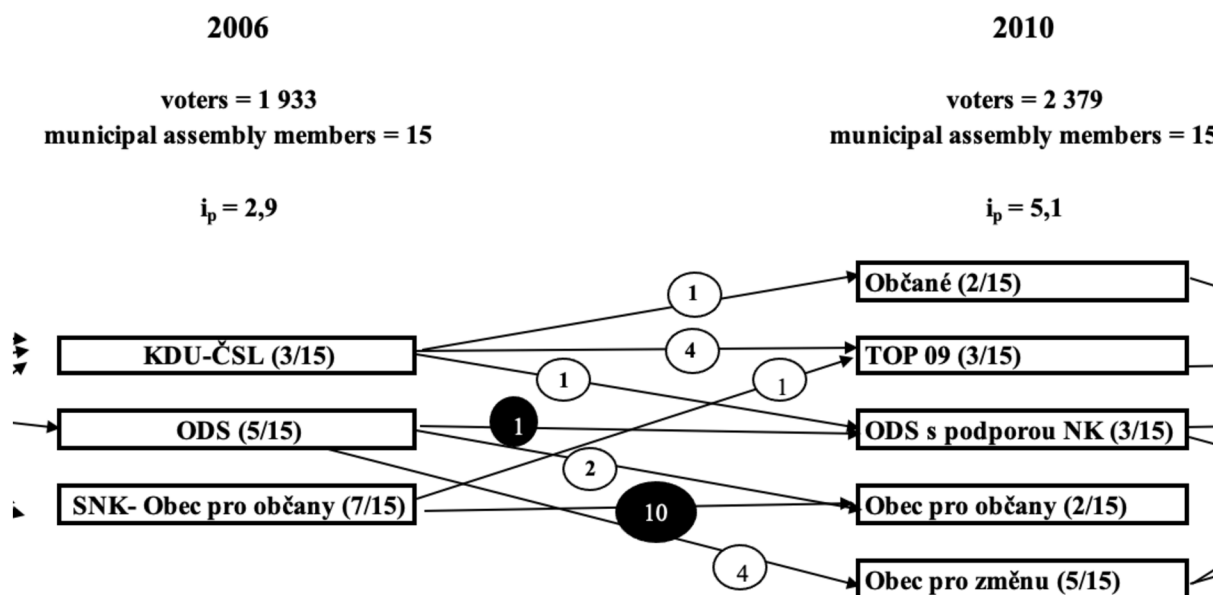
The fifth option would be a combination of TOP 09, ODS with support of independent candidates and Obec pro občany, which would again reach 8 votes.

The composition of the municipal assembly in 2010 was as follows.

Table 19 - Composition of municipal assembly 2010

Name, Surname	Candidate list	Votes in total
Vácha Milan	OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	453
Málková Vlasta	OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	388
Petz Michal Bc.	OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	388
Jaško Petr Ing.	OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	410
Rak Antonín Ing.	OBEC PRO ZMĚNU	390
Adámek Jakub	Občané	286
Komárková Naděžda	Občané	223
Otruba Pavel	TOP 09	419
Valášková Jana	TOP 09	412
Kuka Pavel	TOP 09	412
Podlaha Josef JUDr.	Obec pro občany	275
Kubalošová Lucie	Obec pro občany	269
Kramosilová Olga	ODS with support of Independents	348
Nezmarová Štěpánka Ing. MBA	ODS with support of Independents	337
Nezmar Luděk Bc., Bc. MBA	ODS with support of Independents	300

Table 20 - Candidates movement 2006 - 2010

2006

voters = 1 933
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 2,9$

2010

voters = 2 379
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 5,1$

KDU-ČSL (3/15)

ODS (5/15)

SNK- Obec pro občany (7/15)

Občané (2/15)

TOP 09 (3/15)

ODS s podporou NK (3/15)

Obec pro občany (2/15)

Obec pro změnu (5/15)

The table shows the transfer of candidates between the candidate lists of individual political parties or associations, which is discussed in more detail in subsection 4.2.12 Analysis of Continuity of Candidacies.

Looking at the composition of the new board, it is immediately apparent that there are names repeated from the previous board. There are a total of 6 board members who fall into this category, but what is noteworthy is that most of them have switched parties since their last candidacy. Milan Vácha, who ran for ODS in 2006, ran under the independent association Obec pro změnu this time around. Another example is Pavel Otruba, who ran for KDU-ČSL in the previous term and for TOP 09 this time. Jana Valášková also ran for TOP 09 this time but ran under an independent association in the previous term. Lucie Kubalošová ran for ODS in the previous term, but her name appeared on the candidate list for the independent association Obec pro občany this time around.

Former board member Václav Novák commented on the party-switching of the candidates. In an interview with Psáry Newsletter (Psárský Zpravodaj), he stated that he changed parties because of the party leadership. He disagreed with the politics of Jiří Čunek, who led KDU-ČSL at the time and he described it as the politics of the Communist Party and Social Democrats. Another factor for his decision was the scandals surrounding Jiří Čunek.

After Čunek was replaced by Cyril Svoboda, who was unremarkable and did not favour other party opinions, Václav Novák made the final decision to become one of the founding members of the TOP 09 party in Psáry.

On February 29, 2012, an extraordinary meeting of the board was held, where personnel changes were made to the board and the audit committee. Š. Nezmarová resigned from the position of chairperson of the audit committee, and Lucie Kubalošová was elected to replace her. Nezmar was removed from the position of deputy mayor, and his post was abolished. Petr Jaško (Change for the Municipality) was elected to the vacant position on the board. The new coalition was thus composed of Mayor Milan Vácha (Change for the Municipality), Deputy Mayor Vlasta Málková (Change for the Municipality), Michal Petz (Change for the Municipality), Petr Jaško (Change for the Municipality), and Olga Kramosilová (ODS with the support of NK).

4.2.7 Elections 2014

The municipal board elections of 2014 took place on October 10th and 11th. The number of board members remained unchanged, with 15 members being elected. Voter turnout decreased by just over 10% compared to the previous election, with turnout at 50.70%.[86]

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[86] Source <volby.cz>
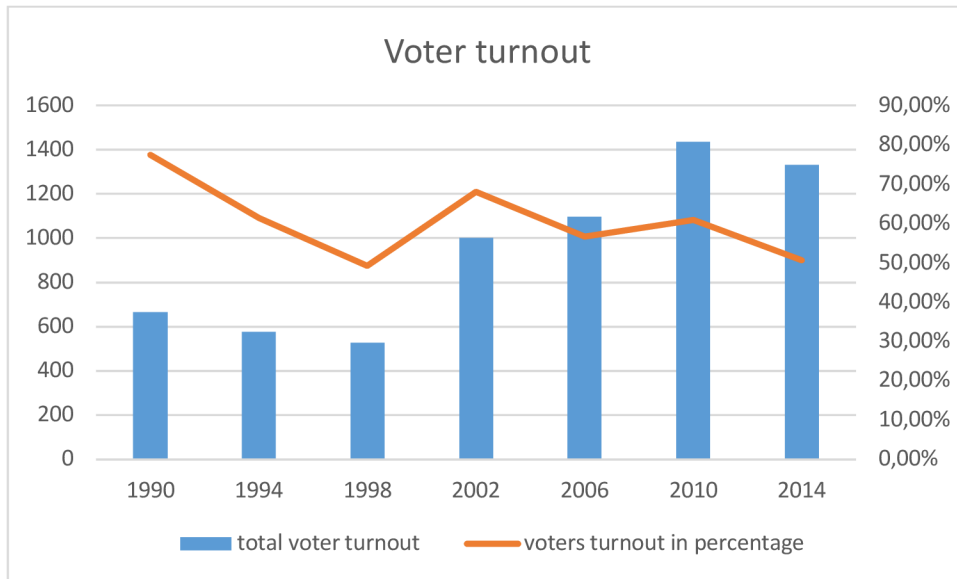
Graph 10 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2014

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

A total of 1,332 envelopes were issued and the same number were returned. The number of voters on the list was 2,627, and there were 17,448 valid votes. The number of parties running was reduced by half, with only three parties running. TOP 09 was the only party to reappear in these elections, and the association "Mayors and Independents" (Mayors and Independents) appeared for the first time, with many names from the association of independenst "Obec pro změnu" (Community for Change) from the previous election. The third party to submit a candidate list was the movement "Restart 2014", which mainly ran in Prague and was founded by former ODS deputy Nezmar. All three "parties" had the same number of candidates on their lists, namely 15.

4.2.7.1 Election Results

Table 21 - Election results 2014

Name of political party or association	Number of votes in total	Recalculated base according to the number of candidates.	Number of candidates
Mayors and Independents	11 825	67,77	15
TOP 09	4 087	23,42	15
Restart 2014	1 536	8,8	15

The "Mayors and Independents" association won first place with 11,825 votes. TOP 09 came in second with 4,087 votes, and "Restart 2014" came in third with 1,536 votes. The percentages were as follows: "Mayors and Independents" 67.77%, TOP 09 23.42%, and "Restart 2014" 8.80%.

The "Mayors and Independents" association won the most seats, with 11 out of 15, which is a majority. TOP 09 won 3 seats and "Restart 2014" won one.

Table 22 - Composition of municipal assembly 2014

Surname, Name	Candidate list	Votes in totoal
Vácha Milan	STAN	875
Málková Vlasta	STAN	851
Kramosilová Olga	STAN	797
Běťáková Martina Mgr.	STAN	820
Olmr Vít	STAN	791
Šmerglová Martina	STAN	819
Jaško Petr Ing.	STAN	793
Rak Antonín Ing.	STAN	807
Burián Miloslav Bc.	STAN	818
Štípek Roman Ing.	STAN	748
Čihák Jan Ing.	STAN	761
Kuka Pavel	TOP 09	48
Adámek Jakub Mgr.	TOP 09	348
Otruba Pavel	TOP 09	335
Kadeřábek Vladimír	Restart 2014	141

Source: volby.cz

Table 23 - Candidates movement 2010 - 2014

2010

voters = 2 379
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 5,1$

Občané (2/15)

TOP 09 (3/15)

ODS s podporou NK (3/15)

Obec pro občany (2/15)

Obec pro změnu (5/15)

4

6

3

1

8

1

2014

voters = 2 627
municipal assembly member

$i_p = 3,0$

TOP 09 (3/15)

STAN (11/15)

Restart 2014 (1/15)
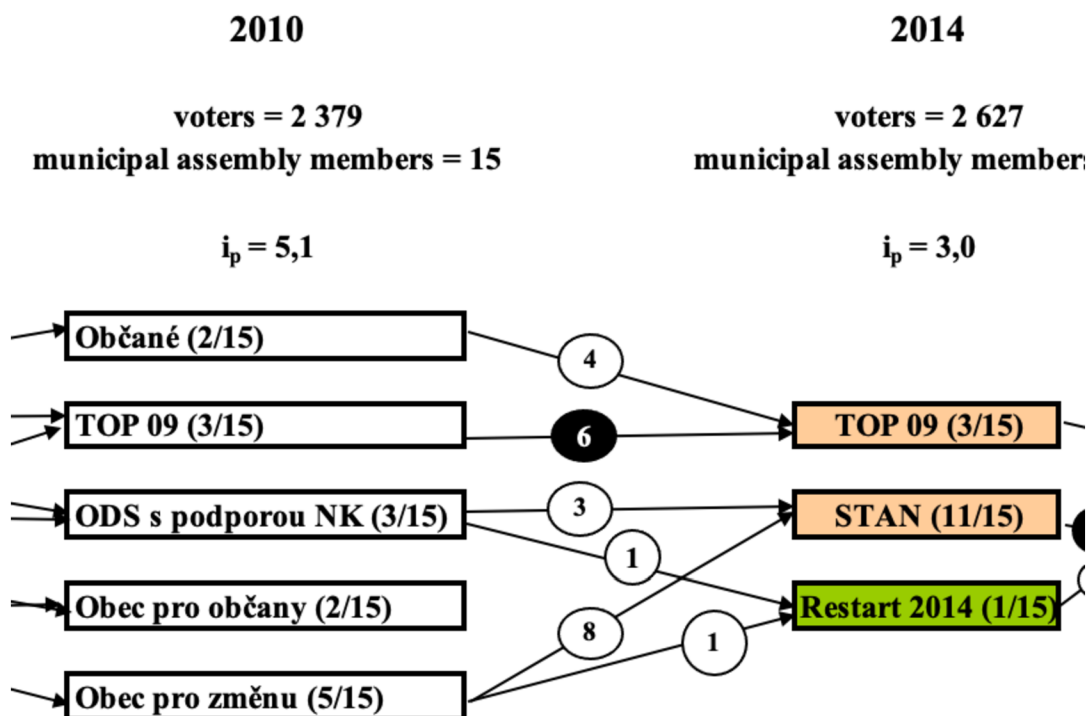
The table shows the movement of candidates between the candidate lists of various political parties or associations, which is further discussed in subchapter 4.2.12 Analysis of candidacy continuity.

4.2.7.2 Possibilities of minimal winning coalitions

Given the election results, there are no possible minimal winning coalitions, as the Mayors and Independents gained a majority of votes and mandates. Due to such dominance, no coalition can be formed without the involvement of the Mayors and Independents. TOP 09 with the Restart 2014 movement and their four mandates cannot compete against the winning party.

4.2.7.3 Actually formed coalitions

After the 2014 elections, no coalition was formed, and the Mayors and Independents with 11 mandates easily took over the entire municipal board. This is an example of a single-coloured board, as noted in Balík's study. The board members were Milan Vácha (STAN),

Vlasta Málková (STAN), Olga Kramosilová (STAN), Martina Běťáková (STAN), and Vít Olmr (STAN), who are the first five on the Mayors and Independents' candidate list.

4.2.8   2018 Elections

The municipal board elections were held on October 5th and 6th, 2018. Voter turnout in Psáry decreased compared to the previous period. The voter turnout was below 50%, precisely 47.97%. There were 2,829 voters on the list, about 200 more than in the previous election, which can be attributed to the fact that the municipality of Psáry belongs to an area with a strongly progressive character of growth. 1,357 envelopes were issued, and the same number was returned.[87]
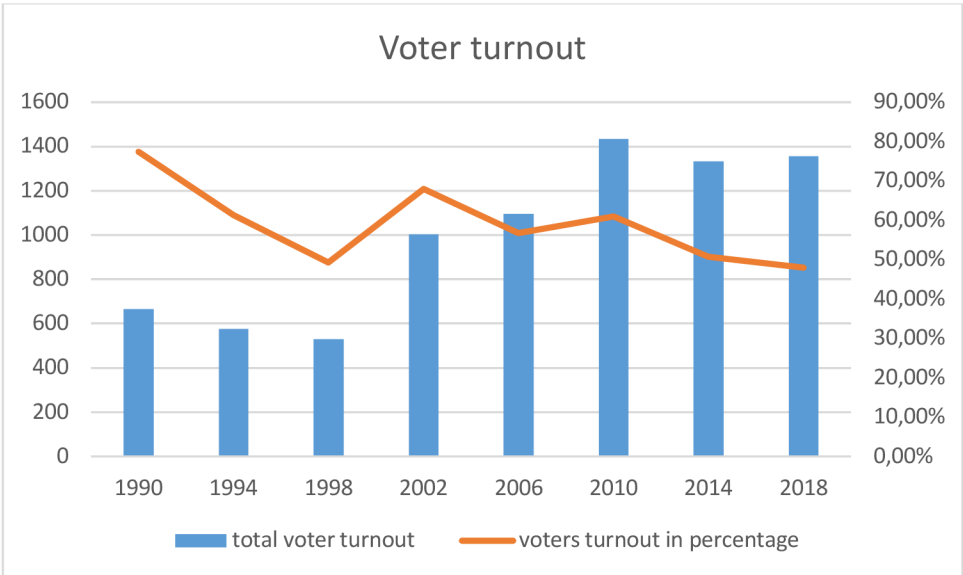
Graph 11 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2018

Source: Self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

The valid votes were calculated at 18,406, which is just under a hundred more than in the previous elections. In these elections, the coalition of Mayors and Independents, together with the Civic Democratic Party, ran for office, and again we can see a decrease compared to the previous elections, when one more coalition participated. Both lists of candidates in these elections consisted of fifteen candidates.

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[87] Source <volby.cz>

4.2.8.1 Election results

The Mayors and Independents coalition won with a large margin by obtaining 14,315 votes, which is 77.77% of all votes. The Civic Democratic Party received "only" 4,091 votes, which in percentage terms is 22.23% of the votes.

Compared to the previous election period, there was no movement of candidates between the various candidate lists.

Table of election results 2018

Table 24 - Election results 2018

Name of political party or association	Number of votes in	Number of votes in percentage	Number of candidates
Mayors and Independents – Mayors and Independents	14 315	77,77	15
Civic Democratic Party - Občanská demokratická strana	4 091	22,23	15

Source: volby.cz

Composition of municipal assembly 2018

Table 25 - Composition of municipal assembly 2018

Surname, Name	Candidate list	Votes in totoal
Vácha Milan Bc.	STAN	989
Málková Vlasta	STAN	988
Kramosilová Olga	STAN	929
Běťáková Martina Mgr.	STAN	952
Olmr Vít	STAN	950
Šmerglová Martina	STAN	995
Rak Antonín Ing.	STAN	960
Burián Miloslav Bc.	STAN	991
Čihák Jan Ing.	STAN	929
Pecháček Tomáš	STAN	925
Svobodová Jitka Ing.	STAN	954
Kučera Jiří Ing.	STAN	949
Skřivan Petr	ODS	310
Tačner Daniel	ODS	306
Honek Jan	ODS	304

Source: volby.cz

Table 26 - Candidates movement 2014-2018

2014

voters = 2 627
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 3,0$

2018

voters = 2 829
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 2,0$
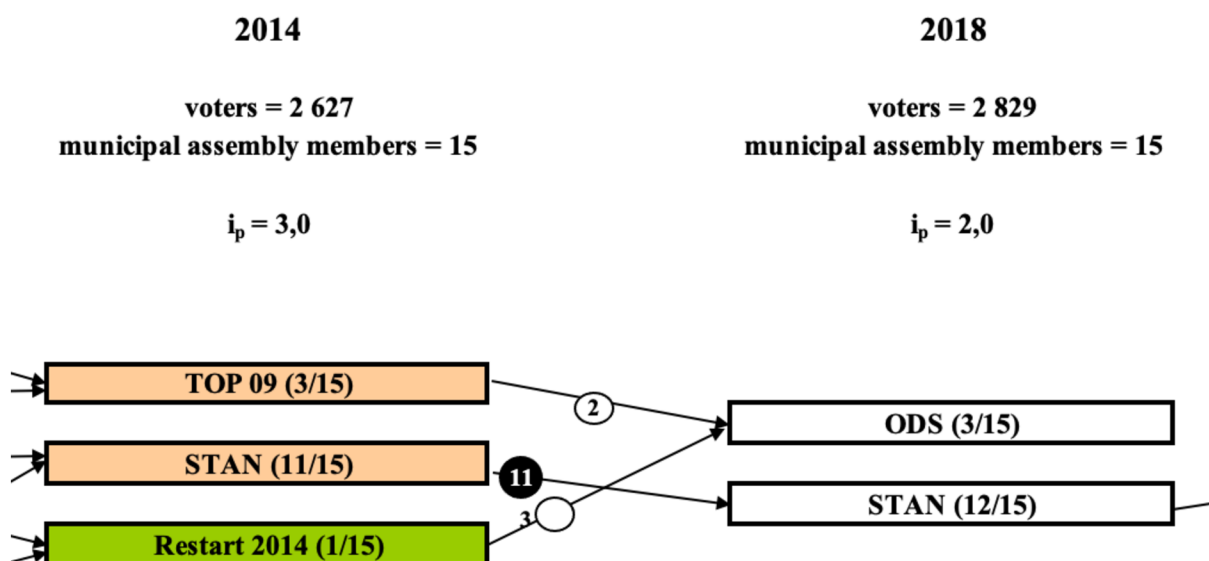
The table shows the movement of candidates between the electoral lists of various political parties or associations, which is discussed in detail in subsection 4.2.12 Analysis of candidacy continuity.

4.2.8.2 Possibilities of minimal winning coalitions

With such a result, it is clear at first glance that no minimum winning coalition can be created here. It can only be formed by the independent association of Mayors and Independents, who won 12 mandates. The Civic Democratic Party with three mandates cannot pose any threat to the Mayors and Independents.

4.2.8.3 Actual coalition created

As in the previous period, in this period, the possibility of a single-color board defined by Balík logically arises again. Mayors and Independents (Mayors and Independents/STAN) again gained a majority of seats in the board. The composition of the board has not even changed compared to the previous elections. The board of the municipality of Psáry is therefore composed as follows: Milan Vácha (STAN) holds the position of the vacated mayor, Vlasta Málková (STAN) is the vacated deputy mayor, Olga Kramosilová (STAN) occupies the position of non-vacated member of municipal board, Martina Běťáková (STAN) became

the non-vacated deputy mayor, and Vít Olmr (STAN) was a non-vacated member of municipal board.

4.2.9 Elections 2022

The municipal board elections in Psáry were held on 23rd and 24th of September 2022. Compared to previous election the voter turnout significantly decreased almost two times. The voter turnout was less than 25%, 24,19% to be precise. The total number of voters attacked the threshold of 3 000 people, or 2 993 voters were registered in the voters' list. This number is higher than in the previous period which underlines that the municipality of Psáry belongs to the suburban are of Prague. There were 724 issued envelopes and 724 returned envelopes.
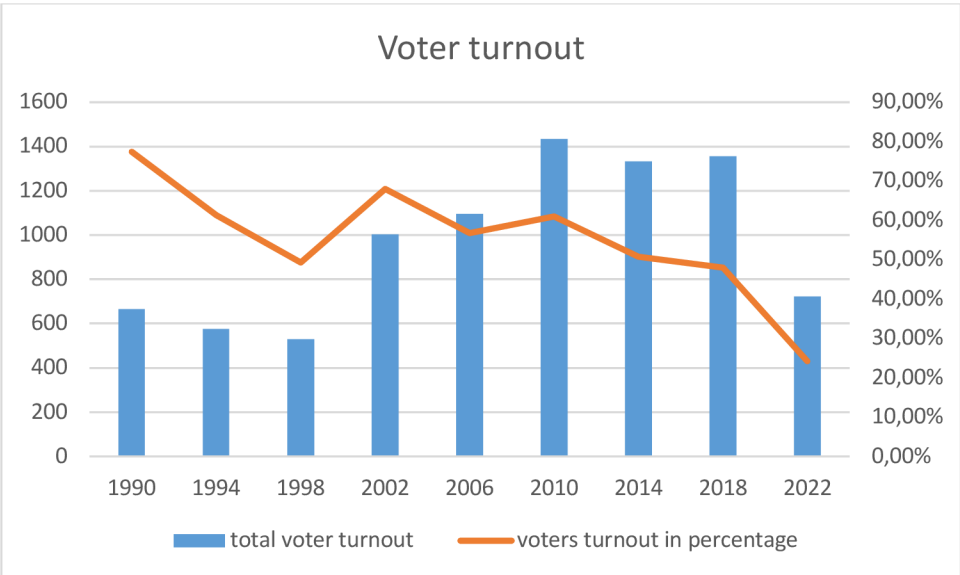
Graph 12 - Voter turnout 1990 - 2022

5 343 valid votes were counted, which is slightly more than 13 000 votes less than in the previous election. The explanation for this decline is easy, there was only one candidate list with 15 candidates. Therefore, it is logical to assume that voters did not consider participation in this election as important when there was nothing to be changed about the result whether they participate or not.

4.2.9.1 Election results

As it was mentioned earlier in the previous article, there was only one candidate list in these elections. Surprisingly, it was the Mayors and Independents who dominated this election with 100% of the vote, with no opposing candidate in doubt. The composition of municipal assembly was as shown in the following table.

Table 27 - Composition of municipal assembly 2022

Surname, Name	Candidate list	Votes in total
Vácha Milan Mgr.	STAN	367
Málková Vlasta	STAN	453
Kramosilová Olga	STAN	343
Běťáková Martina Mgr.	STAN	322
Olmr Vít	STAN	321
Šmergl Filip	STAN	366
Rak Antonín Ing.	STAN	344
Burián Miloslav Bc.	STAN	394
Vinecký Milan	STAN	371
Pecháček Tomáš	STAN	359
Svobodová Jitka Ing.	STAN	345
Kučera Jiří Mgr.	STAN	341
Sokol Jaroslav MUDr.	STAN	341
Šmídlová Hana Ing. MBA	STAN	349
Ortová Hana Ing.	STAN	327

Source: self-prepared based on data from <volby.cz>

2018

voters = 2 829
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 2{,}0$

2022

voters = 2 993
municipal assembly members = 15

$i_p = 1{,}0$

| ODS (3/15) |
| STAN (12/15) | → 12 → | STAROSTOVÉ A NEZÁVISLÍ (15/15) |
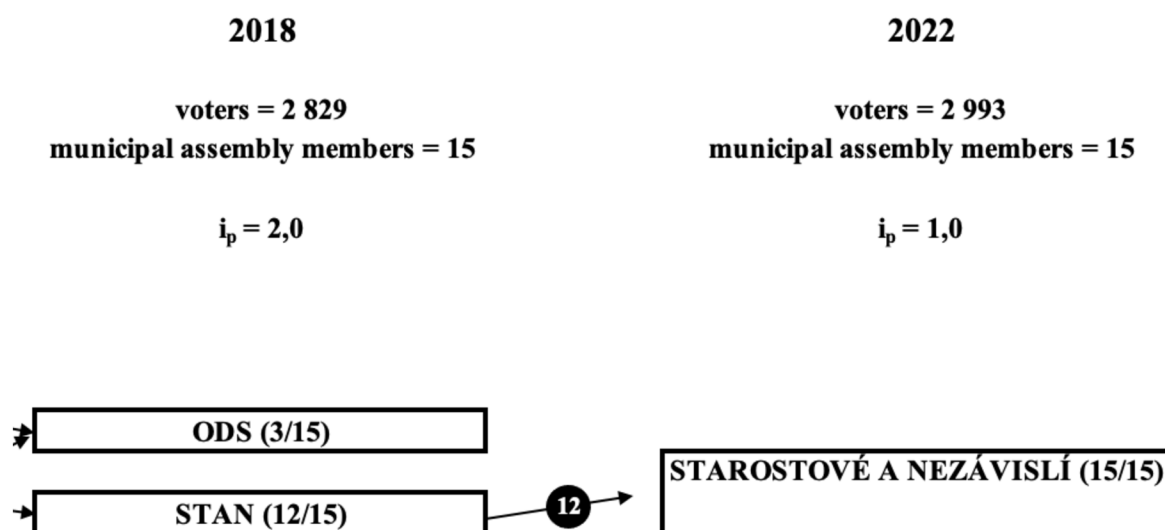
Table 28 - Candidates movement 2018 – 2022

Table above shows the movement of candidates between candidates lists of associations of independents or political parties. This is further exanimated in the subchapter analysis of the continuity of candidacies.

4.2.9.2 Possibilities of minimal winning coalitions

Given that the candidate list was submitted only by one association, there really was not any space to create a coalition. But there was space to create a tension within the one candidate list, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4.2.9.3 Actually created coalitions

As I was informed from one of the members of actual municipal assembly, Hana Šmídlová, before the election there was an agreement within the party/association. The content of the agreement was that the mayoral candidate Milan Vácha, who was mayor in the 2010-2014, 2014-2018 and 2018-2022 terms, would remain mayor in this term.

At the constituent meeting of the municipal assembly the new board was elected. The composition of the municipal board was as follows. Milan Vácha became the mayor, deputy

mayor seat went to Vlasta Málková and the rest of the seats went to Olga Kramosilová, Vít Olmr and Martina Bětáková.

To surprise of the mayor Vácha, and to the surprise of some other members, the first item at the second assembly meeting was his replacement by Vlasta Málková, who received 453 preferential votes in the election. Mr Milan Vácha received almost 100 preferential votes less, 367. On the basis of this difference in preferential votes, the topic of changing the agreement and replacing Mr Vácha with Ms Málková was raised. The main reason for this change was that mayor/deputy mayor Vácha was elected as member of regional board of Central Bohemia region and therefore members of the municipal council raised doubts that the two positions could be held simultaneously.[88]

4.2.10 Mayors' statements on the election period 2002 – 2018 and statement of member of municipal assembly from 2022

An interview with former Mayor Jana Valášková, who served from 2002 to 2010 and provided information on the functioning of the assembly, provides an opportunity to get closer to the situation in the municipality during these years.

Valášková described the first electoral term from 2002 to 2006 as productive years, with regular board meetings every two weeks, once as a working group and once as an official board meeting. Valášková evaluated this term positively in terms of board relations and work commitment. However, at the beginning of this term, she faced high indebtedness of the municipality from the previous electoral term. The functioning of the municipality was compared to the "big family" model. The municipality owed over 130 million Czech crowns, and the former mayor was prosecuted for embezzlement. Thanks to difficult negotiations by the new member of board, the debt was reduced by penalties, but it still amounted to approximately 70 million Czech crowns. According to Valášková, it was a very difficult task, but due to good cooperation in the board, the municipality was able to get out of debt by the end of the electoral term. Thanks to the successful resolution of this situation, there was room for investment in the next period.

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[88] www.psary.cz

In the electoral term of 2006-2010, a coalition was formed between the Independent Association for Citizens and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). Valášková ran for re-election in this term.

The next interview about current events in the community was given by Milan Vácha, who has been serving as mayor since 2010. In the interview, he commented on the situation in the board since 2010, describing the 2010-2014 term as the most "wild" and problematic, when there was an attempt to remove him from office. He warns that the biggest risk in local politics is when people with interests in changing land use plans for construction or with ties to construction companies enter municipal politics to make money. He also mentions that legal disputes from that term were still ongoing in 2017.

Vácha characterizes the 2014-2018 term as different because his political party, STAN, won 11 out of 15 possible seats, leading to the loss of the classic coalition and opposition structure. He notes that the opposition typically fills the audit committee after elections, but in this case, they took control with the condition that the chairperson would be appointed by the mayor from among the STAN candidates. However, he does not comment positively on the situation around the audit committee, as it has led to a decrease in effectiveness, with both the board and the chairperson from one side.

Regarding the term since the 2018 elections, Vácha mentions continuing problems with the opposition audit committee, which will be addressed in the next board meeting, but he sees this as the only problem in this term. He notes that board meetings are almost unanimously agreed upon and sees no issues in the municipal board.

As it was mentioned earlier in the analysis of election results of 2022, Hana Šmídlová, new member of the municipal assembly, agreed to an interview. Thanks to her it is possible to see the functioning of the assembly from a different angle.

At the beginning of the interview there was a question about how she came up with the idea of running for council. In 2019, Hana Šmídlová, on her own initiative, started running a language course at the municipal office for the elderly. After 2 years, she was asked by one of the council members if she would be interested in running. This underscores Jüptner's theory

that candidates in such large municipalities are formed on the basis of personal relationships rather than political affiliation.

She comments positively on his first year and a half as an assembly member in terms of the mood of the meetings, adding that it is certainly not a competitive system, rather he describes the council as a "big family" that works together to overcome problems rather than creating problems within the assembly. Which is consistent with Jüptner's theory of such large municipalities. In his theory, Jüptner states that in such large municipalities it is not possible to clearly determine whether the council model is competitive or non-competitive. In previous years there has been a competitive system, but in the last two terms everyone agrees that this is a 'big family' type.

Last but not least, the topic of conversation was what are the biggest problems in the municipality at the moment. Šmídlová pointed out the ongoing problem with the water supply to the village. After several decades of having water supplied to the village by a nearby roof tile factory from their adjacent quarry, the quarry has been filled in, raising the question of where the village will get its water from. The municipality chose the most feasible option, which was to make a water supply from the same water source used by the capital city of Prague, the Švihov reservoir in the Vysočina region. This water intake is 130 km long. In connection with the construction, traffic in the village was severely restricted, as the feeder runs under the main road, the road was closed for almost a year and the journey to the capital was on average 20 minutes longer, almost double the journey time, taking almost an hour and a half at rush hour.

By the end of 2021 the feeder was ready, unfortunately the company that won the tender for construction refused to pressure test the water pipe. After half a year the pressure tests were carried out and the result was unsatisfactory, the whole construction needed major repairs and again the pipeline was dismantled under the main road running through the village. Here Šmídlová sees the biggest problem in the municipality's tendering system, because by law the municipality must accept the lowest possible offer. According to her, the company with the lowest offer knows that it cannot keep the planned amount already at the moment of submitting the offer, in this case the amount increased by 4 times compared to the presented amount that won the tender.
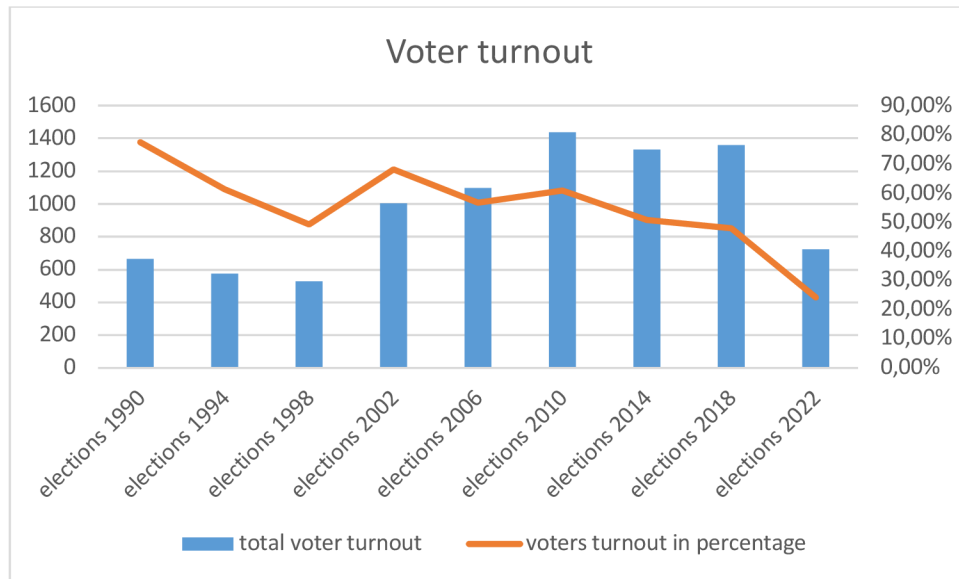
4.2.11 Participation of residents in politics

Figure 3 - Voter turnout 1990-2022

On this graph, we observe a decreasing trend in voter turnout after 2010, which can be attributed to disputes and an unpleasant atmosphere in the municipal board from 2006 to the end of 2011, when these disputes culminated in an attempt to remove the mayor and deputy mayor from the ODS candidates.

This is supported by the fact that in the 2014 elections, ODS did not even present their candidate list. From the year 2014 we can see decreasing trend of the percentage voters' turnout which suggest that the election periods in the recent years are calm and the residents do not see significant problems.

Passive voter turnout in Psáry developed similarly to active voter turnout, as seen on the graph.
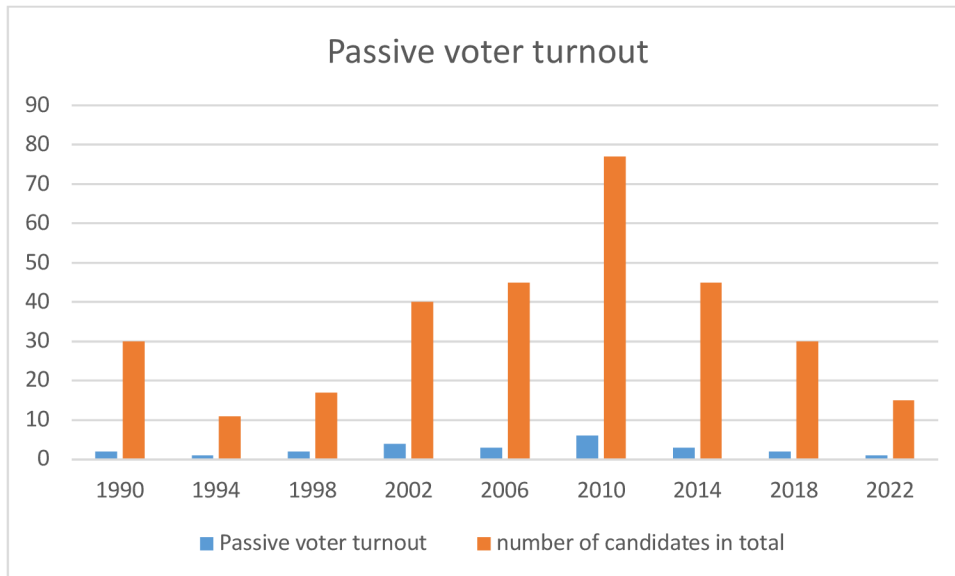
Graph 13 - Passive voter turnout 1990 - 2022

Just like with active voter turnout, the passive turnout was highest in 2010, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (page 32). The 2006-2010 electoral term was the first one, following a calm period from 2002-2006, where disagreements among assembly members arose. This is at least one reason, if not the main reason, for the increase in voter turnout, both active and passive. However, the subsequent trend of voter turnout was decreasing. This can be attributed to a loss of interest among residents in the affairs of the municipal board and the negative atmosphere that the events of the previous electoral term brought to the leadership of the municipality (page 37). The voter turnout passive as well as active reflects the political events in the municipality, when there are more problems in the municipality then the voter turnout is higher. As mentioned above this graph, it is possible to say that from the year 2010 the problems inside the municipality are getting less and less significant.

4.3   Analysis of the continuity of candidacies
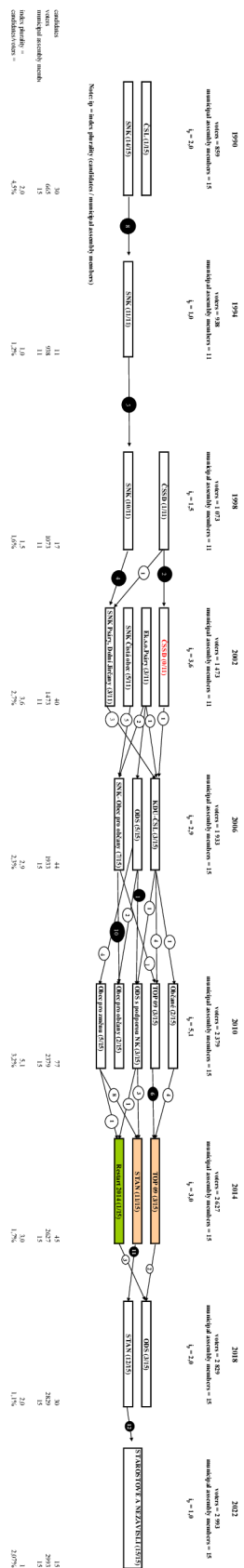
Table 29 - Analysis of the continuity of candidacies

The table 29 illustrates the continuity of candidates from the years 1990 to 2022 elections, showing candidate transfers between political parties and associations. The number of representatives is expressed for each election party or association. Black arrows with white numbers indicate candidate transfers between political entities, while white arrows with black numbers indicate the number of candidates who did not change their candidacy. The plurality index is also expressed, indicating the ratio of the number of seats in the board to the number of candidates. The smallest difference in this index can be observed in the 1994 and 1998 elections which is 0,5, the second smallest difference is between the elections 2002 - 2006, although the number of representatives increased from 11 to 15.

The table shows that there is often a change in the national established parties proposing candidates, with ODS appearing most frequently in three out of five election periods. However, it should be noted that its composition was very different in the 2018 elections compared to the 2006 and 2010 elections. Rather than identifying a specific party or movement as the most stable, it is better to focus on individuals, specifically the current mayor who was the leader of the winning movement "Obec pro změnu" (Community for Change) in the 2010 elections, but his name appeared on the candidate list of the winning STAN party in the 2014 and 2018 elections.

The mayor commented that he agrees with the policy of the STAN movement, and there is no need to gather signatures on a petition list, without which an independent candidate association cannot participate in the elections. He stated that the most important factors influencing election results in his case were working for the community, decency in communication, and moral integrity. He also added that the STAN movement achieves its greatest success in areas with a high concentration of population with higher education.

The reasons for the party changes were commented on by a former board member in the "Psárský Zpravodaj". He was a member of KDU-ČSL from 2006-2010 and a representative of TOP 09 from 2010-2014. He changed his party affiliation due to KDU-ČSL's behaviour on a national level, with which he disagreed. He was one of the founding members of TOP 09 in the municipality.

In an interview, Mayor Vácha cited other reasons for the shifts between party lists after 2010. One of the main reasons was disagreement with the behaviour of the local ODS leadership, which even led to ODS not putting together a list of candidates in the next election cycle. He even actively participated in moving candidates, approaching 3 candidates from the ODS to run with him for the STAN movement in the next elections.

As we observe the last two election periods 2018 - 2022 and the differences between number of candidates it is possible to say that the interest of residents in municipal political is low. That does not predict anything wrong on the contrary it predicts calm period and therefore more time for the assembly to work. As it was mentioned earlier in the interview with member of municipal assembly 2022, Šmídlová was approach based on her contribution to the municipality. That underlines the theory of Jüptner, that in municipalities of this size the municipal assembly composition is based on the personal experience rather than political affiliation.

In his theory, Jüptner states that in such large municipalities it is not possible to clearly determine whether the council model is competitive or non-competitive. In previous years there has been a competitive system, but in the last two terms everyone agrees that this is a 'big family' type.

5 Conclusion

In the literature review of the thesis, a thorough exploration of the theoretical underpinnings related to local self-government and its essential components was conducted. This encompassed a deep dive into concepts such as the roles and functions of municipal authorities, the municipal assembly, the municipal board, the mayor's office, and the intricate mechanisms governing the municipal electoral system and the dynamics of local party politics. Additionally, the theory of coalitions was scrutinized in detail, with a particular emphasis on the classification of various types of coalitions at the municipal level, as conceptualized by scholars like Jüptner and Balík. The sources for this extensive analysis included a broad range of specialized literature, legislative laws, and insightful professional articles.

In the subsequent part of the thesis, attention was focused on a meticulously conducted case study of the municipality of Psáry. This in-depth study leveraged a wide array of data from the Czech Statistical Office (ČSU - CSZO), enriched by insightful interviews with both former and current mayors, as well as members of the municipal assembly. A detailed analysis of election results spanning from 1990 to 2022 formed a crucial part of this study. Additionally, it incorporated a comprehensive examination of socio-economic indicators, with a particular focus on the evolution of the population, the state of transportation infrastructure, and the development of municipal facilities.

The first segment of this case study involved an analytical look at the demographic and sociological composition of the municipality, a key sub-goal of the thesis. This analysis delved into the developmental trajectory of the municipality over the past two decades, focusing on aspects such as population growth, variations in education levels, and shifts in the age structure. The study also brought to light the profound impact of suburbanization on life in the municipality, underscored by the fact that more than 46% of the economically active residents commute for work. Towards the end of this segment, a thorough examination of the municipal budget was undertaken, which served to illustrate the developmental progress of Psáry during the analysed period.

The second segment of the case study was dedicated to conducting a nuanced analysis of election results. This involved a comparative study of specific outcomes of municipal assembly elections, coupled with insightful interviews with key figures in the municipality's leadership. This detailed analysis defined the evolving character of the decision-making process within the local council in Psáry, which was also identified as the third sub-goal of the thesis. The findings from this analysis and the interviews revealed that the decision-making process in the municipality has undergone significant changes over the years, influenced by the varying compositions of the local assembly.

The thesis also highlighted that candidate lists included representatives from both national political parties (KDU-ČSL, ODS, ČSSD, TOP 09) and independent local associations (Obec pro změnu, Obec pro občany, SNK, SNK II.), showcasing the diverse political landscape of Psáry. According to the classifications by Jüptner, Psáry is categorized as a smaller middle-sized municipality characterized by a blend of competitive and non-competitive systems, as confirmed by the results of the interviews. In the years 1990-1994, 1994-1998, 2002-2006, 2014-2018, 2018-2022 and the election period 2022 until present were characterized as non-competitive systems with the nature of "big-family" atmosphere.

On the contrary the years 2006-2010 and 2010-2014 were described as competitive system with the classic model of coalition and opposition.

The thesis further discussed the formation of single-color boards observed during several periods and the emergence of minimal winning coalitions, particularly between 2006 and 2010, aligning these phenomena with Balík's theoretical claims. It was found that such coalitions often occurred in municipalities with population sizes similar to Psáry with 2 000 to 5 000 inhabitants, thereby confirming Balík's study. In other election periods, the absence of a board precluded the formation of coalitions.

The thesis concluded by emphasizing that the factors influencing the formation of local government bodies can be traced to dual origins. The first originates from the residents of the municipality themselves, where the formation of local government bodies is significantly influenced by demographic composition. This was evident in the case of Psáry, which is characterized by a younger population relative to the national average. Additionally, the education level of the residents emerged as another critical factor, with an above-average

number of residents holding higher education degrees, a point significantly highlighted by the former and current deputy mayor in relation to their long-term electoral success.

The second group of factors influencing the composition of territorial self-government, as delineated by the authors mentioned above, is rooted in the political realm. In smaller middle-sized municipalities like Psáry, two main influences dominate: affiliation with national political parties and the general trends in national politics. The thesis posited that voters' personal experiences with candidates play a dominant role in shaping the landscape of territorial self-government. According to the interviews, this view is supported by the current deputy mayor, former mayor and a member of the municipal assembly, Šmídlová. The thesis thus concludes by underlining the intricate interplay of demographic, socio-economic, and political factors in shaping the unique fabric of local governance in municipalities like Psáry.

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7 List of tables and graphs

7.1 List of tables

7.2 List of graphs

8 Appendix

Budget of Psáry 2010.pdf

Budget of Psáry 2018.pdf