

### Appendix 3. Local Coalitions and the Results

R: Right L: Left C: Centrist /I: incumbent's victory

See the "Typology of Coalitions (supplementary explanation to Table 6 and Appendix 3)." If the cleavage between the Right and left coalitions is located between the Right-Centrist and Centrist-Left borders, this competition is defined as "R vs. L." If the cleavage overlaps the Right-Centrist border, this competition is defined as "R vs. C-L." If the cleavage overlaps the Centrist-Left border, this competition is defined as "R-C vs. L." If a party or parties in the Right bloc, together with Centrist and Left deputies, voted against the Conservative mayoral candidate, this competition is defined as a "grand coalition against the Conservatives." Likewise, if the LSDP, together with Centrist and Right deputies, voted against the LDDP candidate, this competition is defined as a "grand coalition against the LDDP." If the making of coalitions is twisted from an ideological point of view (for example, Cons-LDDP vs. CDP-LSDP), this competition is defined as a "stepping-stone coalition." However, in Table 6 the competitions "R vs. C-L" and "R-C vs. L" are included in "R vs. L" for the purpose of simplification.

		1995		1997		2000	
		Characteristics	Mayor from:	Characteristics	Mayor from:	Characteristics	Mayor from:
1	Akmene Rajon	?		R vs. L-C	NU	?	NU /I
2	Alytus	R vs. L	Cons.	Stepping-stone (Cons.-LDDP-LSDP vs. CU-CDP-Prisoners)	Cons./I	L-C vs. Cons. vs. LU	SL
3	Alytus Rajon	Unanimous	Cons.	Cons. one-party dominance (13/25)	Cons.	L-R against C (Peasant-CDU)	LDDP
4	Anyksciai Rajon	R vs. L (isolation of LDDP)	Cons.	R-C vs. L	Cons. /I	L-C vs. R (Cons.)	LDDP
5	Birstonas	L-C vs. Republicans	LSDP	L vs. R	LSDP /I	LSDP's one-party dominance	LSDP /I
6	Birzai Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	C-L vs. R	Peasant	C-L vs. R	Peasant /I
7	Druskininkai	?		R-C vs. L (isolation of LDDP)	Cons.	L-C vs. CU	LDDP
8	Elektrenai					Almost unanimous (21/25)	CU
9	Ignalina Rajon	C-L vs. R	Peasant	Grand coalition against Cons.	Peasant /I	Peasants' one-party dominance	Peasant /I
10	Jonava Rajon	Almost unanimous (21/27)	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	Peasant	Stepping-stone coalition	CU
11	Joniskis Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	Almost unanimous (22/25)	CU	Intra-C competition (CU vs. Peasant)	CU /I
12	Jurbarkas Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	Peasant	C coalition (Peasant-LU-SL), almost unanimous (20/25)	Peasant /I
13	Kaisiadorys Rajon	Grand coalition against LDDP	Cons.	R vs. L	Cons./I	Intra-C competition, Stepping-stone	LU
14	Kalvarija					R vs. L	DP
15	Kaunas	R vs. extreme R	Cons.	R-C vs. Extreme R	Cons.	Stepping-stone (Extreme R-SL vs. LU vs. CU)	Liberty
16	Kaunas Rajon	One-party dominance of the Cons. bloc	Cons.	Cons. one-party dominance	Cons.	L-C vs. R vs. CU	LDDP
17	Kazlu Ruda					Almost unanimous (16/21)	CU
18	Kelme Rajon	R vs. L (isolation of LDDP)	Cons.	Grand coalition against LDDP	CDP	L-C vs. CDP vs. Cons.	LDDP

19	Kedainiai Rajon	Grand coalition against LDDP <sup>1</sup>	Cons.	C-L vs. R	Peasant/Agrarian	SL one-party dominance	SL /I
20	Klaipeda	R vs. L	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons. (collapse of Cons. deputy group)	LU	Predominance of C, almost unanimous (26/31)	LU /I
21	Klaipeda Rajon	?	CDP	Stepping-stone, Intra-R split (Cons. vs. CDP)	Cons.	C coalition	SL
22	Kretinga Rajon	R vs. L	CDP	Unanimous (25/25)	CDP	L-C vs. R	LDDP
23	Kupiskis Rajon	R vs. L-C	Cons.	C (CU-Peasant) vs. Cons. (Isolation of Cons.)	Peasant	?	Peasant /I
24	Lazdijai Rajon	?	?	R vs. C-L	Cons.	C-L vs. R	SL
25	Marijampole	Stepping-stone (Cons.-LDDP-LU-CU vs. CDP)	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	CU	L vs. C-R	LDDP
26	Marijampole Rajon	Unanimous (26/27)	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	CDP		
26	Mazeikiai Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	?	Cons.	R vs. L	SL
27	Moletai Rajon	R vs. L	NU	R-C vs. L	CDP	R vs C-L	CDP
28	Neringa	National Progressives' one-party dominance	NP	Stepping-stone (Cons.-CDP-LDDP vs. NP-LSDP)	Cons. /I	Cons. one-party dominance	Cons. /i
29	Pagegiai					C-L vs. R	Peasant
30	Pakruojis Rajon	Grand coalition against LDDP	CDP	R vs. L-C	LDDP	Almost unanimous (21/25)	LDDP /i
31	Palanga	R vs. L	CDP	R vs. L	Cons.	Stepping-stone (LU-SL-LSDP-LDDP vs. CU-CDP-Prisoners)	LU
32	Panevezys	? (Cons. dominance 14/31)	Cons.	R vs. C-L <sup>2</sup>	Cons.	C-L vs. Cons.	CU
33	Panevezys Rajon	?	CDP	R vs. C-L	Cons.	C-L vs. R	Peasant
34	Pasvalys Rajon	R-C vs. L	Cons.	Grand coalition against LDDP	Cons. /I	C-L vs. R	SL
35	Plunge Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	R vs. C-L	CDP	R vs. L <sup>3</sup>	LU
36	Prienai Rajon	R vs. C-L	Cons.	Cons. one-party dominance	Cons.	C-L vs. R (LU and Cons.)	SL
37	Radviliskis Rajon	R vs. L (isolation of LDDP)	Prisoners	Grand coalition against Cons.	LSDP /I	Stepping-stone (SL-LSDP-LU-CDP-CU vs. Peasant-LDDP-Cons.)	LSDP /I
38	Raseiniai Rajon	R vs. C-L	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	CDP	Grand coalition against SL	LSDP
39	Rietavas					Unanimous	CU
40	Rokiskis Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	R vs C-L	Cons.	Grand coalition against LDDP	Peasant
41	Skuodas Rajon	?	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	CDP	R-C vs. L	CDP
42	Sakiai Rajon	R vs. C-L	CDP	R vs. L	CU	C coalition (Peasant-CU)	Peasant
43	Salcininkai Rajon	Polish one-party dominance	Polish	Polish one-party dominance	Polish /I	Polish one-party dominance	Polish /I
44	Siauliai	R vs. L	Cons.	Stepping-stone (Cons.-LSDP-LU-CDP vs. CU-LDDP)	Cons. /I	C-LDDP, no alternative	SL
45	Siauliai Rajon	R vs. L (isolation of	Cons.	R vs. C-L	C-L <sup>4</sup>	Predominance of L-C,	Peasant

<sup>1</sup> To be precise, LDDP supported a candidate from the Peasant Party, which had only two deputies, to evade a complete isolation. As a result, the making of coalitions was close to a stepping-stone one. Namely, Cons.-CDP-LU-CU-LSDP vs. Peasant-LDDP.

<sup>2</sup> Conservatives gained 15 of the 31 seats. Therefore, it was not difficult to win over the C-L coalition.

<sup>3</sup> The competition was held between Centrist parties, LU and CU. LU organized Right parties, while CU coalesced with Left parties.

<sup>4</sup> See fn. 26 of Appendix 2.

		LDDP)				No alternative	
46	Silale Rajon	R vs. C-L	Cons.	R-C vs. L	Cons.	Stepping-stone, R-L (Cons.-LDDP-LU-CDP) vs. C	LDDP
47	Silute Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	Grand coalition (isolation of CDP)	Cons.	Intra-C competition, C-LDDP vs. Peasant	SL
48	Sirvintos Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	C-L vs. R	Peasant	Peasant one-party dominance	Peasant /I
49	Svencionys Rajon	C-R vs. L	LU	Stepping-stone, R-L against C (LU-Polish)	LU	C against LDDP and Cons.	SL /I
50	Taurage Rajon	R vs. L	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.	CDP	R-L vs. SL	LDDP
51	Telsiai Rajon	R-C vs. L almost unanimous (21/27)	Cons.	Split of Cons.	Cons. minority	C-L vs. R	SL
52	Trakai Rajon	C-L vs. R	CU	Stepping-stone (R-L vs. C)	LSDP	Intra-C competition, stepping-stone (CU-LSDP-CDP-Women's-Cons. vs. Polish-SL)	CU
53	Ukmerge Rajon	R vs. C-L	Cons.	Grand coalition against Cons.-CDP	Prisoners	Intra-C competition, L vs. R (Peasant-SL-LDDP vs. LU-Cons.-Prisoners-CU-CDP)	Peasant
54	Utena Rajon	R vs. C	Cons.	Stepping-stone (Cons.-CU-NU vs. CDP-LDDP-LSDP-Women's)	Cons.	R vs L (Cons.-CU-LU-CDP vs. SL-LDDP-Peasant-CDU-LSDP)	Cons.
55	Varena Rajon	Grand coalition against LDDP	Cons.	Stepping-stone coalition	CU	CU one-party dominance	CU /I
56	Vilkaviskis Rajon	R vs. C-L	NU	R vs. C-L	NU /I	L-C, no alternative (22/27)	LSDP
57	Vilnius	R vs. extreme R	Cons.	R vs. L	Cons.	Stepping-stone (LU-Cons.-Polish vs. LDDP-CU)	LU
58	Vilnius Rajon	Polish one-party dominance	Polish	Polish one-party dominance	Polish	Polish one-party dominance	Polish
59	Visaginas	LDDP's one-party dominance	LDDP	LDDP's one-party dominance	LDDP /I	C against LDDP	LU
60	Zarasai Rajon	R vs. L (Isolation of LDDP)	Prisoners	Grand coalition against LDDP	Cons.	L-C against SL	LDDP