Swiss Cantonal Elections in 2025: Valais, Solothurn, Neuchâtel and Jura

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1. The cantons in the Swiss federal system

The Swiss political system is based on a federalist model. Swiss federalism is the result of a long historical process that began in the Middle Ages and was consolidated in the nineteenth century with the creation of the modern federal state. Since the adoption of the liberaldemocratic Constitution of 1848, the Swiss federal system has been structured on three levels of government: the Confederation, the 26 cantons, and the municipalities. Each level enjoys considerable legislative, political, and administrative autonomy. A distinctive feature of Swiss federalism is direct democracy, which allows citizens to participate through referendums and popular initiatives at the federal, cantonal, and local levels, thereby reinforcing the political legitimacy of public decisions. The country's linguistic and cultural diversity - four official languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansh - also makes federalism a central instrument for maintaining social and political balance. Cantons and municipalities autonomously manage policies in areas such as education, health care, and taxation, adapting them to local needs (Emmenegger et al., 2024).

The Swiss cantons are not mere administrative subdivisions of the federal state but autonomous institutional entities with a long tradition of selfgovernment and their own constitutions. Since the Middle Ages, long before

the creation of the federal state, Switzerland has existed as a confederation of states that chose to unite for common purposes - such as defense, economic coordination, and foreign policy - while preserving a high degree of internal independence. The various territories historically enjoyed almost complete sovereignty. The Federal Constitution of 1848 established a fundamental compromise that endures today: the cantons renounced part of their sovereignty in favor of the central state but retained the right to organize their internal political structures. This autonomy includes the authority to determine electoral systems for local and cantonal elections, as well as for electing members of the upper chamber of the Federal parliament.

The article focuses on the general cantonal elections held in 2025, in Valais, Solothurn, Neuchâtel, and Jura. The analysis is structured as follows: first, it outlines the main characteristics of political parties, party systems, and electoral rules; second, it reviews the central issues of the 2025 electoral campaigns and the results of parliamentary and government elections in the four cantons.

2. Political parties and government systems

Switzerland has a relatively stable multiparty system, which means that no single party dominates the political landscape. The main political forces at the federal level are the Swiss People's Party (SVP), a conservative right-wing party particularly strong in Germanspeaking and rural areas; the Social Democratic Party (SP), progressive and social democratic, with significant support in urban centres; the Liberals (FDP), the Centre, the Greens and the GLP. The FDP is a liberal and centerright party that promotes a market economy and individual freedoms whereas the Centre (formerly the Christian Democratic Party, CVP, and the Conservative Democratic Party, BDP), which inherits the Catholicconservative tradition and occupies a centrist position, frequently plays a mediating role in federal politics. Two ecological parties, the Greens and the Green Liberal Party (GLP), represent the growing environmental concerns that is particularly visible in urban areas. The Swiss party system is deeply influenced by the federal tradition: party organizations are highly decentralized, and not all parties have equal strengh in every canton. In fact, the Swiss party system is one of the less nationalized in Western Europe (Emanuele, 2018).

This diversity is reflected in the evolution of the four cantons where elections took place in 2025. It also extends to the parliamentary and governmental arenas at both federal and cantonal levels. At the federal level, the two chambers of parliament display a strong multiparty configuration in

which all major parties are represented. The Federal Council—the Swiss collegial government—has, for decades, followed a powersharing model (Linder and Mueller, 2021) in which representatives of the four main parties (SVP, FDP, SP, and the Centre) jointly hold executive power. Although cantonal governments are directly elected by popular vote, they also tend to follow a similar pattern of power sharing of the federal government.

3. The Four Cantons in the 2025 Cantonal Elections

Cantonal elections in Switzerland are not synchronized; they take place in different years. In 2025, cantonal elections were held in Valais (2 March), Solothurn (9 March and 13 April), Neuchâtel (23 March), and Jura (19 October and 9 November).

Valais is a bilingual canton with a Frenchspeaking majority in Lower Valais and a Germanspeaking minority in Upper Valais. It has a strong Catholic tradition that has shaped its political life for centuries. During the twentieth century, Valais was dominated by the Christian Democratic Party (CVP), which reflected the traditional Catholic and rural values of the canton. Although the CVP—now the Centre—remains influential, other political actors such as the FDP, the SVP, the SP, and the Greens have gained importance in recent decades.

The canton of *Solothurn*, situated in northwestern Switzerland, borders the cantons of Bern, BaselLandschaft, Aargau, and Jura. It lies partly on the Swiss Plateau and partly in the Jura Mountains, combining fertile lowlands with scenic uplands. Solothurn is characterized by a balance between rural and urban areas, a condition that is mirrored in its political inclinations, which oscillate between rural conservatism and urban progressivism. Historically, Solothurn had a strong Catholic presence and experienced sharp conflicts between Liberals and Conservatives during the nineteenthcentury *Kulturkampf.* Over the past two decades, the canton's political landscape has evolved while maintaining a multiparty equilibrium. A relative decline of the traditional CVP (now the Centre) and FDP has coincided with the growth of the rightwing SVP, the stable performance of the SP in urban areas, and increasing electoral success of the Greens and the GLP, especially since 2019.

Neuchâtel, historically Calvinist, is unique among Swiss cantons for its earlier monarchist tradition dating back to the seventeenth century. With industrialization, particularly in the watchmaking industry, republican and socialist movements gained influence, making Neuchâtel one of the most progressive cantons from the midnineteenth century onward. Neuchâtel was also among the first Swiss cantons to adopt strict secularism, clearly

separating religious institutions from public life. Today it is a leftleaning canton where the SP and the Greens maintain significant political influence.

Jura, located in northwestern Switzerland, is the youngest canton of the Swiss Confederation, created in 1979 after a long struggle over cultural and linguistic identity. It retains a strong Catholic heritage and a firm attachment to the Frenchspeaking world. Politically, Jura has traditionally leaned toward progressive forces. The dominant parties are the SP and the Centre, which reflect both the social commitment and Catholic legacy of the canton.

4. Four electoral systems

In the four Swiss cantons where cantonal elections were held in 2025, the members of the cantonal government - five in each canton - are elected using a tworound plurality-at-large system[1]. The cantonal parliaments, by contrast, are elected using a proportional representation system with open lists, based on a plurality-at-large method. More specifically, this means that each voter is called upon to fill several seats per constituency. Seats are allocated among the lists according to the number of votes obtained. Voters have considerable freedom to express their preferential votes, unlike in a closed list system where parties have greater power to decide which candidates are most likely to be elected. In general, elections for cantonal governments and parliaments in Switzerland are characterized by a high degree of voter freedom. Voters have as many preferential votes as there are seats to be filled in their electoral district and may modify party lists by deleting candidates or adding candidates from other lists, a practice known as *panachage*. In most cantons, voters may cast only one vote per candidate—for both government and parliamentary elections—and cumulative voting is not permitted. Beyond these general features[2], which are common to most cantons, several elements differentiate the electoral systems of the four cantons considered here. These include the definition of the electorate, the delineation of electoral constituencies, the length of the legislative term, the number of parliamentary seats and the procedure for their distribution, the election of substitute (alternate) members, and the presence or absence of an electoral threshold.

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[1] For more details about the Swiss electoral systems, see Hangartner et al., 2023. See also Lasseb and Pilotti, 2018: 37-38.

[2] With regard to the election of the government, the notable exception is the canton of Ticino, which is the only canton to elect members of the cantonal executive by proportional representation rather than by majoritarian system (see Pilotti and Mazzoleni, 2020). As regards the election of cantonal parliaments, the small canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden uses a majority system, while the cantons of Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Graubünden and Uri use a mixed system.

In *Valais*, Swiss citizens have the right to vote and to stand as candidates in cantonal elections from the age of 18[3]. The legislative term lasts four years. A distinctive feature of the election of the five members of the cantonal government is that they may not all come from the same district. The cantonal parliament comprises 130 members, elected in fourteen constituencies that correspond to districts or halfdistricts. Seats are allocated using the Pukelsheim method (also known as biproportional allocation)[4]. As in the cantons of Jura and Neuchâtel, there are substitute members - 130 in total, equal in number to the elected deputies[5]. For the parliamentary election, an electoral threshold of 8% applies, the highest among the eight Swiss cantons that impose a quorum[6]. Voters have as many preferential votes as there are seats to be filled in their district, both for government and parliamentary elections, but cumulative voting is not allowed.

In *Solothurn*, Swiss citizens have the right to vote and to stand as candidates for both government and parliament. The legislative term is four years. The parliament has 100 members elected in five constituencies, each comprising two districts. Seats are distributed according to the HagenbachBischoff method, and there is no electoral threshold. Unlike in the other three cantons discussed here, Solothurn's parliament does not include substitute members. Voters have five preferential votes for the election of the cantonal government and, depending on the size of the constituency, a corresponding number of votes for the legislature. Unlike other Swiss cantons, Solothurn allows cumulative voting in parliamentary elections. This means that voters can either cast two preferential votes for a single candidate (cumulation),

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[3] In almost all cantons, those participating in federal, cantonal and municipal elections are citizens aged 18 and over. The only exception is Glarus, where voting rights at the cantonal and municipal levels are granted from the age of 16.

[4] The Pukelsheim method of seat allocation, named after the German mathematician Friedrich Pukelsheim, was developed in the early 2000s and has since been adopted by seven Swiss cantons: Zurich, Aargau, Schaffhausen, Nidwalden, Zug, Schwyz, and, most recently, Valais in 2018. This method of calculating seat allocation was adopted, among other things, to favour small parties and peripheral regions. In short, allocation takes place at two levels: first, the county is treated as a single constituency; and secondly, the county is divided into various constituencies (Pilotti and Mazzoleni, 2020, p. 9; see also Pukelsheim, 2014, for further details).

[5] In addition to Jura, Neuchâtel, and Valais, two other Swiss cantons provide for the election of substitute members to their cantonal parliaments: Geneva (17 substitute members) and Graubünden (120, one for each parliamentarian).

[6] Electoral thresholds for cantonal parliamentary elections, aside from those in Valais and Neuchâtel, also exist in the cantons of Aargau (for list groups, 3% at the cantonal level or 5% in at least one electoral district), Geneva (7%), Schwyz (1%), Vaud (5% in the electoral district), Zug (3 % at the cantonal level for list groups or 5% in at least one electoral district), and Zurich (5% in at least one electoral district).

or split the two votes. However, cumulative voting is not permitted for the election of the government.

In *Neuchâtel* the electorate includes both Swiss citizens aged 18 and over and foreign residents who have lived in the canton for at least five years. The term of office for both the government and the parliament is four years. Since 2018, the cantonal parliament has had 100 members (previously 115 until 2021), elected from a single constituency encompassing the entire canton[7]. Seats are allocated according to the HagenbachBischoff method. Lists are excluded from seat allocation if they don't surpass the 3% electoral threshold. As in Valais and Jura, substitute members are also elected, 20 in total in the 2025 elections. Voters may cast five preferential votes for the government and 100 for the parliament.

Jura is one of the few cantons - along with Fribourg, Geneva, and Vaud, all in the Frenchspeaking part of Switzerland - where the legislative term is five years rather than four. As in Neuchâtel, the electorate comprises Swiss citizens and foreign residents who have lived in Switzerland for at least ten years and in the canton of Jura for at least one year. The cantonal parliament, one of the smallest in Switzerland, has 60 members. In the 2025 elections, these were elected for the first time from four constituencies corresponding to the canton's four districts, including the newly added district of Moutier. The transfer of Moutier from the canton of Bern to Jura necessitated an amendment of the electoral law in preparation for the 2025 elections. The creation of this fourth constituency, electing seven members, while maintaining the total number of parliamentarians at 60, resulted in a reduction of seats in the three historical districts: Delémont (-4 seats), Porrentruy (-2), and FranchesMontagnes (-1). The 2025 elections were exceptional in that voters in the district of Moutier were allowed to participate even though their incorporation into the canton will not take legal effect until 1 January 2026. Parliamentary seats are distributed according to the HagenbachBischoff method, adopted by approximately half of the Swiss cantons. In addition to the 60 deputies, 34 substitute deputies are elected from among the first runnersup on each party list to replace absent members during plenary sessions. Voters have five preferential votes for the government election and as many votes for the parliamentary election as there are seats to be filled in their constituency. Unlike in different Swiss cantons but similarly to Solothurn, cumulative voting is permitted in Jura for parliamentary elections, allowing voters to give a maximum of two votes to the same candidate.

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[7] With the electoral reform approved by popular vote in September 2017, Neuchâtel is the third Swiss canton to have a single constituency for cantonal elections, after the cantons of Ticino and Geneva.

5. Electoral campaigns

The political landscape and election campaigns in the four cantons that held elections in 2025 reflected diverse realities, although certain common features could be observed.

Valais saw a government race contested by five main parties: the Centre, the FDP, the SP, the SVP, and the Greens. Except for the dominant party, the Centre, which fielded two candidates, each of the other parties presented one. This initial distribution effectively limited the stakes of the election: by presenting a number of candidates corresponding to their existing representation in government, the main parties (the Centre, FDP, SP, and SVP) largely determined the outcome once they announced their nominees. The Greens' candidate had slim chances from the outset. Had the parties nominated more candidates — within the rule allowing no more than two candidates per district - the race would likely have been more open and engaging for voters. In a sense, the parties restricted voter choice in advance. On the issues side, Valais's campaign was strongly shaped by local concerns - particularly the third correction of the Rhône river and scepticism toward the national climate law. Since elections to the cantonal parliament are held by district, local topics often dominated, such as in Sierre, where debates focused on the construction of a new ice rink and a related large housing project.

In *Solothurn*, the main issue of the elections was defined by the permanence of the existing inter-party balance within the cantonal government: two seats for the FDP and one each for the SP, Greens, and the Centre. The central question was whether the SVP could win a seat - and, if so, at whose expense.

In *Neuchâtel*, two main alliances structured the 2025 State Council elections. On the right, the Neuchâtel Alliance brought together the Liberals, the SVP, and the Centre - an unprecedented coalition in the canton's political history. On the left, a joint list united the SP, the Popular Workers' Party (POP), and the Greens. The key issue of the electoral campaign was which bloc would command a majority in the cantonal government. During the previous legislative period (2021–2024), the government comprised three FDP and two SP representatives. Whether the left could overturn this majority was the central question. A total of 19 candidates competed: five from the left, five from the right, two from the GLP, one independent under the list "Simplement aider", one from the European Federalist Party, and five representing the citizen movement "Modernokratie"[8]. For comparison: there were

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[8]   'Simplement aider' was a list created by the former president of the Swiss People's Party in the canton of Neuchâtel, who resigned from the party. 'Modernokratie' is a tool structured

27 candidates in 2005, 30 in 2009, 15 in 2013, and 16 in 2017. Key campaign topics included the future organisation of the healthcare system - particularly the structure of the cantonal hospital network - and taxation, with the Right-wing Alliance proposing a 10% tax cut. In the first-round results, the two outgoing SP members, Florence Nater and Frédéric Mairy, were re-elected. The most notable result was that of Greens candidate Céline Vara, also a member of the Federal Assembly's upper chamber, who finished fourth and entered the second round in a strong position.

The 2025 cantonal elections in *Jura* were marked by a major novelty: the inclusion of the city of Moutier, which had recently joined the canton after separating from Bern. Five government seats were to be filled, with 18 candidates competing in the first round (and seven seats in the cantonal parliament). Early in 2025, informal discussions took place between the FDP, SVP, and the Centre about forming a right-wing alliance, but the idea was ultimately rejected. One of the main figures of the campaign was independent candidate Martial Courtet, a former government member affiliated with the Centre. His candidacy was controversial, as an audit conducted months before the election had criticized his management practices. Another focal point was the SVP's potential breakthrough: its candidate, Fred-Henri Schnegg, a senior cantonal civil servant, had a genuine chance of being elected - a first for the party in Jura, where it has historically been marginal. The general issues of campaigning, beyond the candidates and partisan strategies that dominated the election campaign, were the canton's economic situation, employment, health and energy.

6. Party strengths and seats

6.1 Parliamentary elections

Table 1 provides the percentage of votes obtained by the main Swiss parties in the parliaments of the four cantons under review, along with voter turnout. Across all four cantons, turnout declined compared with previous cantonal elections, ranging from a marginal decrease of -0.1 percentage points in Neuchâtel to a substantial -14.0 points in Valais. This confirms a broader trend of declining mobilisation in subnational elections. Nevertheless, turnout levels remain consistent with historical patterns, as participation in can-

as a social network which helps create and plan instruments of direct democracy, such as initiatives, referendums and motions, at the legislative level. It is therefore possible to join the movement by paying a registration fee and participating actively by submitting projects, which will then be pooled.

tonal contests rarely exceeds 50%. It is worth noting that Jura recorded the lowest turnout in its electoral history for cantonal elections.

Tab. 1. Percentage of vote share by party in the cantonal parliament elections and turnout in Valais, Solothurn, Neuchâtel and Jura

Main parties	Federal Lower Chamber	Valais		Solothurn		Neuchâtel		Jura	
	2023	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ
Swiss People's Party (SVP)	27.9	19.5	2.6	25.4	4.4	11.5	3.4	15.2	8.5
Social Democratic Party (SP)	18.3	14.3	-0.4	18.8	-0.5	25.2	5.5	22.1	1.9
The Liberals (FDP)	14.3	18.1	-1.6	20.5	-2.2	28.2	-1.7	11.9	-1.6
The Centre	14.1	40.3	1.8	17.7	0.1	3.2	-0.8	23.9	-0.5
The Greens	9.8	6.0	-3.1	10.2	-0.1	14.6	-3.7	6.2	-5.3
The Green Liberal Party (GLP)	7.6	1.1	0.5	5.2	-1.8	5.6	-2.6	2.3	-2.2
Participation rate	46.7	45.5	-14.0	35.7	-8.5	31.6	-0.1	40.2	-3.7

Note: Δ is the difference in vote share between 2025 and the previous cantonal elections.
Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

When comparing the 2025 results with previous cantonal elections, two general trends emerge. First, the Green Party's vote share declined across all four cantons, reflecting the pattern observed in the 2023 federal elections, when the party received less than 10% of the national vote (Bernhard, 2024). A similar downward trajectory is evident for the FDP and the GLP. The latter recorded weaker results in three of the four cantons, achieving only a modest 0.5-point increase in Valais. The Centre displayed a mixed pattern: its vote share fell in the French-speaking cantons but increased slightly in the bilingual canton of Valais and in German-speaking Solothurn. By contrast, the SVP continued to expand its parliamentary representation, particularly in French-speaking regions where it has traditionally been weaker (Lauener, Mazzoleni and Rennwald, 2025). This growth was especially pronounced in Jura, where the SVP gained an additional 8.5 percentage points. The SP also improved its results in the French-speaking cantons of Neuchâtel and Jura, while it lost modestly in Valais and Solothurn.

Regarding seat distribution (Table 2), the SVP was the major winner in Valais, gaining four parliamentary seats at the expense of the Greens (-5).

The Centre gained one seat, while the FDP and SP retained their previous representation. Turnout reached 45.5%, a drop of over 14 points compared to 2021. Given the characteristics of Valais's electoral system, political alliances played a significant role, particularly in the German-speaking districts. The Centre collaborated with NEO, a centrist-liberal movement founded in 2020 as a moderate offshoot of the FDP, while the SP and Greens presented a joint list. Votes for NEO and the SP/Green alliance were attributed to the Centre and the SP, respectively[9]. In Solothurn, the SVP (+4 seats) and SP (+1 seat) registered gains, while the FDP (-2) and Greens (-1) lost representation. In Neuchâtel, the SP and SVP were the main beneficiaries, gaining six and four seats respectively. The Greens (-4), GLP (-3) and FDP (-2) all saw declines. In Jura, the SVP (+4), SP (+3) and the Centre (+2) strengthened their positions, while the Greens (-3) and FDP (-2) lost ground.

Tab. 2. Distribution of seats in the Swiss cantonal parliamentary elections in 2025

Main parties	Valais		Solothurn		Neuchâtel		Jura	
	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ
Swiss People's Party (SVP)	26	+4	25	+4	12	+4	11	+4
Social Democratic Party (SP)	20	0	21	+1	27	+6	16	+3
The Liberals (FDP)	27	0	20	-2	30	-2	6	-2
The Centre	49	+1	20	0	3	-1	17	+2
The Greens	8	-5	9	-1	15	-4	4	-3
The Green Liberal Party (GLP)			4	-2	5	-3	0	-2
Other parties	0	-5	1	0	8	0	6	-2

Note: Δ is the difference in seats between 2025 and the previous cantonal elections.
Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

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[9] Calculating comparable vote shares across cantons proved particularly complex in the case of Valais. In this canton, percentages are derived from weighted votes rather than raw totals, as the latter cannot be directly aggregated across electoral districts. Weighted votes take into account the demographic and representational weight of each district within Valais's proportional system, thereby providing a more accurate estimate of each party's relative strength at the cantonal level.

6.2 The government elections

While parliamentary outcomes reveal the balance of power among parties and regions, the composition of cantonal executives - elected through popular vote - highlights the enduring features of Switzerland's powersharing model. Table 3 summarises executive results and their evolution compared with the previous election.

Tab. 3. Distribution of seats in the Swiss cantonal government elections in 2025

Main parties	Valais		Solothurn		Neuchâtel		Jura	
	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ	2025	Δ
Swiss People's Party (SVP)	1	0	1	+1				
Social Democratic Party (SP)	1	0	2	+1	2	0	3	+1
The Liberals (FDP)	1	0	1	-1	2	-1		
The Centre	2	0	1	0			2	0
The Greens				-1	1	+1		
Other parties								-1

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office

In Valais, results from the first round were broadly in line with campaign expectations, with one exception: the election of the Centre's candidate, Fransizka Biner, in the first round. Following the withdrawal of the Greens' candidate before the second round, the remaining four candidates —representing the Centre, SP, SVP and FDP - were elected uncontested, achieving in an executive composition identical to that of 2021. This continuity reaffirms the canton's long-standing political stability, although a strong turnout decreasing. In Solothurn, the SVP candidate's performance in the first round proved to be the major surprise. For the first time, the party had a real chance to enter the cantonal executive. The second round confirmed this trend: the SVP candidate was elected after seven previous unsuccessful attempts. The FDP and Greens lost ground, with the Greens particularly disappointed as their candidate failed to retain a previously held seat. The final composition included representatives from the Centre, SP, SVP and FDP. The main change was the SP gaining one seat at the expense of the FDP. In Neuchâtel, no second round was necessary, as a tacit election was declared. According to electoral rules, if the number of candidates equals the number of seats, a popular election is not held. The new government (2025-2029) includes two SP members, two FDP

members, and one representative from the Greens. Compared with 2021, this represents a minor reshuffle: the FDP lost one seat while the Greens entered the executive. Consequently, the left now holds a three-to-two majority. In Jura, the inclusion of the former Bernese district of Moutier - participating for the first time - may yet influence future political dynamics. Unexpectedly, the SP emerged as the main winner, gaining three seats (+1), while the Centre retained its two. Drawing a kind of "divided government", Jura now has a left-wing majority in government, alongside Neuchâtel, even though centre-right parties still prevailed in their cantonal parliaments.

7. Conclusions

As in previous electoral cycles, none of Switzerland's major parties secured an absolute majority in any of the four cantonal parliament elections in 2025. This outcome reflects both the proportional voting system and the gradual decline of the dominant centrist and centre-right forces. The distribution of votes across left, centre, and right blocs remains broadly balanced. Only in Valais was the Centre notably over-represented (40.3%), while all other parties fell below 20%. Overall, the 2025 cantonal elections reaffirmed the federal-level balance observed after the 2023 general elections, albeit with some notable shifts. The SVP continues to expand its electoral base, including in previously weaker French-speaking cantons. The SP remains stable or slightly ascendant, while the Centre and the FDP are losing momentum. The Greens and the GLP have experienced a marked decline, confirming the ebb of the ecological momentum that peaked in 2019. In the government elections, despite open competitions for popular support, the four main federal parties are the only winners in 2025, except for Neuchâtel, where also a Greens' candidate entered government. The 2025 government elections confirm the enduring Switzerland's legacy of power-sharing rooted in a multi-party government system and a collegial decision-making among the main parties.

Due to strong cantonal competences in policymaking, Swiss cantonal elections are of huge political relevance. However, this relevance is not confined to the regional level. The results of the cantonal contests could potentially foreshadow the strength of the parties in the federal elections scheduled for autumn 2027, acting as a sort of barometer election (Anderson and Ward, 1996). In Switzerland, federal elections, held with a proportional rule for the Lower federal chamber and two-round majority systems for the Upper federal chamber, are based upon cantonal constituencies and candidates are selected by the cantonal party organisations.

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