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# Participation and Elements of Direct Democracy in the Czech Republic: Part I<sup>1</sup>

# Petr Jüptner, Pavla Valušová, Ilona Kruntorádová

Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences Smetanovo nábřeží 6, CZ-110 00 Prague, Czech Republic

doi:10.13165/VPA-14-13-4-08

Abstract. The article presents a case study focused on the definition, political discussion, application, and experience with direct elections and referenda on local, regional and national levels of the Czech political system in the context of participation and elements of direct democracy. The first part of the article (Part I) contains theoretical background, research design of the case study and data for local referenda based on authors' own research; they are divided by topics into the original typology. The added value of the article should culminate in its second part (Part II, to be published in the next issue) with the analysis of electoral participation in local referenda, and this will bring us to the direct elections. At the end of Part II, an application of selected elements of direct democracy and direct elections is embedded in a European context and the main trends are analyzed. Such trends as well as the topic itself demonstrate the motivations of political actors and the relations among the different levels of governance in the Czech Republic.

**Keywords:** *direct democracy, referendum, direct election* **Raktiniai žodžiai**: *tiesioginė demokratija, referendumas, tiesioginiai rinkimai*.

# 1. Basics and the goal

Even though direct democracy may be regarded as original in consideration of its antique practice [4], the reality of large countries is not favourable to an

<sup>1</sup> The paper was compiled within the project of the Grant Agency of the Charles University in Prague No. 368214 "Financial Aspects of the Autonomy of Municipalities in the Political System of the Czech Republic".

exclusive implementation of direct democracy; it is not technically feasible to secure the encounter of a couple of millions of citizens and provide each one of them with a space to present their solutions and opinions [5, 27]. It was a vast growth in areas and population which triggered "radical transformations in institutions and practice of democracy" [4] to take a form of a representative democracy. Such a transformation was conceptualized within the so-called non-classical theory of democracy, represented for example by Schumpeter who advocated the minimization of the role of citizens. He perceived their role only in the formation of a government or a body mediating the formation of a government [30]. Another proponent of a non-classical theory of democracy was Karl Raimund Popper, who then envisioned the role of citizens primarily in the evaluation of individual steps of government in the elections. In his opinion, the elections work as retrospective people's verdict regarding the pursued policies [21]. Sartori was also skeptical towards the ideas of civic initiatives and referenda as modern alternatives or even replacements of the tools of representative democracy [27]; furthermore, he emphasized that representative democracy "solved a problem which the Greeks did not have to be confronted with, and it was the provision and protection of freedom of each individual" [27]. Dahl followed this with the reflection on current representative democracy via the concept of polyarchy [4]. As proponents of representative democracy, both Dahl and Sartori also worried that an increase in the civic or political participation of lower socio-economic classes might lead to the endorsement of authoritarian ideas and to the lower support of democratic values [19]. Despite the non-implementability of exclusively direct democracy, the revival of its partial elements as of the 1960s and 1970s may have been witnessed [13, 10, 28]. The advocates of participatory democracy have partly returned to the ideas by Rousseau, who viewed the participation of citizens in political decision-making processes as a fundamental attribute of the state functioning [19] and emphasized that the final resolution conditioning the validity of law must be placed in the hands of people [24]<sup>2</sup>. The supporters of new social movements came up with an instrumental criticism of Schumpeter's theory which undesirably eliminates the role of citizens and exhibits a negative sign of competitiveness among elected representatives [19]. The supporters of direct democracy and the enhancement of civic participation positively strive to contribute to an increased interest of citizens in public affairs as well as to lower their mistrust of politics [6, 2, 3, 26]. For such reasons, spreading the elements of direct democracy may be considered fashionable and their extension may even influence a vertical structure of government and the expenditure item of public budgets [9]. The practice of applying representative democracy selectively complemented with the elements of direct democracy directly corresponds to the limits of both mutually balancing theories [see 35].

<sup>2</sup> Rousseau already reflects on the population-wise strong state due to which he attaches "only" an acclamatory role to people [36].

A partial implementation, in particular of referenda and people's initiatives, "supplements, extends and intensifies the scheme of representative democracy as a basic organizational form through which people demonstrate their will" [22]. At the same time, such possibilities of participation enhance awareness of citizens and their competence [29]. Simultaneously, the implementation of the elements of direct democracy may also relate to new forms of communication in the changing post-modern mass society and to the development of communication technique and new media. The case of Lithuania demonstrates that referenda as elements of direct democracy may play a significant role in the restoration of democratic political systems [25]. Unsurprisingly, the Czech Republic may be embedded in the aforementioned framework, as well. The constitutional system of the Czech Republic rather corresponds to the "concept of the governance by people over people who empowered them to it using constitutional means" [20]; therefore, it does not constitute the "negation of government of the people" [20]. The sovereignty of people is perceived within the meaning of legitimacy and responsibility [20].

Reflection on spreading the elements of direct democracy and personalization of elections within the Czech system is hereafter the goal of the submitted paper. It includes the analysis of trends and interconnection of the main instruments of direct democracy and direct elections in the Czech Republic on local, regional and national levels of the Czech political system. The presented outcome should also facilitate the placement of rules, practice and discussion within the Czech Republic in a global context. The submitted paper forms an enlarged and updated version of the contribution delivered on 9 April 2014 at an international conference "Efektyvumas viešajame sektoriuje: kuo vadybos teorijos gali pasitarnauti ir ką praktikai gali patarti?" held at Mykolas Romeris University in Vilnius.

#### 1.1. Comparative and conceptual framework

Despite a wide range of elements of direct democracy frequently implemented in other European countries in combination with a liberal representative democracy, the practice in the Czech Republic confines itself only to some of its tools<sup>3</sup>. As regards the plebiscite, the Czech legal system does not recognize such a term and only a referendum is held. The Czech legislation provides the citizens with the tools of petition or people's initiative. Less common elements of direct democracy, such as recall or people's veto, are completely disregarded by the legislation. The same applies to civic assemblies which are convened in the smallest municipalities in Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria or Iceland. A direct election is in executive models implemented only to a limited extent.

<sup>3</sup> Tools of direct democracy contain the referendum, petitions, polls on municipal level, commenting on the draft of municipal budget and final accounts of the municipality for the previous calendar year, the direct election of president and voicing opinions at the meetings of municipal council regarding discussed matters in accordance with the rules of procedure.

Considering the practice of direct democracy an academic law, the sociological and politological community in the Czech Republic primarily concerned itself with local referenda; however, the reflection again seems insufficient. Even though a local referendum has been embedded in the Czech legal system since 1990, prior to the present research researchers and even public administration itself did not manage to gather complete data referring to held local referenda. Existing research attempts either were targeted at a specific type of local referenda [34] or had a limited time period [32, 31, 23]. Within the scope of law, an issue of local referendum was, for example, pursued by Filip Rigel, who focused on the interpretation of a definition of local referenda and legislative development [23]. Petra Baráková from the Parliamentary Institute of the Office of Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Republic also contributed to an academic discussion with her article [1]. The most elaborate summary of the discussed issue is embodied by sociological publications Direct Democracy in Practice [31] and Citizens in Politics [32] by Michael L. Smith, who analyzed the questions of direct democracy within Central Europe. He emphasized Czech local referenda as of the year 2000. Similarly, the issue of a direct election has been addressed by the authors of primarily politological and legal backgrounds. Recently, a variety of articles have emerged, reflecting in particular on the current implementation of the direct election of a president [12, 18]. The number of authors engaged in the discussion on an eventual implementation of a direct election of mayors is very limited; besides the authors of the submitted paper herein [14, 15], Pavel Šaradín may be mentioned in particular [33].

### 1.2. Methods and design of a case study

In order to meet the objective of the paper, an analysis has been narrowed down to the very up-to-date and highly discussed elements of direct democracy, such as a referendum and direct elections. With regard to the legislative development and political discussions, both tools will be analyzed on all three levels of the Czech political system – national, regional and local. The submitted paper is based on the application of a qualitative method of a unique case study stemming from empirical data [16, 7]. As the definition and practice of referenda and direct elections are not symmetrical in the Czech system, the analysis of individual levels also differentiates a set of specific methods and tools. The authors of the present paper analyzed (1) legislative norms, proposals and governmental documents, (2) political parties' attitudes, (3) academic discussion in yellow and (4) made their own research.

The authors regard it important to explain in particular the parameters of their own research, which was conducted in accordance to the above mentioned scheme employed within the framework of handling the referenda on local level. Even though in 2004 the law established a notification obligation of municipalities towards individual regional offices, the Czech Republic is still missing an integrated central register providing a complete collection of information and data on local referenda. The municipalities are obliged to notify their supervisory bodies of any held local referendum. In July 2006, the regional offices were substituted by the Ministry of Interior which published the list of held referenda on its websites. However, this list did not assume data from regional offices and administered information only as of the year 2006. Besides, the list is incomplete, as the breach of notification obligation is not subject to any sanctions and the municipality may provide the data or not based on its own will. Moreover, the ministry itself significantly contributes to the deficiencies of database, as it has not updated the published version since 2011<sup>4</sup>. Within their own empirical research, the authors had to collect their own data on local referenda held from November 1990<sup>5</sup> to February 2011. Accordingly, the authors approached all the municipalities in the Czech Republic and assembled so far the largest sample of local referenda with the data on 319 votings. Out of this number, only 112 were derived from the list of the Ministry of Interior; the remaining 207 were acquired based on the communication with municipal offices or regional periodicals.

The only possible way how to obtain all the necessary data and assemble a complete list of referenda held prior to 2006, resp. 2004, was to perform a field research and contact individual municipal offices. Due to a fragmented municipal structure of the Czech Republic, the most ideal way to carry out a research of such an extent proved to be an electronic form, resp. a form of data boxes. Data messages, i.e. documents sent to the offices, bear the same legal binding as any other administrative actions filed in writing towards individual offices. Data messages aim to render the communication with the bodies of public administration more efficiently and prospectively replace classic administration filed in writing<sup>6</sup>. Individual municipal offices were approached via a letter conceived as a request to provide information in compliance with the law on free access to information<sup>7</sup>. Municipalities are legally obliged to provide information regarding their sphere of action within 15 days upon the delivery of such a request.

The enquiry to individual offices was raised in the question whether a local referendum was held on the territory of a municipality between 24 November 1990 and 30 June 2006<sup>8</sup>. In case of a positive response, the authors of the present paper

- 7 Law No. 106/1999 coll. on a free access to information.
- 8 This period was stipulated based on the Law No. 367/1990 coll. on a local referendum, in effect as of 24 November 1990. Since 30 June 2006, the municipalities are obliged to provide

<sup>4</sup> Web of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic [interactive]. [accessed on 2014-05-06]. <a href="http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/obcanske-aktivity-118893.aspx">http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/obcanske-aktivity-118893.aspx</a>. The authors have a working version of the current list available based on the correspondence with the staff of the ministry.

<sup>5</sup> Law No. 367/1990 coll., on municipalities (municipal system) governing the conditions of the declaration of a local referendum, came into effect on 24 November 1990.

<sup>6</sup> The message is delivered to the data box upon the sign-up process of a designated person. In case a person does not sign in into the data box within 10 days upon the delivery of the document to the data box, the document is deemed to be delivered on the last day of this period and constitutes the so-called fiction of delivery.

requested more detailed information on the referendum - the date it was held, the question in the referendum, the number of entitled persons in the municipality, the number of YEA and NAY votes, the number of invalid ballots and the initiator of a referendum. Although the law on free access to information determines a statutory time period for a statutory body to respond within 15 days, not all the bodies respect such a period and a request may even be ignored by a corresponding body. Therefore, the research materialized in two stages. Throughout the months of October and November of 2010, all the municipalities within the Czech Republic were approached. 3 907 responses from municipal offices, i.e. in total 62.5 % of sent requests, were gathered in the first stage of the research. In the second stage, the municipalities which disregarded the request in the first round of research were approached in the same way. Their number amounted to 2 343 of municipal offices. This stage of the research took place in January, 2011. Out of 2 343 municipal offices, 906 municipalities provided their statement. In total, the research managed to gain information from 4 813 municipalities, i. e. from 77.0 % of the total number of municipalities in the Czech Republic.

# 2. Referendum as an element of direct democracy in the Czech political system

# 2.1. Legislative basis and political discussion

# 2.1.1. Statewide level

In accordance with the Constitution<sup>9</sup>, a constitutional law may define when people exercise a state power directly and the Charter of fundamental rights and freedoms<sup>10</sup> then establishes that people are entitled to their share in the administration of public affairs directly or through free elections of their representatives. This legal regulation governs that a declaration of statewide referendum requires the passing of a constitutional law by a qualified majority of both chambers of the parliament [11]. Therefore, on 14 November 2002, the Parliament of the Czech Republic had to adopt a specific constitutional law concerning the referendum on the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU<sup>11</sup> and the law on the amendment of constitutional law<sup>12</sup> effective of 1 March, 2003. As a result, in June 2003, the first one and so far the only statewide referendum<sup>13</sup> could be held. Neither longstanding discussions, nor 15

the information on held local referenda to the Ministry of Interior, which then makes it available on its websites.

<sup>9</sup> Article 2.

<sup>10</sup> Article 21.

<sup>11</sup> Constitutional Law No. 515/2002 coll.

<sup>12</sup> Constitutional Law No. 1/1993 coll., the Constitution of the Czech Republic, as amended.

<sup>13</sup> A referendum on the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU was held on 13 and 14 June 2003. The ballot boxes attracted 55.21% of eligible voters, of which 77.33% voted favorably

drafts of constitutional laws presented since the year 1993 conduced to the adoption of a constitutional enactment of general referendum [8].

In the 1990s, the main proponents of a general referendum were political entities rather on the edge of a political spectrum, the entities with a strong regional support and marginal political groups<sup>14</sup>. Since the parliamentary elections of 2006, new relevant political parties<sup>15</sup> have emerged in the Czech Parliament. The most vocal support of direct democracy has been expressed by marketing and populistic parties, Public Affairs (VV) and the Dawn of Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura (Table 1).

Political parties/ Parliamentary period	1993- 1996	1996- 1998	1998- 2002	2002- 2006	2006- 2010	2013 -	Total
ČSSD	1	1	6	2	1	0	11
HSD-SMS	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
KDU/ČSL	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
KSČM	1	1	0	0	1	1	4
Dawn of Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

 Table 1. Overview of legislative proposals for the implementation of a general referendum

Source: compiled by the authors

(The Czech Statistical Office, 2003). Unlike Poland and Slovakia, the minimal quorum for the validity of voting was not stipulated. This referendum may be classified as ratificationist, as well as the Parliament of the Czech Republic voluntarily relinquished its decision and delegated it to the citizens. This referendum may be defined as both obligatory and binding.

- 14 The largest number of legislative drafts was presented by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM). The Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) also showed an approving attitude; during its governance of 1998-2002, it presented two drafts of constitutional laws on a general referendum (other drafts followed, e.g. in the period of 2010-2011). Completely disapproving attitudes towards a general referendum were endorsed by the right-wing entities: the Civil Democratic Party (ODS), the Civil Democratic Alliance (ODA); the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL) accorded only a partial support to the draft in its electoral programme in 1996 [13].
- 15 Green Party (SZ) was a member of the Chamber of deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic in the period of 2006-2010. Upon the elections held in 2010, the Chamber of deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic was entered by the alliance TOP 09 and STAN (TOP 09 and the Mayors and Independents), Public Affairs (VV) which later disintegrated and one part gave rise to a political party of Liberal Democrats (LIDEM). In total, two new entities reached the 5% limit in the elections of 2013- ANO 2011 and Dawn of Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura.

#### 2.1.2. Regional level

Since January 1, 2011, the most recent tool of direct democracy in the Czech system has been a regional referendum. The Chamber of Deputies passed the corresponding law<sup>16</sup> in April, 2010. In order to secure its validity, it was necessary to override a dismissive verdict of the upper chamber of the parliament as well as the president's veto. The requirements for the validity and legal binding of a regional referendum are identical to the ones on the local level. To make the regional referendum valid, it was required to achieve the turnout of 35 % of eligible voters<sup>17</sup> at the minimum. The regional referendum has a legal binding provided an absolute majority of participating voters and at least 25 % of eligible persons registered in the list of eligible voters voted in favor of the proposal. A regional referendum may also be held on the territory of the capital city of Prague, which is simultaneously a region and a municipality.

A regional referendum is held upon a resolution passed by the municipal council or a request by the preparatory committee which has to assemble 6 % of the signatures by eligible persons, i.e. the citizens with a permanent residence on the territory of a region. A regional referendum excludes the following questions: imposition of fines, regional budget, generally binding ordinances, elections and dismissals of regional representatives and establishment or abolition of regional bodies. Another referendum entailing the same question may be held after two years at the earliest (the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic). As this tool is quite recent, no referendum has been held so far in accordance with this legislation [27].

#### 2.1.3. Local level

In the post-November history, a local referendum was even institutionalized by a constitutional law from the year 1990; in compliance with this law, the citizens themselves could decide on local affairs at municipal assemblies, in a referendum or through the municipal council<sup>18</sup>. The municipal order at the time<sup>19</sup> confined an obligatory arrangement of referenda to the decisions involving the questions of amalgamation or separation of municipalities. A request by one tenth of the citizens of the municipality above eighteen years of age or one third of the members of the municipal council was required to proceed to the referendum<sup>20</sup>.

A detailed legislation of a local referendum was approved several years later in

<sup>16</sup> Law No. 118/2010 coll. on a regional referendum and amendments of some laws.

<sup>17</sup> Eligible persons are persons entitled to vote in regional or local councils.

<sup>18</sup> Constitutional Law No. 294/1990 coll.

<sup>19</sup> Law No. 367/1990 coll. on municipalities (municipal system).

<sup>20</sup> The possibility to declare a referendum upon the request by a municipal council was later abolished. Municipal councils assumed this power no earlier than in 2004.

1992<sup>21</sup>. The law stipulated that in a local referendum the citizens decide on specific questions which fall within independent powers of the municipality or a city quarter. A local referendum could not be held in taxatively enumerated questions<sup>22</sup>. The turnout of one quarter of eligible citizens was required in the voting to make a local referendum valid. An absolute majority of all the participating voters was essential to make the result of a referendum legally binding. A referendum on the establishment of a new municipalitity was qualified as obligatory. Only those citizens of local quarters who seek independence attend such a referendum. An absolute majority of all eligible citizens of the municipality is required to achieve an affirmative opinion<sup>23</sup>.

Passing the law on the elections to the municipal councils in 1994 separated the legislation for a local referendum<sup>24</sup> and local elections<sup>25</sup>. Such changes also triggered a significant change embodied in the enlargement of a taxative enumeration of matters excluded from the decisions in a local referendum.

The adoption of a new municipal order in 2000<sup>26</sup> brought along other particular changes. Conditions for the establishment of a new municipality were tightened<sup>27</sup>, which led to indirect restrictions of the usability of a local referendum. A legal binding for the result of a local referendum for the municipal council and other municipal institutions was introduced<sup>28</sup>.

The above stated changes accomplished a fragmentation in the definition of a local referendum, which was governed by a large variety of legislation, often of conflicting nature [see 23]. Therefore, a completely new law on local referendum

- 24 Law No. 298/1992 coll. on a local referendum.
- 25 Law No. 152/1994 coll.
- 26 Law No. 128/2000 coll. on municipalities (municipal system).
- 27 A newly established municipality ought to have an autonomous cadastral territory neighbouring with at least two municipalities and creating a coherent territorial whole. A new municipality has to have at least 1 000 inhabitants upon the separation. The same conditions apply to a municipality after its part has been separated.
- 28 In case the local authorities do not comply with the outcome of a referendum and disregard the calls for redressing the situation, the Ministry of Interior as the central body of public administration could even dismiss them.

<sup>21</sup> Law No. 298/1992 coll. on elections to the municipal councils and a local referendum. The law came into effect on 1 July 1992.

<sup>22</sup> They concerned the matters regarding municipal budget, local fees, elections and a dismissal of a mayor or board or any questions contrary to generally binding legal regulations. Also, the referendum could not be held in the last six months of an election period of a municipal council.

<sup>23</sup> In case of an amalgamation of municipalities, a referendum is not required. An agreement on an amalgamation of municipalities or an integration of a municipality may be concluded upon the decision by the concerned municipal councils. However, in case the implementation of a referendum is requested by the citizens of a municipality within 30 days upon the publishing of such a decision, a referendum is bound to happen.

came into effect in 2004<sup>29</sup>. However, besides the consolidation of legislation of a local referendum, it also considerably increased the limit for validity and legal binding of a local referendum – to more than a half turnout of the voters. According to explanatory reports, an increase in the quorum was motivated by evident attempts to restrain a referendum<sup>30</sup>. In order to declare a referendum, it is necessary to engage the preparatory committee composed of the citizens of a municipality, or, since 2004, it may again be initiated by the municipal council itself, based on simple majority of its members. Besides the determination of a question and territory, the preparatory committee decides where the referendum will be held. The number of signatures indispensable for the initiation of a referendum has not changed since the previous legislation; it still takes into consideration the size of a municipality. A new law again modified the list of questions disqualified from a local referendum.

There has been a recurring mitigation of conditions regarding the validity and legal binding of a local referendum since 2008<sup>31</sup>. A referendum is valid provided 35 % of eligible citizens participate in the voting. The limit for a legal binding of a referendum has been set for more than a half turnout of voters, which must simultaneously represent 25 % of all eligible citizens of a municipality at the minimum.

An amendment of the law abolished the possibility to dismiss a municipal council in case it declines to be governed by the result of a referendum.

So far, the latest legislation of a local referendum was passed in the year 2012 and it governed only partial aspects of the law on local referendum concerning the review of the matters related to the proposal by the preparatory committee<sup>32</sup>.

# 2.2. Typology of local referenda

Local referenda have become a natural part of the participation of the citizens in public life in the Czech Republic<sup>33</sup>. There have been hundreds of cases and a

<sup>29</sup> Law No. 22/2004 coll. on a local referendum and amendments of some laws.

<sup>30</sup> According to explanatory reports, an increase in the quorum was motivated by several reasons. One reason was, considering the autonomy, an importance of questions raised in a referendum which, according to lawmakers, require a corresponding support of a significant number of inhabitants of a municipality. Another reason concerns over a potential abuse of this element of direct democracy which may in the interest of a protection of a small unit become a destructive element for the politics of a state as a whole. And in particular, if it is possible to dismiss the local authorities of a municipality in case they disregard the outcome of a referendum and declare new elections, then such a decision necessitates the support of a majority of inhabitants of a municipality.

<sup>31</sup> Amendment No. 169/2008 coll.

<sup>32</sup> Law No. 142/2012 coll., effective of 1 July 2012.

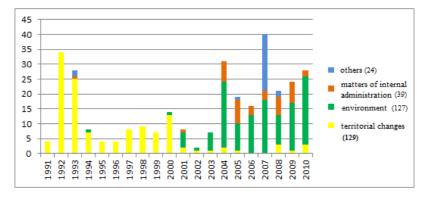
<sup>33</sup> Besides a local referendum, the municipalities establish polls for their citizens which in many cases replace more costly local referenda.

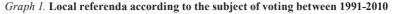
large variety of reasons, either on the part of citizens or representatives, to consider the initiation of a referendum. According to the subject of voting, the authors of the present paper have classified referenda in their sample into four general groups according to their character. In particular, there are the categories of referenda in the questions of (1) territorial changes of a municipality<sup>34</sup>, (2) environment<sup>35</sup>, (3) matters of internal administration of a municipality<sup>36</sup> and (4) others<sup>37</sup> (Graph 1). Potential problems of a proposed typology might refer to the categories themselves as well as to the classification of individual cases which often crossed a larger number of categories<sup>38</sup>.

In the 1990s, the most frequent referenda in the sample addressed territorial changes which lay in the establishment of new municipalities. Upon the termination of a fragmentation of municipal structure, the referenda with environmental questions began to prevail.

- 35 The category of **environment** includes all the local referenda with "green" topics. They primarily include the votings on the construction of wind or photovoltaic power stations, nuclear waste dumps, landfills, opening of quarries, traffic questions, construction of factories, large industrial premises or facilities for livestock breeding. They all have in common concerns over the deterioration of the quality of life due to eventual noise, air pollution, bad smell or an inadequate intervention in the characteristics of landscape.
- 36 The category matters of internal administration of a municipality includes the referenda on internal running of a municipality which affects municipal budget or construction. Therefore, they concern the questions of sale or lease of a municipal property, finances and large investments as well as any constructions on the municipal territory, reconstructions of public areas, changes in the territorial plan or abolishing of schools.
- 37 The category **others** includes the votings with "unclassified" topics, such as building of monuments and crosses, construction of a radar base in Brdy (a military area in Central Bohemian region) or the referenda on the threat of abolishing a municipality.
- 38 In such borderline situations the authors analyzed a crucial impact the question of a referendum had on the life of citizens. For example, in 2006 the citizens of the municipality Tisovec decided on the case of a lease of municipal land, which should constitute the matters of internal administration of a municipality. However, the purpose of a lease was the development of a quarry for stone mining which would negatively affect the environment, through an increased noise or air pollution. Therefore, the referendum was attached to the green topics, as it may be assumed that an imaginary driving force for the turnout in the referendum were environmental concerns and not a financial contribution to the municipality budget.

<sup>34</sup> The category of **territorial changes of a municipality** involves all the cases in which the municipality borders – internal or external – were changed. It concerns the cases of an establishment of new municipalities through separation or amalgamation, integration of a municipality to another municipality, or the establishment of new city quarters.





Source: compiled by the authors

#### 3. Summary and conclusions

1. The first part of this article ends with presenting detailed characteristics and the occurrence of each category of local referendums. It is obvious that the referendum is held mainly for reasons of legislative setting, especially at the local level. Topics of referendums have gradually changed from territorial changes on issues related to environmental quality, as Graph 1 showed.

2. In the second part of the article (to be published in this journal), the authors follow up an analysis of the factors affecting turnout of local referendums in each category, which is the key requirement for their validity. In the continuation of this text, the authors will also present the implementation of direct elections at various levels of the Czech political system.

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#### Petr Jüptner, Pavla Valušová, Ilona Kruntorádová

# Dalyvavimas ir tiesioginės demokratijos elementai Čekijos Respublikoje: I dalis

#### Anotacija

Straipsnyje pateikta atvejo analizė, kurioje dėmesys sutelktas į vietos, regionų ir nacionalinio lygmens tiesioginių rinkimų ir referendumo sampratą, politines diskusijas, taikymą ir patirtį, atsižvelgiant į dalyvavimą bei tiesioginės demokratijos elementus Čekijos politinės sistemos kontekste. Pirmąją straipsnio dalį (I dalis) sudaro teorinis pagrindimas, atvejo analizės tyrimo konstrukcija ir surinktų vietos referendumo duomenų grupavimas pagal prigimtinę tipologiją.

Pridėtinė straipsnio vertė turėtų atsiskleisti antrojoje dalyje (II dalis bus pateikta kitame mokslo darbų numeryje), kurioje analizuojamas rinkėjų dalyvavimas vietos referendumuose, vedantis link tiesioginių rinkimų. Antrosios dalies pabaigoje atrinkti tiesioginės demokratijos elementai ir tiesioginiai rinkimai analizuojami remiantis Europos kontekstu bei tendencijomis.

Šios tendencijos, kaip ir pati straipsnio tema, parodo politinių veikėjų motyvaciją ir skirtingų Čekijos valdymo lygių tarpusavio santykius.

*Petr Jüptner* – Prahos Karolio universiteto Socialinių mokslų fakulteto Politikos studijų instituto direktorius, politikos mokslų daktaras.

E. paštas: juptner@fsv.cuni.cz

Pavla Valušová - politikos mokslų magistrė.

E. paštas: pavla.valusova@seznam.cz

*Ilona Kruntorádová* – Prahos Karolio universiteto Socialinių mokslų fakulteto Politikos studijų instituto direktorė, Doktorantūros studijų centro vadovė, politikos mokslų doktorantė. E. paštas: kruntoradova@fsv.cuni.cz

*Petr Jüptner*, Doctor of Political Science, Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, Director. E-mail: juptner@fsv.cuni.cz

E-mail. Jupiler@isv.cum.cz

Pavla Valušová, Master of Political Science.

E-mail: pavla.valusova@seznam.cz

*Ilona Kruntorádová*, Ph.D. student of Political Science, Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, Head of Centre for Doctoral Studies. E-mail: kruntoradova@fsv.cuni.cz

Įteiktas 2014 m. rugsėjo mėn.; recenzuotas; parengtas spausdinti lapkričio mėn.