

Potluka, Oto et al.

Local Participation in Visegrad Countries How Are Politicians Rooted in the Civil Society?



www.visegradfund.org

Acknowledgement:

This publication was written within the project 21320074 "Leadership and Urban and Regional development" funded by the International Visegrad Fund



Potluka, Oto et al.

Local Participation in Visegrad Countries

How Are Politicians Rooted in the Civil Society?

-
- Visegrad Fund
- • www.visegradfund.org



Example of bibliographic reference:

POTLUKA, Oto et al. Local Participation in Visegrad Countries : How Are Politicians Rooted in the Civil Society?
1st ed. Praha: IREAS, Institut pro strukturální politiku, 2014. ISBN: 978-80-86684-98-7.



Local Participation in Visegrad Countries: How Are Politicians Rooted in the Civil Society?

The publication has not been proofread. The authors are responsible for the accuracy of all content. All rights reserved. Printed in the Czech Republic. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address IREAS, Institute for Structural Policy.

Publisher:

IREAS, Institut pro strukturální politiku, o.p.s.
Mařákova 292/9
160 00 Praha 6
E-mail: ireas@ireas.cz
Tel.: +420 725 068 902

Editors:

Špaček, Martin
Potluka, Oto

Printing and binding:

Tisk Pětka s.r.o., Horova 1631, 252 63 Roztoky u Prahy

© 2014 by IREAS, Institut pro strukturální politiku, o.p.s., Prague
First edition: 2014

ISBN: 978-80-86684-98-7



Authors (alphabetical order):

Potluka, Oto – University of Economics, Prague (Introduction, chapter 2, Conclusions)

Idczak, Piotr – Poznan University of Economics, Poland (chapter 1)

Kalman, Judit - Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Economics (chapter 4)

Kostal, Ctibor – Slovak Governance Institute (chapter 3)

Musialkowska, Ida – Poznan University of Economics, Poland (chapter 1)

Ovádek, Michal – Slovak Governance Institute (chapter 3)

Spacek, Martin – University of Economics, Prague (chapter 2)

Tholtová, Barbora – Slovak Governance Institute (chapter 3)

List of content

Introduction.....	9
1 Leadership and Regional and Urban Development: The Case of the City of Poznan.....	13
1.1 Introduction to the Polish Case	13
1.2 Civil Society in Poland.....	14
1.3 Methodology.....	19
1.4 Characteristics of City of Poznan	20
1.4.1 Civil Society in Poznan.....	22
1.5 Local Election System in Poland on the Example of Poznan.....	22
1.6 Findings Concerning Political and Civic Involvements	24
1.7 Findings Concerning the Involvement of the Councillors of the Council of the City of Poznan in the Implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy.....	25
1.8 Conclusions to the Polish Case	28
2 Prague's Politicians as NGOs Representatives	31
2.1 Introduction to the Czech Case.....	31
2.2 Leadership and Municipal Elections in Prague	33
2.3 Data and Methodology.....	37
2.4 Results and Discussion.....	38
2.5 Conclusions to the Czech Case.....	45
3 Political Participation of CSOs Leaders in Bratislava	49
3.1 Introduction to the Slovak Case	49
3.1.1 Civic Participation	49
3.1.2 Civic Participation in Slovakia after 1989	51
3.1.3 2010 Municipal Election in Bratislava	52
3.2 Questionnaire	53
3.2.1 Methodology	53
3.2.2 Findings.....	54
3.3 Interviews.....	58
3.3.1 Interviews Methodology and Findings	62
3.4 Conclusions to the Slovak case.....	64
4 Civil society ties of local leadership – The case of Budapest.....	67
4.1 Introduction to the Hungarian Case – Motivation for Current Research	67

4.2	Background: Development of Local Government Sector and Civil Society in Hungary	68
4.2.1	Local Autonomy – A Complex Issue.....	68
4.2.2	Budapest is Special Case	70
4.2.3	Local Government Election rules – Changed in 2010.....	70
4.2.4	Responsiveness of Local Governments in Hungary	72
4.2.5	Civil Society in Hungary: Weak Traditions - Troubled Waters.....	74
4.3	Methodology	76
4.4	Research Results.....	78
4.4.1	Policy preferences and opinions, satisfaction with central government policies.....	78
4.4.2	The Civil Society Activity of Local Politicians	81
4.4.3	Party People	85
4.5	Conclusions to the Hungarian Case	88
	Conclusions	91
	Appendixes	
	Appendix 1 Projects Implemented by the Poznań City from EU Funds in 2007-2013.....	95
	Appendix 2 Questionnaire for Prague (Version 7th of July 2014).....	96
	References	99
	List of Figures	105
	List of Tables	106
	List of Pictures	106

INTRODUCTION

Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic (hereafter Visegrad countries)¹ have a lot of common issues in their historical development. This year, it has been twenty five years since the socio, economic and political changes started in all these countries of the Central Europe as totalitarian regimes collapsed.

There are also other shared milestones and processes in the development of those countries. They went through transition period when legal and economic systems had been changing in the 1990s. Then the countries jointly accessed the NATO and the European Union in March 1999 (Slovakia in March 2004) and May 2004 respectively.

Such a development brought similar socio-economic issues to tackle. Thus, Visegrad group has been established in January 1991 to share ideas and common interests as the official website of this initiative mentions:

“The Visegrad Group wishes to contribute towards building the European security architecture based on effective, functionally complementary and mutually reinforcing co-operation and coordination within existing European and transatlantic institutions.”²

It resulted in coordination of political negotiation at European level and also regional initiatives, for example the International Visegrad Fund. There has even appeared an initiative to broaden the cooperation by adding Austria and Slovenia as partners to Visegrad+, but it remain still the platform of four countries.

The political transition brought also problems and new challenges not know previously. Political parties and movements grown out of the civil society, election campaigns started as they are known from western democratic countries. Inhabitants of the Visegrad countries could freely vote and chose political representatives at both national and local levels.

The democratic process brought also the fact that the political decision-making became disconnected from the civil society and revolution movements as time went on. The political parties became more professionalised on one side, but on the other side became more in a position of brokers between the civil society and the state. Mair (1997) points out, that political parties have grown out of the civil society, but are dis-

1 This group is also known as Visegrad four or simply V4. There were three countries at the beginning. The Czech Republic and Slovakia become members after the split of the former Czechoslovakia in to two independent states in 1993.

2 <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/about> (cit. 21/11/2014)

connected today due to the industrialisation and urbanisation processes. Such a situation is evident also in the case of Visegrad countries. The civil society started as an anti-state opposition and it is a very long-term process to return to democratic parties to represent inhabitants. The relationship between political parties and the civil society organisations is not as easy to manage as states President (2004, p. 28):

“The gap between parties and civil society has led to a phenomenon that the Georgian political scientist Ghia Nodia has called ‘civil society narcissism’. It is characterized by an anti-political attitude that regards politics as something dirty and the work of civil society NGOs as clean by contrast.”

The pre-accession period and then EU enlargement had brought political participation neither to the civil society organisations nor to public administration as could be expected. The *acquis communautaire* was implemented top-down from the European Union level without possibility to discuss priorities in partnership. Thus, it was not easy to the civil society organisations to regain their lost positions. For many civil society organisations was that process of negotiation a disillusionment (as mentions for example Harvey 2004). It also stressed the role of the central governments in comparison to regional or even local political representation. Thus, it emphasise the centralised system of public administration in countries in question. It is also naive to expect that the civil society in transition countries starts to behave as the western civil societies within few years (see Suleiman (2013) for a discussion of improvement democracy and transparency development). Such a process requires time and a long-term tradition even with financial and other types of support from western foundations and communities.

Partnership at the local level is quite strong. Rikman and Keedus (2013) point out that the political representation at the local level constitutes a partner for about 85% of the Polish civil society organisations.³ Such a strong relationship is not obvious. Some studies reveal changes in approach of the public administration to general public and the civil society organisations at the local level. The relationship becomes stronger and both sides of partnership identify added value of the other partner. The development of the Czech situation at the local level is mentioned in studies Potluka (2009), Potluka and Liddle (2014). Based on it, the situation turns to higher acceptance of local non-governmental initiatives in local political decision-making though it is not a general rule.

We study the state of the art of rootedness of politicians in the civil society by proxy approach of their membership and leadership in civil society organisations in four large cities in the Central Europe. Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) argue that economic development is faster in northern than in southern Italy due to the endowment of social capital in northern part as manifested in membership in associations and interest groups. This is a crucial point for the research presented in this book. If the politicians

³ The surveyed the civil society organizations were asked questions concerning contacts with public administration, not their actual regular cooperation.

are members of various non-profit organisations and movements, the particular districts should be generally wealthier and economically developing, if is this concept valid.

Such an approach enables us to concentrate on local engagement and local identity. Not only are we interested in participation of local politicians in civil society organisations, but also in engagement of activists from the civil society in an institutionalised political life, i.e. political parties and political movements. When they are elected to the official representing bodies, they are able to influence the decision-making more effective and also control sustainable development at the local level – the place they live.

The purpose of this book is to discuss development of local democracy, local development initiatives and local social capital in growing urban areas in post-transition countries in which the civil society was almost absent or very weak twenty five years ago. We would like to show situation in four main cities in Visegrad countries. Those are Bratislava, Budapest, Poznan and Prague. Only Poznan is not a capital city, but it is a city large enough to be a suitable case for a comparison with other cities in the following case study.

The book discusses the theme of local participation and local development as follows. First the Polish case of Poznan is discussed. Then the case study of Prague follows as a case of the capital city of the Czech Republic. Third part of the book is dedicated to Slovakian Bratislava. The fourth case study comes from Hungarian capital city Budapest. The final chapter concludes the topic by stressing out the common issues and differences among studied cities.

1 LEADERSHIP AND REGIONAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF THE CITY OF POZNAN

1.1 Introduction to the Polish Case

Leadership is commonly seen as a key decisive factor in achieving organisational and business success by any organisation. As P. F. Drucker (1996) says “leadership is not rank, privileges, titles, or money. It is responsibility.”. Thus, leaders are entrusted the main responsibility for success because their attitudes and behaviour play a relevant role in shaping performance. In other words, it is a primary way in which people change the minds of others and move organisations forward to accomplish intended goals (Lakmal, 2013). The concept of leadership in accordance with the assumptions of the New Public Management (Hood, 1991; Hausner, 2003) and elements of multi-level governance (Bache, 1998, 2004; Hooghe and Marks, 2004; Faludi, 2011; Imbroscio, 2009) is also successfully applied in managing the public sector especially when it comes to the local or regional authorities. Efficiency-oriented municipalities and communities are focused on strategic management and address beneficiaries of public services like customers, and their citizens as shareholders (Swianiewicz, 2008). Such an approach, however, requires leaders who will be able to influence the behaviour of people, i.e. members of local or regional community. Furthermore, the leaders should possess capabilities to communicate clearly and convincingly their vision of local development strategy and to convince all to opt for this vision (Augustyn, 2012).

The new approach to leadership addresses not only the significant contribution to the prosperity of a community but also emphasises the ability to influence people by triggering their power and potential and to make them able to bring about the individual as well as common objectives. Hence, the focus of leadership is moved to the results in the long term and to satisfaction of people. This means that such leadership is a process which is defined as achieving valuable results under fair and respectful approach to all people involved (Bojar ed., 2010). It is important to emphasise that leaders play a crucial role in shaping the civil society which is in particular responsible for deepening and sustaining democratic local governance. The civil society is vibrant and essential for the preservation of democracy. It represents a fundamental part of the democratic local governance and highlights issues of importance. Moreover, it strengthens social participation in political decision-making and enhances credibility of the political system by promoting transparency and accountability. In terms of policy formulation, the civil society is a valuable partner providing proposals for strategic

developments based on first-hand experience, and facilitating citizens' involvement (WEF, 2013). The engagement of the civil society organisations (CSOs) becomes also a significant element of policy-making with regard to the programming and implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy (Bache and Olsson, 2001; Potluka and Liddle, 2014) which is based on partnership. Thus, there is a critical need to examine this aspect of civil participation as well.

The chapter addresses the problems of participation of the civil society organisations and the wide promotion and use of partnership principle in the development of regions / cities. It highlights the issues of leadership and managing the development in the cities and regions with regard to awareness of key-policy makers of development issues in the city / regions, level of representation of the society by councillors in the councils of the cities coming from different political parties and outcomes of their decisions present in the activities and projects that are implemented as the result of the strategy of development together with setting the priorities of development. The authors try to answer main research questions: how are local politicians rooted in the civil society and what is their impact on development of the region/municipality/city through awareness and participation in the process of implementation of the Cohesion Policy in the city of Poznan.

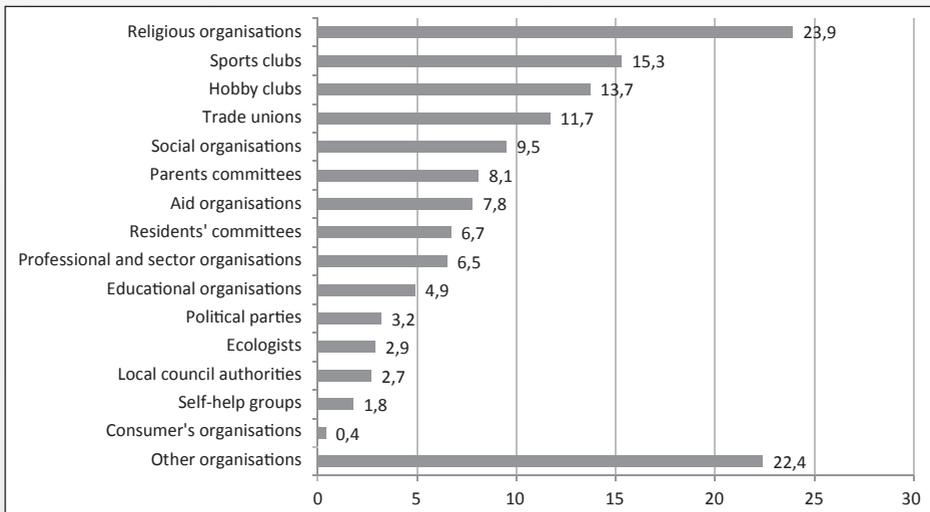
1.2 Civil Society in Poland

In recent years, the concept of civil society has become preeminent not only on the political and policy-makers' agendas but also as a subject of research and scientific debate. More and more, researchers have analysed deeply the interactions between the country's society and its administrative power, as well as the impact of each party on the commonly desirable security conditions and greater socio-economic prosperity. The concept of the civil society is defined broadly and differently in the literature. The most definitions consider it as a democratic instrument giving citizens subjectivity in all spheres of life or under the free market conditions allowing individuals to act independently of the state. Another approach identifies the civil society with the third sector organisations. In Poland this concept appeared in the political and academic debate as a consequence of incidents in the 80s of the 20th century and was defined as an opposing the ideology and power of state, i.e. a society organised by itself against the state (Pietrak, 2004). Currently, the model of a new democratic state is based on the assumption that there are certain red lines for the state intervention in the area of fundamental rights and civil liberties, and at the same time it also establishes the right balance between the interest of the group and the public interest (Krasnowolski, 2014). With all this, the civil society encompasses the sphere of institutions, organisations, networks and people and their attitudes towards the values, situated between the family on the one hand and the state and the market on the other hand (Anheier, 2004). In this respect, democracy seems to be a special political system in which the civil society and national or regional authorities

tend to exist and function as two indispensable participants that are simultaneously separated and interdependent but altogether exercise power and exert control over themselves and the state.

The civil society by its very nature should be considered in two participation areas. The first area covers participation in political life and decision-making process, including passive and active voting rights, membership and activities in political parties and committees, and finally the execution of political functions. The second area encompasses the broadly defined social activity which can take many forms - from making the occasional social work for benefit of the others and the society as a whole (their environment, church, neighbourhood, town) to more formal activities in civic organisations (associations, foundations) (Kinowska, 2012). It follows that the analysis of civic representation in political and public bodies should take into consideration both areas.

Figure 1.1 Percentage of active members of various organisations in Poland in 2013



Source: (Czapiński and Panek 2013, p. 289)

As far as the social activity of the Polish society is concerned, it can be seen that the social involvement of Poles is/ has been relatively low. According to the Social Diagnosis (Czapiński and Panek, 2013) 13.7% of the respondents stated that they are members of organisations, associations, parties, committees, councils, religious groups, movements, unions and circles etc. To put it another way it might be said that 86.3% of Poles do not belong to any organisation. While analysing the activity of members of organisations, it should be highlighted that 72.2% of them say that they are active, and at the same time 27.8% admit not to being active in their associations. This confirms that percentage of Poles acting in some organisation is very low. A general picture emerging

from the data is that most people who are members of the organisation are really engaged in its activity but only 9.9% of Polish society participate actively in organisations or associations. Those people who declare their affiliation to social organisations are most frequently very active in religious groups (23.9%). Despite relatively large percentage of people involved in their activities, in the debate on the third sector and civic organisations the religious groups are often disregarded (Czapiński and Panek, 2013). Among organisations to which Poles belong least rarely are, among others, political parties and local council authorities. Only 3.2% and 2.7% (respectively) of civically engaged people indicated their membership of these two organisations (see more Figure 1.1). Thus, it may be said that the Polish society's participation in central and local public bodies and authorities remains relatively low and is estimated to be almost at the lowest level in comparison to other forms of associations.

When analysing the roles served by people belonging to organisations, which is regarded as a higher level of participation in the civil society, one may see the high share of members who fulfil some functions. It should be emphasised that as many as 46.0% of surveyed population declared that they serve some functions in their organisations. All in all, only 6.3% of the Polish citizens exercise some roles voluntarily. Those people can boast a twofold experience, i.e. they participate in managing the organisation as well as have been elected to do so (Czapiński and Panek, 2013).

Another proxy to measure the development of the civil society might be the number of activities taken for the benefit of the other people. A persistent tendency has been observed in Poland showing that people, who want to do something for their local community, are reluctant to join formal organisations to this end. The data relating to this aspect demonstrates that only 15.2% of respondents expressed a strong commitment to activities for the benefit of the local community (gmina, housing estate, town or neighbourhood). At the same time it means that this phenomenon is as rare as belonging to an organisation. The lack of grassroots social activity and deficiency in bottom-up initiatives for the benefit of own community are very common in Poland, especially seen among people who completed primary education (Czapiński and Panek, 2013). By comparing the data in Table 1.1, we capture the evidence that the indicators related to the social participation and social activities since 2003 have been fluctuating irregularly. The civil society defined as participation in voluntary organisations, has not been growing and has not been able to attract new people in particular young people to its structures. Similar observations apply in the case of serving functions in organisations. To some extent, the positive trend is also visible (slow but systematic increase) with respect to the involvement in the works for the benefit of the community. However, in the last year the data indicate a slight decrease but it is not possible to forecast precisely the future trend.

In addition to the results displayed in Table 1.1, it is worth noting that participation in organisations is nearly as low as participation in public meetings. In 2013 every sixth respondent (17%) had attended some kind of public meeting other than work-related.

These all indicators are basically revealing the relatively low level of the overall development of the Polish civil society, and also comparatively still low level of civil experience and competences. When in turn considering the civil experiences, both with acting in organisations and participation in the public meetings, they are cumulated in the same individuals (Czapiński and Panek, 2013).

Table 1.1 Percentage of active organisation members and people active in the community in Poland between 2003 - 2013

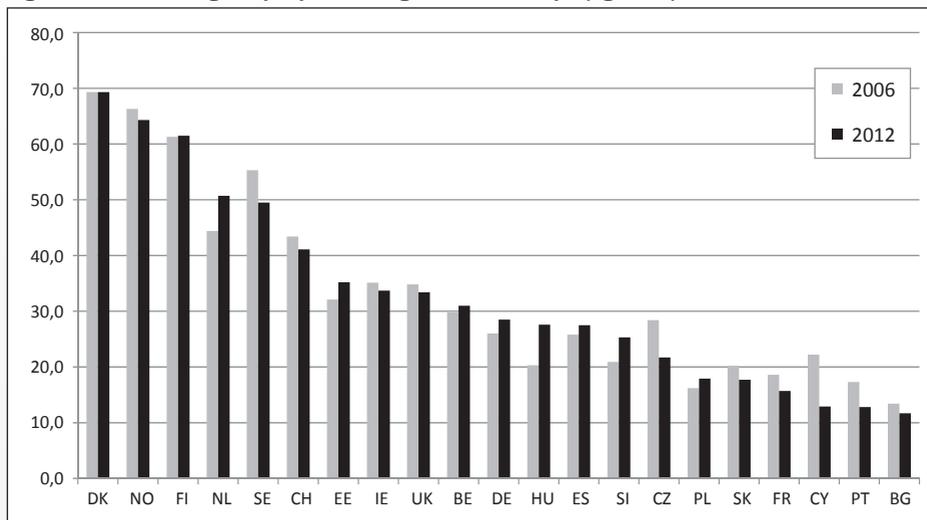
Years	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013
Organisation members	12.2	12.1	15.1	13.2	14.8	13.7
Members of organisations actively fulfilling functions in the organisation	45.1	55.7	41.4	37.9	32.2	46.0
Individuals actively fulfilling functions in general	5.3	6.8	6.3	5.0	4.8	6.3
Individuals active in the community	12.9	13.6	14.1	15.6	15.6	15.2

Source: (Czapiński and Panek 2013, p. 290)

A further interesting aspect of the civil society refers to the value of trust in the society, which is the cornerstone of the civil society. This is in line with the literature dealing with the social capital and its essential components such as interpersonal trust as well as the citizens' trust towards public institutions (Putnam, 2008). In Poland the trust in other people in general places at very low level. Only 12.2% of Poles agreed with the opinion "do you believe that most people can be trusted or are you of the opinion that one can never be too careful with people". At the same time, 77.3% of them marked the answer "one cannot be too careful in dealing with people" (Czapiński and Panek, 2013). Additionally, the level of trust in Polish society is very low and simultaneously limited in particular to immediate family members or family-run business employees (Hausner, 2014). As a result, the lack of trust in other people affects negatively or, even if not, makes the development of civil participation and activity much harder.

According to the European Social Survey (ESS) 2012 in terms of general trust, Poland occupies one of the last places among the countries covered in this survey (Figure 1.2). In 2012 18% of Poles agreed with the opinion that "most people are trustworthy". It means that the level of trust in Poland was over three times lower than in Denmark, Norway and Finland. This derives, to some extent, from the historical reasons and refers to the past experience of the Polish society that might have led to mistrust, suspicion and pessimism⁴. In fact, these attributes, deeply rooted in society and difficult to overcome in the short-term, hinder Poles from strengthening trust in themselves and raising the level of social capital.

⁴ Poland's partitions in the eighteen and nineteen century, experience of World War II and the imposition of communist regime created in the society a very negative image of authorities at that time. The negative perception, feeds through into the current attitudes towards the government, institutions, political rules and regulations as well as principles of social life (Lewicka-Strzalecka, 2007).

Figure 1.2 Percentage of people trusting others in Europe (age 16+)*

* - results were calculated as a cumulative value of percentage of answers from 7 to 10 on the following scale: 0 - "You can't be too careful in dealing with people", 10 - "Most people can be trusted".

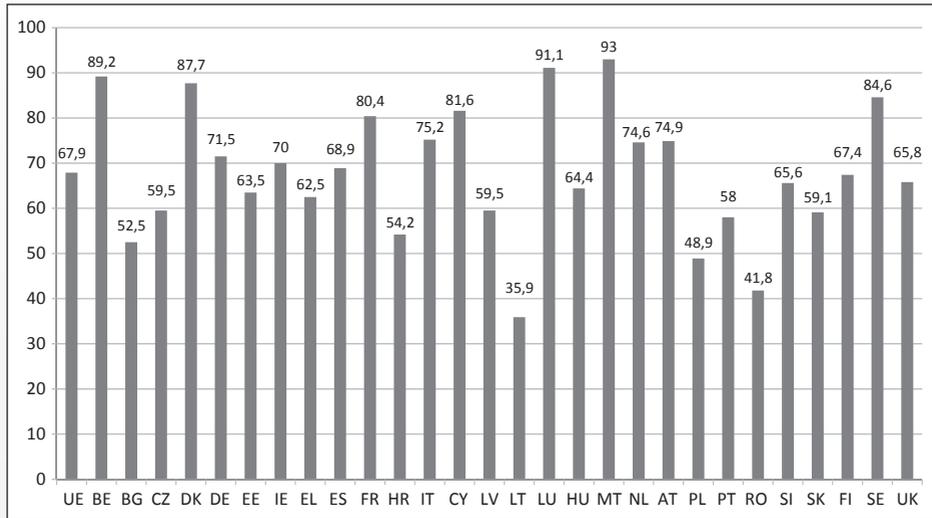
Source: European Social Survey 2006 and 2012 (for Czech Republic ESS 2008 and 2012).

What clearly emerges from Figure 1.2 is a comparable situation of the Visegrad countries in terms of trust in their societies. A common feature of those countries is a relatively low level of trust which is confirmed by their distant places compared to other European, in particular, Scandinavian countries in the trust ranking. The average level of trust in the Visegrad countries amounted to 21% in 2012, whereas for all countries surveyed it stood at around 33%. It is also important to emphasise that Poland, despite regular growth in trust since 2006, placed last but one slightly ahead only of Slovakia among the Visegrad countries.

As far as the participation in political life and decision-making process is concerned, it is worth noting that Poland belongs to the group of European countries with the lowest level of participation in election. The voting turnout in the last national (parliamentary) elections held in 2011 amounted to 48.9% and was, excluding Lithuania and Romania, the lowest among all Members States of the EU (Figure 1.3). It also means that Poland with its low voting turnout occupies the last place among the Visegrad countries. Although the Visegrad countries are characterised by higher share of their citizens in national election, the level of voting turnout ranks below the EU average of 67.9%. These results also demonstrate the impact of the social (civil) participation on the electoral participation. If a large part of the state's population remains civically underdeveloped, passive and uninterested, it affects directly their attitudes towards political life and decision-making process. As it has already been discussed in the literature (Lipset 1995, Lijphart 1997), the electoral participation is the most important

citizens' activity, and what follows, the low voting turnout reflects the non-existence or very weak structures of the civil society.

Figure 1.3 Voter turnout in (last) national parliamentary elections in Poland in 2011



Source: own elaboration based on Eurostat database

The very low voting turnout may have several reasons. In the case of Poland the most frequently reasons addressed by the society are the following (Musiał-Karg, 2011): conviction on limited importance of the individual vote, lack of conviction about the strength of particular voices, low level of interest in politics, some forms of protest against the (self)government and against the political elites who have lost credibility in the eyes of society etc. All these factors contribute in turn, as already mentioned, to low involvement of people in the activities of political parties and local authorities. With all this, Poles entrusting their affairs to the elected representatives display a limited trust. Polish politicians have been getting worse and worse evaluated by the voters (only 16% of citizens trust the national government, OECD 2013), which sparks a vicious cycle and makes creating new political elites even more difficult.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology applied in the study bases on combined qualitative and quantitative approach. The research was preceded by an extended literature review on the civil society and its participation in political decision-making in particular at local and regional level. The analysis is carried out using two different databases. The first database includes results of the last local election to the City Council of Poznan held in 2010. All the data come from the Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza (National Electoral Commission)

– PKW. Secondly, data describing participation of the civil society in political decision-making and its engagement in implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy come from the questionnaire survey distributed at the beginning of June 2014 among the councillors of the City Council of Poznan and candidates who stood in election for the Council.

Questionnaires were delivered to all 37 councillors of the City Council of Poznan and candidates coming from different political parties and civic movements (407 out of total 444). The group of respondents was divided into two: the current councillors of the council and candidates from 2010 local elections. Among 37 councillors 19 responses were obtained which constitutes 51.35% of total population. In the second group no response was obtained despite many contacts and renewal of the requests in participating in the research. This fact can be explained by the fact of lack of interest in participating in the research (which was also an excuse given by some respondents from the first group – the councillors) and the preparatory actions for the forthcoming local elections held in Poland on November 16 2014. The questionnaire used for the research was common for all cities participating in the project (Prague, Budapest, Bratislava) and translated into Polish. The construction of the questionnaire allowed identification of responses for two main research questions. Analyses of the answers altogether with additional statistic data and the ratio and type of the projects implemented under the Cohesion Policy and other EU programmes whose objectives supplement achieving of the main developmental goals of the country, region and the city, shape an interesting picture.

1.4 Characteristics of City of Poznan

Poznan is one of the oldest and largest Polish cities. It was the capital of Poland at the beginning of Polish statehood but it has always been strong centre of development and important place. The City of Poznan has the status of a gmina (commune) and a powiat (county⁵). Poznan holding the status of both: a commune and a county, simultaneously holds the power of both entities of territorial self-government in Poland. This also means that the mayor of the City performs its tasks as a head of the city as well as tasks of a head of a county. Poznan performs the duties of a commune and a county and in addition some tasks commissioned by the governmental administration. The City Council is the main legislative and decision-making body which is entitled to establish local law, adopt a local budget and inspects its execution; decide on local taxes and charges etc. In turn, the executive power is held by the Mayor of the City, who is responsible i.e. for managing the City Hall and directing the work of his deputies. Members of the City Council and the Mayor are elected in general and direct elections held every four years.

The concept of territorial self-government imposes an obligation on local authorities to maintain the cooperation between the local government and the residents. The lo-

⁵ In some official translations into English the name powiat can be also found as a "district". For the purpose of maintaining common terminology in a book the authors use the English term "county".

cal self-government determines the right and the ability of local authorities to manage, within their fields of competence conferred on them by the law, a relevant part of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population. In turn, the existence of local authorities with real responsibilities enables the functioning of an administration which is both effective and close to the citizen (Council of Europe 2010). Thus, the civil participation in the management of a municipality cannot be reduced solely to participation in elections and referendums. The public consultations may be carried out on municipality's territory on matters that are relevant to local community. Public consultations are a form of opinion exchange and public's input on local debate. This follows directly from the Article 5a of the Act on Commune self-government from 1990.

In moving on to discuss the involvement of the City of Poznan and its local authorities in safeguarding the transparency of decision-making process and public engagement in it, it is worth noting that there are many instruments and initiatives facilitating the civil participation. For instance, the City offers: special platform promoting public consultations on affairs being currently discussed; participatory budgeting; regular meetings for the Mayor with the residents; the civic-café of the City of Poznan – a special form of meetings for the Mayor, councillors and officials; open public debate and forums on sensitive issues from the point of view of common good etc. (Poznan, 2014a). In addition, the City offers more formal cooperation aimed at NGOs implemented within the framework of the Act on public benefit activity and volunteerism. The subject of the cooperation is focused on carrying out jointly the public service tasks (especially in the field of culture, sport, social aid, education etc.) and involving mutual rights and obligations. NGO representatives are invited to a permanent work in various committees of the City Council. Moreover, there are some additional bodies composed of representatives of all interested stakeholders, i.e. councillors, officials and citizens, who are responsible for promoting policy dialogues and developing collective approaches and responses to challenges of the city. Among these could be mentioned: the Council of Poznan for Public Benefit Activity, the Council of Seniors of the City of Poznan, Social Dialogue Committee, and the Social City Council for People with Disabilities (Poznan, 2014b).

Despite many forms of cooperation between authorities and citizens, however, the interaction is not conducted as a response to the needs of local communities or society but as a reaction to the demand for fulfilling some identified public functions provided for regulations. Authorities seem to recognise insufficiently the advantage of partnership dimension of the cooperation (Dudkiewicz and Makowski, 2011). On the other hand, the citizens' involvement in public affairs is also relatively very low. This is evidenced by recent data coming from a survey conducted in the Polish biggest cities (Grzeszczak, 2012). Inhabitants of big cities are involved in the process of public decision-making only rarely compared to residents of small cities and rural areas. Moreover, they seldom express the satisfaction with the way in which local authorities try to make them involved in the decision-making process.

1.4.1 Civil Society in Poznan

From an economic point of view, Poznan is widely seen as a city of entrepreneurship - in terms of numbers of enterprises per 10 thousand of population. In 2013, Poznan took the second place (1917) after the capital city Warsaw (2154). For comparison, the value of this indicator for whole country amounted at that time at 1057 (GUS, 2014). The outstanding feature of the city is relatively low unemployment. In 2013, Poznan had the lowest unemployment rate of 4.1% in Poland, while the national unemployment rate was over 13% (GUS, 2014). These results are presumably positive consequences of a high attractiveness of the City of Poznan to both domestic and foreign investors which is confirmed by many prestigious rankings and research (European Cities & Regions of the Future 2012-2013, Eastern European Cities - Best for FDI Strategy, Large Cities - Best for Cost Effectiveness, Fitch Polska, 2014⁶). It is also worth mentioning that the inhabitants of Poznan are known for their love of order (also legal order) and the economy (sometimes they are called “thrifty”).

Bearing in mind the before-mentioned information, one should lead to the conclusion, that this relatively high economic engagement of the Poznan’s population affects also their civil participation. This is partly confirmed by statistical data – the civil engagement measured by the number of foundations, associations and social organisations per 10 thousand population amount at 55 (third place compared to other cities) (GUS, 2014). However, very different image of the society of Poznan is painted when the voting turnout is taken into consideration. In terms of the participation of individuals in the electoral process, Poznan occupies the 14th place among eighteen biggest Polish cities (GUS, 2014). The explanations that help to clarify this phenomenon were partly described in the report on NGOs of the city of Poznan (Kosmowski and Szymczak, 2012). Although the number of NGOs and third sector organisations in Poznan is relatively high, their activities in the areas of participation in social and public life, democracy as well as public debate related to managing the local policies development strategies varies greatly. Just nearly a quarter of those organisations are inactive. NGOs in Poznan take part rarely in the public consultation of legal acts and different initiatives undertaken by local authorities - only every fifth organisation demonstrated its involvement. This picture reflects, to some extent, the uniqueness of the society of Poznan – quite large capabilities to operate under market economy conditions and democracy but still serious difficulties with respect to the development of the civil society and its participation in the political processes.

1.5 Local Election System in Poland on the Example of Poznan

Poznan is the capital of the Wielkopolska region (one of the 16 Polish voivodships that entered into force in 1998 as the result of administrative reform). In 2010 it has 520

⁶ The Fitch rating for Poznan was maintained in 2014 as „A-“ with stability perspective. This rate is the highest possible for the Polish local self-governments and equals the rate for the country. (Fitch Polska, 2014)

403 thousands of inhabitants (PKW, 2010). According to the Polish law, in the cities that has the right of a county (powiat – the higher level of administrative unit), as well as in counties and voivodships / regions the d'Hondt proportional election system has been applied (Act on 5 January 2011 – Election code, Dz. U. z 2011 r. No 21, item 112). The local elections in the city of Poznan are for one council of the city. Besides, in Poznan within smaller supportive units / settlements there have been operating councils that are not a part of a public administration but are responsible for the most important issues for the citizens of a settlement and cooperate with the Council of the City. They have supportive councils elected in the separate elections in each unit. In 2011, there was consolidation of all 69 existing supportive smaller units. These councils have rather civic than political character, while the most important decisions have been taken in the Council of the City of Poznan.

With regard to the local elections, in Poznan in 2010 there were 37 seats allocated and representatives of four election committees representing main political Polish parties together with one committee representing the president of the Poznan city, namely Mr. Ryszard Grobelny⁷ entered the Council of the City. The total number of candidates was 444, which means that the average per seat was 12. The winners came from currently ruling party – Civic Platform, then, the committee of the president was ranked the second, conservative and right-wing party (Law and Justice) got 7 mandates, while left-wing party (Left Alliance) – 5 (see more Table 1.2). The majority of the councillors were elected for the subsequent term and some of them (4) have been the councillors even since 1998 (PCO, 2014).

Out of total number of inhabitants, 433 846 were entitled to vote in the local elections in 300 areas (PKW, 2010). 160 128 thousands of votes were given that represented 36.9% of total number of entitled voters.

Table 1.2 Parties and committees, whose candidates were elected to the Council of the City of Poznan, 2010.

No.	Name of the committee	No of mandates gained	% of mandates gained
1.	KOMITET WYBORCZY SLD / LEFT ALLIANCE COMMITTEE	5	13.51
2.	KW PLATFORMA OBYWATELSKA RP / CIVIC PLATFORM COMMITTEE	17	45.95
3.	KW PRAWO I SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ / LAW AND JUSTICE COMMITTEE	7	18.92
4.	KWW RYSZARDA GROBELNEGO / RYSZARD GROBELNY COMMITTEE	8	21.62
	Total	37	100

Source: Own elaboration on PKW (2010)

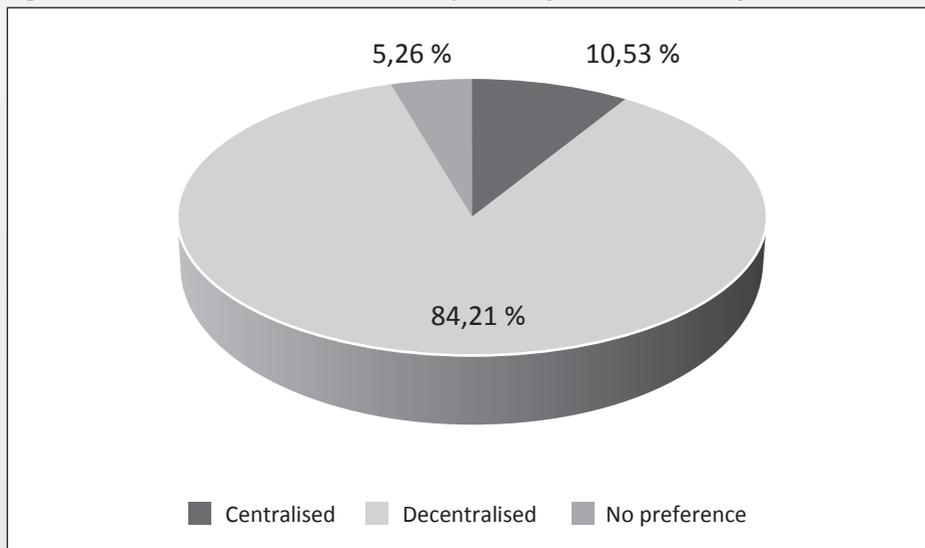
⁷ Mr. Ryszard Grobelny was the president of the city since 1998 until 2014. On November 30th of 2014 Mr. Jacek Jaśkowiak won the presidential elections and even if he was representing the Civic Platform his origins are in one of the civic movements supporting the development of the cities. He got support and votes of all NGOs and CSOs that have dealt with the "city movements" in big Polish cities.

1.6 Findings Concerning Political and Civic Involvements

With regard to preferences towards idea of statehood in the eyes of the councillors of the city of Poznan the majority (84.21%) opted for the decentralized state (see Figure 1.4) and free market economy (100%) with respective market regulations (73.69%), despite their political preferences. The current activities of central and local government were assessed as not sufficient enough (only 26.32% agreed was satisfied with the achievements, see more Figure 1.5). Almost none agreed on the fact that political parties should have exclusive political responsibility at the local level and almost 47.37% of deputies pointed out that the exclusive responsibility should be an attribute of political parties at the central level. The most important developmental issues at the local level were education (100%), environment protection and culture (both 94.74%) and social justice (84.21%). 57.89% of councillors were against of enhancing welfare state at the local level while 36.84% opted for this solution.

One of the main research questions touched the idea of involvement of councillors / politicians in the creation of the civil society and participation in the activities of social movements and non-governmental organisations in Poznan. More than 50% of all deputies declared that they have been active either as directors, members of the boards or members of the social movements and NGOs. The most represented areas of activities include: local development and youth, equal opportunities, culture and art, environment protection, human rights and the others. No one of the respondents was active in the area of real estate or research and development (see Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.4 Preferences of the councillors for political system in the country



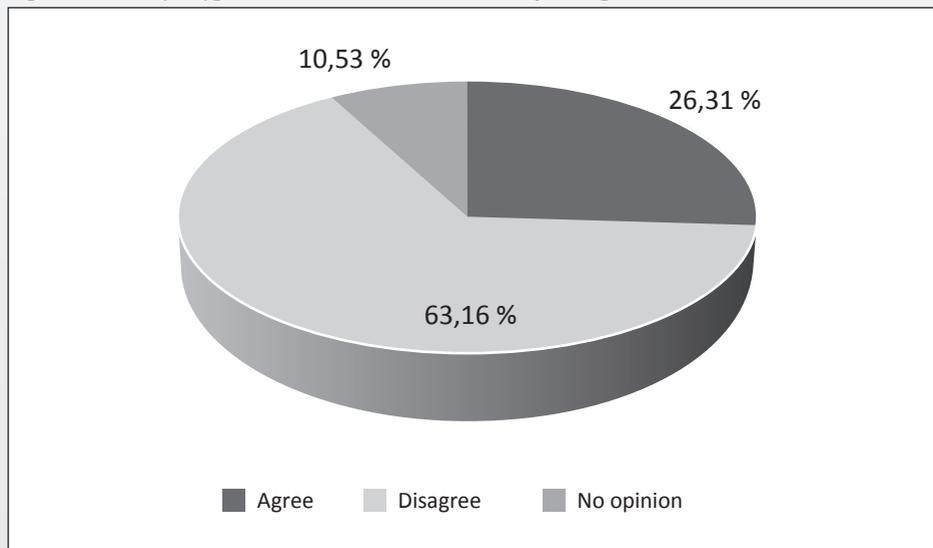
Source: own elaboration based on questionnaire survey

Everyone supported the idea of participation of citizens in the process of decision-making. Indeed, from the formal point of view the citizens use their right to represent their opinions and participate in the consultation process during the sessions of the Council (participant observations, 2010-2014). An interesting additional fact is that deputies represent different professional backgrounds: public sector (42.11%), private sector (31.58%), NGO (21.05%) and 10.53% are politicians. Two out of 19 persons worked in both private and public sector while one of them – in three sectors (compare Figure 1.7).

1.7 Findings Concerning the Involvement of the Councillors of the Council of the City of Poznan in the Implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy

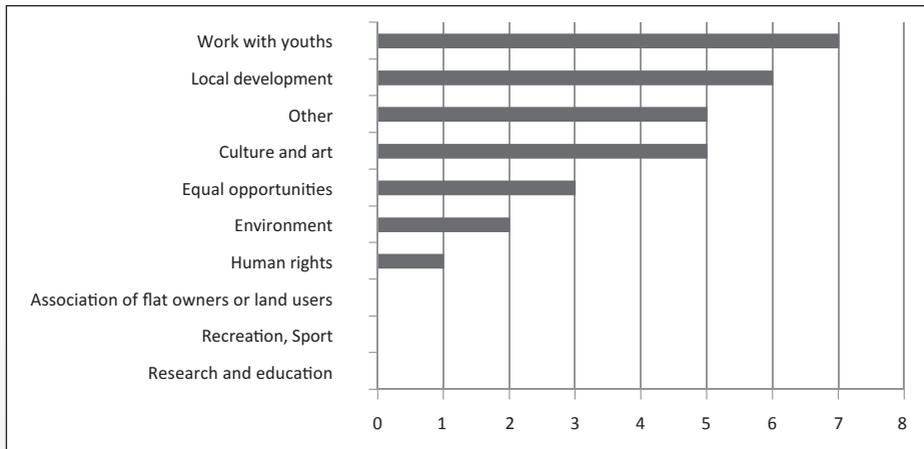
In the years 2007-2013, Poland received the largest amount of money from the EU budget in history and among all EU Member States. For the first time after the accession to the EU one could have observed the full cycle of public policy and project life-cycle together with project-cycle management. The most important however was to contribute to achieving the policy objectives through various activities. Polish self-governments have applied for money with different level of involvement, know-how and determination. Awareness, capacity building and proper decision-making altogether with budgetary conditions to co-finance the projects were among the most important factors to have an impact on the implementation of the Cohesion Policy at local level. The results coming from

Figure 1.5 Are (self)governmental activities efficiently enough?



Source: own elaboration based on questionnaire survey

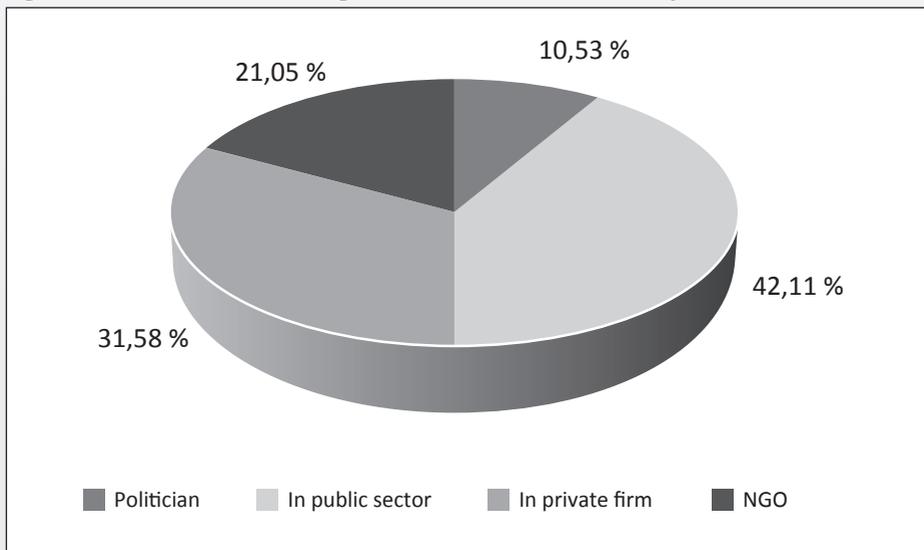
Figure 1.6 Membership of the councillors of the City Council in CSOs by area (number of responses)



Source: own elaboration based on questionnaire survey

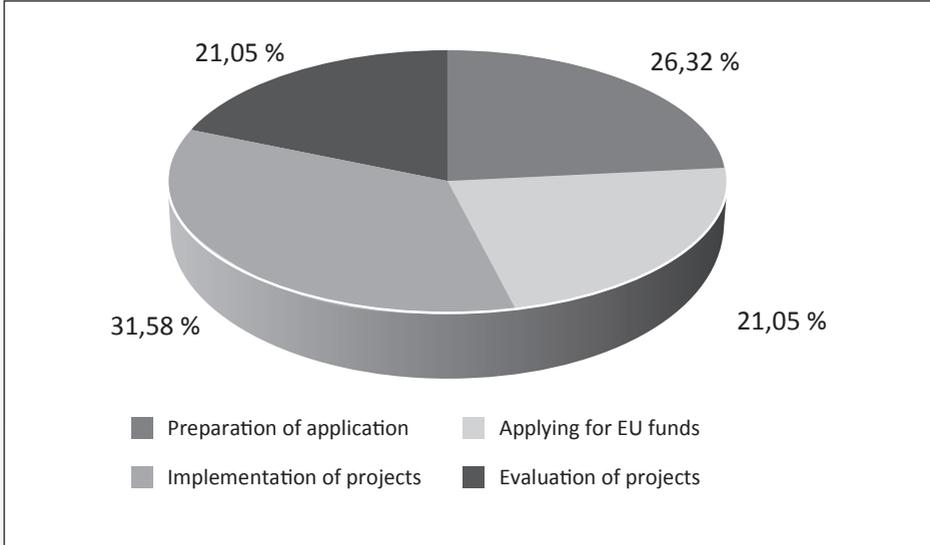
the questionnaires among the councillors from the City Council confirm also that many of them have been involved at different stages of project preparation, application or implementation with regard to the EU funding. The majority of respondents have been taking part in public consultations (52.63%), preparation or evaluation of the projects under the

Figure 1.7 Profession before being elected to the Council of the City of Poznan



Source: own elaboration based on questionnaire survey

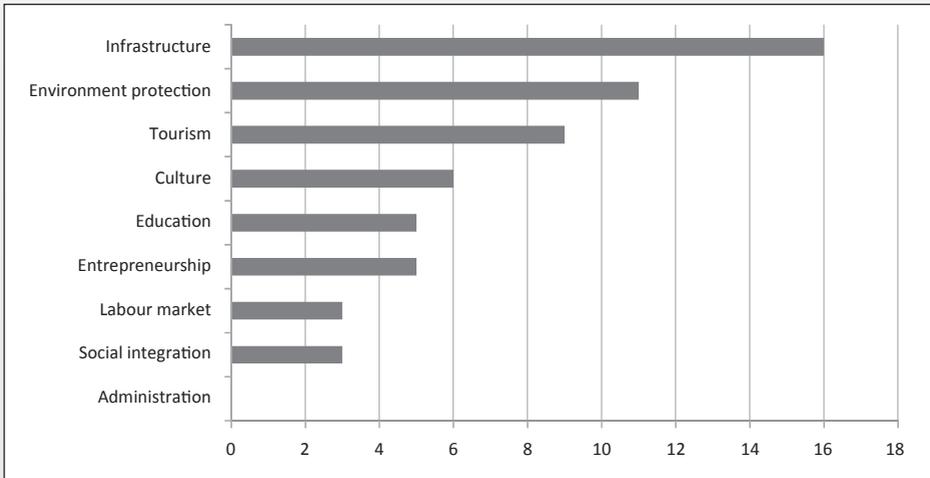
Figure 1.8 Involvement in activities for achieving the objectives of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013



Source: own elaboration based on questionnaire survey

EU Cohesion Policy. 31.58% of them were also involved in the project implementation together with the NGO or civil movements in which they are operating. Two persons out of 19 were involved in each stage of the life cycle of the project (see Figure 1.8).

Figure 1.9 Areas with the most positive impact of the EU Cohesion Policy



Source: own work questionnaire survey

Moreover, more than 73% of all deputies evaluates that projects implemented under the EU Cohesion Policy contribute to a large extent to the improvement of living conditions and socio-economic development at the local and regional level (see Figure 1.9). The most important and most influential according to the councillors were the projects in the following areas: infrastructure (84.21%), environment protection (57.89%), tourism (47.37%), culture (31.58%), entrepreneurship and education (26.32%), while the others were assessed as those of less importance (social integration, labour market or administration).

Those indications correlate with the number, scope and value of projects implemented by the city of Poznan (see Appendix 1.). The infrastructural, environmental and projects in tourism were mainly co-financed under the sectoral operational programme (OP) Infrastructure and environment or Wielkopolska Regional Operational Programme, while projects referring to different aspects of education – under the OP Human capital or European programmes (Life Long Learning including Comenius etc.).

1.8 Conclusions to the Polish Case

According to the survey conducted in the city of Poznan one may observe that local policy-makers coming from the Council of the City are embedded in the civil society. Almost 50% of the respondents confirmed their active involvement in the functioning of social movements or NGO that deal with the most important issues for the city: infrastructure, education, local / regional development, tourism and culture. This fact goes in line with social diagnosis of the Polish society and confirms findings that the leaders play active roles in the decision-making process in the City Council and perform their tasks (including managerial ones) in NGOs and CSOs. The leadership is reflection of responsibility as P. Drucker claimed in his works.

Moreover, the coherence of the priorities of the strategic development of the city and the areas of active participation of the deputies with the nature of projects that have been implemented under the EU Cohesion Policy was detected. Again almost 50% of the deputies have been participating in the processes of public consultation or implementation of the projects. The respondents also evaluated that the biggest impact on the improvement of living conditions and socio-economic development in Poznan was delivered by the projects in infrastructure, environment protection, tourism, education and culture.

2

**PRAGUE'S POLITICIANS AS
NGOs REPRESENTATIVES⁸****2.1 Introduction to the Czech Case**

The Czech society witnessed political, economic and social transition during the 1990s. It also concerned role of the civil society organisations' role in the society and political decision-making. The expectations of the civil society organisations were high, but not fully met by the public sphere (see Harvey 2004 for the EU Cohesion Policy preparation in the Central Europe). The following text explains some causes of such development.

Representatives of the civil society played an important role in starting the social changes in the Czech Republic as the roots of the Czech civil society are in the dissent and the civil society was thus anti-state and anti-regime oriented. This is also one point why the Czech civil society organisations as a whole have not acquired a strong influence on later political events and political decision-making. Paradoxically, one of the main signs of the newly established civil society was membership in new democratic political parties in the Czech Republic at the beginning of 1990s. That time around 1.7 million inhabitants were members or candidates for membership in the Communist party of Czechoslovakia in 1989. The number of members of political parties is continuously decreasing. Since that time, membership in political parties has firstly partly shifted to newly-established democratic political parties, but not in large numbers. Then after stabilisation started the membership in political parties to decrease also in the case of these political parties. The newest trend appeared in 2013. Candidates are often independent although being candidates of political parties.

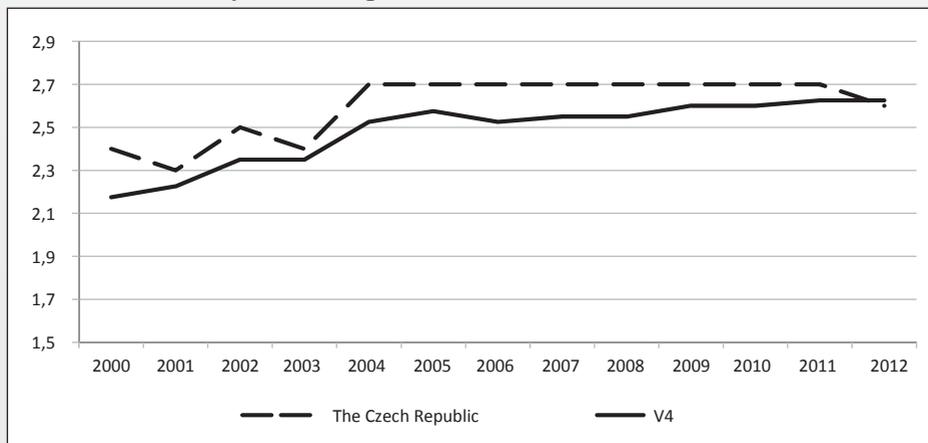
Moreover, according to a study of Laboutkova (2009), Czech politicians opposed the participation of the civil society in political decision-making. Indeed, some politicians viewed the civil society as competitors. There was similar situation also in democratically developed countries such as in the UK (Bache and Chapman, 2008). It resulted in a situation when members of the civil society organisations were not willing to join political parties and politicians were not interested in membership in the civil society organisations. Such a situation as a conflict between two main actor of the Czech political scene – Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus – is described by Potucek (1999).

⁸ This chapter is based on presentation Spacek, M. and Potluka, O. (2014) Leadership and urban and regional development in the Czech Republic, The 8th International Days of Statistics and Economics, Prague, September 11-13, 2014

The institutional part of the civil society is created by non-profit organisations whose numbers are increasing every year from 1989. According to the Czech Statistical Office (2014a), in 2012 this part of the civil society was represented by almost 120 000 organisations such as civic associations and public benefit organisations and foundations. These organisations employed more than 100 000 people (2% of the total employment) and generated 1.69% of gross domestic product in the Czech Republic. The CZSO also provides information about voluntary work granted to non-profit organisations. In 2012, volunteers spent about 45 million hours by working for non-profit organisations. According to the rather older data from Vajdova (2005), about 47% of Czechs were members of at least one non-profit organisation and almost 60% of citizens participated in civic and social activities such as work brigades, assistance to seniors, organisations of cultural and sport events at local levels, etc.

The overall situation of the development of the Czech civil society organisations is at an approximately similar level during the last few years although the situation of similar organisations in other Central European countries worsens (see the Figure 2.1 for the civil society sustainability index. This index is based on several aspects of the civil society activities and environment in which they operate. It covers legal, organisational and financial aspects, together with advocacy, service provision, infrastructure and public image of the civil society organisations. Explanation of the levels is the following: The index value of 1-2 means sustainability that is enhanced; the value of 3-5 means evolving sustainability; the value of 6-7 means impeded sustainability. Thus, the index ranges from the highest sustainability (1) to the worst sustainability (7) for each criterion. According to this study (USAID, 2013) the sustainability of the Czech civil society organisations worsened after the Czech Republic's accession into the European Union.

Figure 2.1 Sustainability of the Czech civil society compared with development in Visegrad countries



Source: USAID (2013), own calculations

Democratisation of policy implementation and accountability could be fostered by application of a partnership principle. It covers cooperation among public sector, civil society and private companies. The democratisation of a process in the case of the EU Cohesion Policy is described in Bache and Olsson (2001).

The Czech experience with partnership and thus participation of social partners on political decision-making differs at the particular levels of public administration. Positive effects of partnership at the local level are confirmed by a study Potluka and Liddle (2014) in the case of the Czech projects funded by the European Social Fund. Also the application of the partnership principle at the regional level has developed as there are framework contracts between the Czech regions and the regional civil society organisations' associations. Such a development is not visible in all regions, but in majority of them and it is still developing in the others.

Main concern of scientific studies is on the EU or the national level. Thus the local level is omitted from this perspective. Barca's influential report (2009, p. 179) points out the importance of the local actors for the overall success of implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy by saying:

"...the promotion of experimentalism and of a greater mobilisation of local actors depend on how much both sub-national public institutions and private actors can make their views, assessments and contributions known in an effective way at EU level..."

Then he also adds:

"The opening up of debate on the progress and achievements of the policy should also allow the views of sub-regional public actors and interest groups – such as economic and social partners, NGOs, environmental, voluntary and equality bodies, other representatives of civil society – to be made known."

It stresses how important is the participation of social partners for regional development. Thus, we study the research question whether are the politicians at the local level rooted in the civil society. We have chosen Prague's local political representation after the 2010 local election as a case study.

The chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, we introduce the system of local elections in Prague, then a sub-chapter on data and methodology follows. Third sub-chapter covers results and discussion. The last part concludes.

2.2 Leadership and Municipal Elections in Prague

Leaders are crucial for local development as they are capable of changing situation and move the local societies to higher level of wealth. We select Clark's (2005) definition of leadership among the definitions of leadership as it is general enough to be used also in the case of our project:

“Leadership is a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organisation in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent.”

Politicians should be leaders with visions and long-term strategy. Such politicians apply interdisciplinary competencies and systematic way of thinking. Those leaders are people able to persuade others to change environment and make others willing to change their preferences, coming out with new ideas and activities.

Not all local politicians are proper leaders. Kennemer (2008) points out several potential failure of leadership in situations when leadership work improperly. His first point is the complacency of a leader. Such a situation could appear easily in politics, when political decisions are motivated by self-interests and rent-seeking. In such a situation it is not a long-term development of a municipality, but an individual selfishness what affects decision-making. The situation becomes even worse if a politician is not communicating properly (hiding some information or simply not mentioning some of them). In such a case, voters do not follow the above-mentioned type of a politician in the forthcoming elections. The third point refers to bully practices. The fourth type of failure appears when politicians have no visions. Capabilities to both set up political visions and induce inhabitants / voters to share these visions are of the crucial parts in leadership practice. It is worth mentioning that incapability of leaders to adequately explain visions disqualifies them from leadership status. The last point is an inhabitants' need for physical presence of a leader. If a leader appears rarely in the municipality to let him / herself aware of interest in peoples' life then he/she hardly put trust in him/her.

High level of social capital, i.e. trust and confidence in leadership is considered the most reliable predictor of inhabitants' satisfaction in the incumbents. In addition, other issues follow: effective communication to understand vision and strategy; understanding the way how they could contribute to meeting key objectives as well as sharing information on municipality also create part of peoples' satisfaction (Lamb and McKee 2004).

Lack of leadership at the local development may transfer into a crisis. Cohen (2002) illustrates the parallel between business and military by consolidating recommendations for crisis situations in seven points. The first one concerns planning and quick setting up of objectives understandable for all inhabitants. Then those objectives have to be clearly communicated (including processes and time schedule). The third point concerns real implementation. Leaders have to be decisive and being capable of doing unpopular decisions. The fifth issue relates to keeping initiative and keeping the development under the leader's control. Cohen (2002) mentions leading people as the sixth point for successful crisis management. The last point concerns recruitment of staff for fulfilling visions and strategies – leaders dismiss staff with no contribution to the strategy and hire new people with the added value.

Inhabitants have an opportunity to decide about their local political leaders in election. The municipal election in Prague held in 2010 has been chosen as a case for the

Czech Republic. Prague is a capital city of the Czech Republic and it has about 1.25 million inhabitants (approximately 12% of the population of the Czech Republic) of which 925 548 have right to vote in Prague⁹. The city is divided into administrative districts to enable easier governmental control of the territories. There are 57 city districts which differ in their size and number of inhabitants goes from more than 130 thousands of inhabitants in the largest one to a just about 300 in the smallest one. There were 58 elections. The city has one municipal council for the whole city plus one for each district (57 districts plus Prague as a whole city). The local elections are repeated every 4 years.

The Czech local election system at municipal level enables local governments to decide within the legal framework how many seats will be held in the following election period. Local governments may also divide city district to several election districts. The election system applies d'Hondt system of calculation of votes to seats. The system enables to make a better position for these political parties which received higher share of votes. On the other hand just eight districts actually used this possible advantage as there is high uncertainty concerning results of local elections. The local elections in 2014 show that established political parties (and political movements) lose their ground and electorate moves towards independent candidates and new political movements. It would be risky for incumbent politicians to set up a system advantageous for election parties with high share of votes in such a situation as nobody knows who will be the winner.

All the data from election are processed by the Czech statistical office (CZSO) and aggregated results are made publicly available. The CZSO provides data covering information about all candidates no matter whether they were elected or not. Data from the CZSO (2014b) shows that in mean 7.25 candidates stand for one seat during elections in Prague in 2010. The greatest interest was in seats in the main city council due to its extended and different competencies. There were 1 074 candidates bidding for only 63 seats (in mean 17.05 candidates per one eligible seat). On the opposite side there are three districts where appeared the same number of candidates as seats (thus the candidates were sure about winning of a seat – just one vote of a candidate would be sufficient in such a case).

Table 2.1 Variation of a number of elected mandates according to the size of a municipality

Number of inhabitants of a municipality	Number of mandates
less than 500	5 - 15
500 - 3 000	7 - 15
3 000 - 10 000	11 - 25
10 000 - 50 000	15 - 35
50 000 - 150 000	25 - 45
More than 150 000	35 - 55

Source: Act No. 128/2000 Coll., on municipalities, § 68

9 October 2014.

Table 2.2 Turnout in elections in Prague

Type of elections	Year	Turnout (in %)
European elections	2009	35.73
Elections to the Czech national parliament (Chamber of deputies)	2010	62.60
Elections to the Czech national parliament (Senate) – 1st round	2010	44.94
There had been three election districts where the elections were held in Prague that year.		43.79
		49.38
Elections to the Czech national parliament (Senate) – 2nd round	2010	27.33
There had been three election districts where the elections were held in Prague that year.		22.24
		25.07
Local elections (Prague's council)	2010	44.43

Source: Czech Statistical Office

We compared turnout of elections held in 2009 and 2010 in Prague to see how the voters perceive importance of particular elections in Prague. The Elections to the Czech national parliament (Chamber of deputies) had the highest turnout followed by the local elections and the first round of elections to the Senate of the Czech national parliament.

Table 2.3 Political opinions of the political parties and movements in Prague

		Do you support the idea of a free market?				Do you see the central government activities effective enough in relation to the local level?				Do you see theme of social state important at the local level?			
		Yes	Partly yes	No	Partly no	Yes	Partly yes	No	Partly no	Yes	Partly yes	No	Partly no
Political parties	Other political parties	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	3	1	0
	Green Party	4	8	0	5	3	5	0	9	15	2	0	0
	Czech Social Democratic Party	9	20	0	4	3	20	3	7	24	7	0	2
	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party	6	5	0	1	4	2	0	6	7	3	0	2
	TOP 09	23	11	0	0	1	13	2	18	7	11	5	11
	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	1	4	4	3	0	3	1	8	10	2	0	0
	Public Affairs	3	5	0	0	1	2	0	5	2	2	2	2
	Civic Democratic Party	33	3	0	0	0	11	9	16	7	6	4	19
	The Free Citizens Party	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	1	0
	Independent or local candidates	18	25	1	0	1	16	7	20	19	12	2	11
Total	102	83	5	13	13	74	24	92	91	50	15	47	

Source: Questionnaire survey, own calculations

Turnout was significantly higher in smaller districts than in larger. It is caused by the neighbourhood of standing candidates and electorate – usually they know each other personally.

The Table 2.3 describes detailed situation concerning political orientation of each political party or political movement concerning three basic issues – free market, federalism and social state. The table gives an overall picture of the political moods in Prague and political orientation of Prague's political parties. Prague's inhabitants have slightly different political opinions in comparison with the rest of the Czech Republic (moved towards right). The general approach categorises political parties TOP09, Civic Democratic Party, Free Citizens Party as right-wing political parties. Czech Social Democrats, Greens and Communists are left-wing parties. Public affairs party, independent movements and Christian Party are in the middle as both approaches appear among their members.

2.3 Data and Methodology

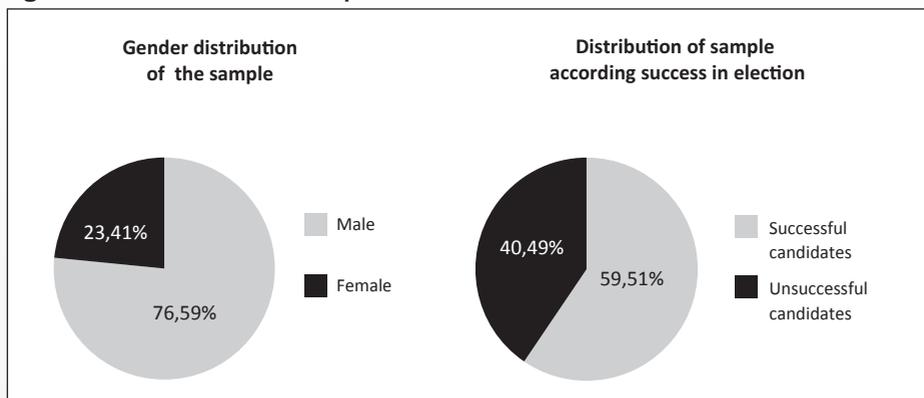
The study aims to evaluate links between the civil society and local political representatives. Within the research we seek answer to the research question: How are politicians rooted in the civil society? The rooting is measured by membership and by standing in leading positions in a civil society organisation (CSO). In addition the impact of engagement of political representatives on their success in elections was evaluated. The authors also focused on a possibility of different views of different groups of political candidates on the various issues at the local level such as market regulations in the economy, environmental protection, culture, social justice, education, participation of citizens on political-decision making, etc.

Data was collected through a survey among candidates, regardless of whether they were successful or not in the municipal elections in Prague in 2010. The survey was held during summer 2014 (June – August). An electronic questionnaire was created for this purpose.

List of candidates for all local elections in Prague was obtained from the website of the Czech Statistical Office. Then we have found e-mail addresses to secretariats of all political parties in Prague and also e-mail addresses for independent candidates. We have simply used Google to find those people activities in politics and also beyond politics. Then we have contacted them with a request to participate in the research.

The distribution of questionnaires was managed in two different waves. In the first wave we asked local secretariats of political parties with a request to help us with distribution of the questionnaire among candidates in election 2010. According to the answers we were able to identify which secretaries do so and target the second wave on not addressed individual candidates, especially independent candidates, to whom an email contact has been found. We managed to get 205¹⁰ responses.

¹⁰ We have received 205 filled questionnaires but two respondents did not fill their political affiliation.

Figure 2.2 Distribution of the sample

Source: Questionnaire survey, own calculations

Based on the responses we were able to categorize respondents according to a gender, an affiliation to a political party and according to the size of the council to which they had stand. The data sample includes answers from 157 men and 48 women. We obtained 122 responses from successful candidates and 83 from unsuccessful candidates in the elections 2010. The distribution of the sample in percentage expression is presented in the Figure 2.2. The variability of the sample is high also according to the political parties as it covers all relevant main political parties and also many smaller political movements. Related to political affiliation almost 75% of respondents belonged to eight main Czech political parties and remaining respondents represent members of local parties or independent candidates. Respondents represented 43 different Prague election districts.

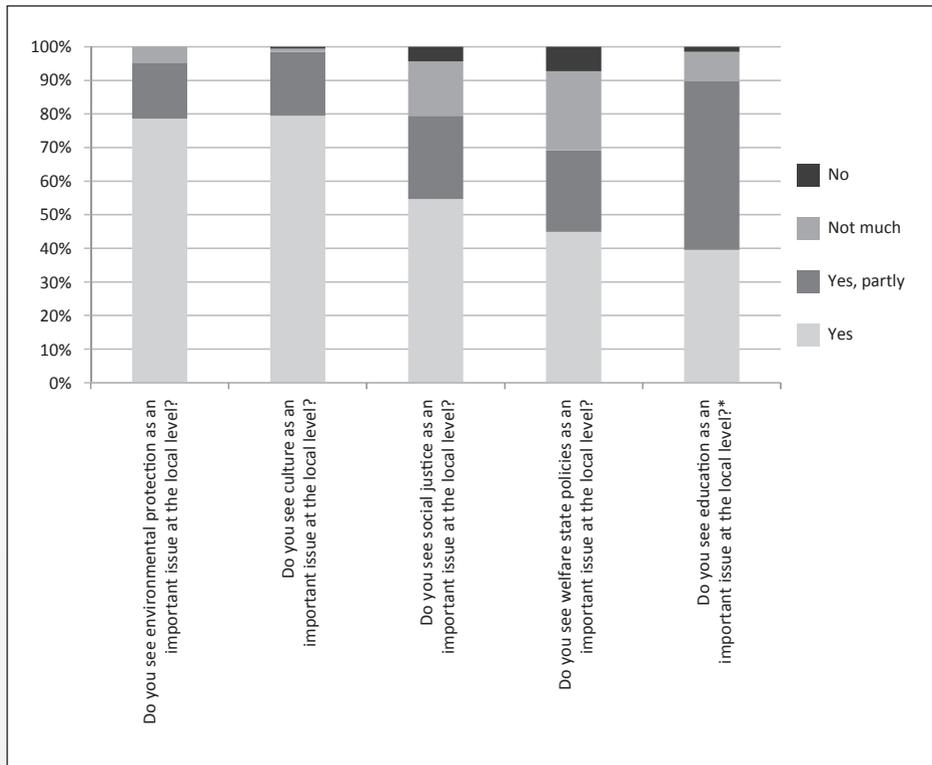
Statistical relationship between selected answers were tested by Pearson's Chi-square test as the most appropriate mean of analysis due to the nominal type of the variables. Calculations were conducted using the IBM SPSS Statistics software. The selected results are presented hereinafter.

2.4 Results and Discussion

At first we present results dealing with questions about importance of different issues at the local level. According to the responses the most important issues are culture and environment followed by education. Less importance was attached to the welfare state policies and social justice at local level. Nevertheless, majority of respondents still consider them as important issues.

Results related to general economic and social issues show that attitudes to policies are changing with move from the national to the local level. On the one hand the majority

Figure 2.3 Relevance of different issues at the local level



* The question about education was modified and the possible answers were following:
 Yes - Yes (financed by municipality); Yes, partly - Yes (financed by state); Not much; No.

Source: Questionnaire survey

of responding candidates support the idea of the free market economy at the national level. On the other hand those who support this idea at national level see social justice as well as the as welfare state policies important issues at the local level.

It enables us to see the local policy-making less contaminated by ideological issues and more problem-oriented than the national political life. The results of the particular questions are displayed in the Table 2.4 and 2.5.

Analogically, the significant relationship was identified between positive responses to the question about necessity of market regulations in the economy and positive responses to the question about importance of welfare state policies and social justice.

The absolute majority of respondents without regard to political affiliation express that they promote participation of citizens on political-decision making. We do not consider

Table 2.4 Relationship between questions: Do you support the idea of free market? and Do you see social justice as an important issue at the local level?

		Do you see social justice as an important issue at the local level?				Total
		Yes	Yes, partly	No	No, partly	
Do you support the idea of free market?	Yes	44 21.5%	27 13.2%	6 2.9%	26 12.7%	103 50,2%
	Yes, partly	53 25.9%	21 10.2%	3 1.5%	7 3.4%	84 41,0%
	No	4 2.0%	1 .5%	0 0.0%	0 0%	5 2,4%
	No, partly	11 5.4%	2 1.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	13 6,3%
Total		112 54,6%	51 24.9%	9 4.4%	33 16.1%	205 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests	Value	Degrees of Freedom	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	19.894a	9	0.019	a) 9 cells (56.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.22.
Likelihood Ratio	23.288	9	0.006	
N of Valid Cases	205			

Source: Own calculations

Table 2.5 Relationship between questions: Do you support the idea of free market? * Do you see welfare state policies as an important issue at the local level?

		Do you see welfare state policies as an important issue at the local level?				Total
		Yes	Yes, partly	No	No, partly	
Do you support the idea of free market?	Yes	32 15.6%	26 12.7%	9 4.4%	36 17.6%	103 50,2%
	Yes, partly	46 22.4%	21 10.2%	6 2.9%	11 5.4%	84 41,0%
	No	4 2.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.5%	5 2,4%
	No, partly	10 4.9%	3 1.5%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	13 6,3%
Total		92 44,9%	50 24.4%	15 7.3%	48 23.4%	205 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests	Value	Degrees of Freedom	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	26.176a	9	0.002	a) 7 cells (43.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.37.
Likelihood Ratio	31.316	9	0.000	
N of Valid Cases	205			

Source: Own calculations

that question for the analysis further more for a strong bias. Only 12 respondents do not support participation of inhabitants on the political life.

About one third of politicians included in the survey are members of any CSO and almost 25% of respondents are members of the boards of directors or directors within CSOs. Detailed results are shown in the Table 2.6. Such a result expresses strong rootedness of local politicians in the civil society (but does not say anything about the opposite relationship).

The results of linkage between politicians and CSOs differ with results related to candidates' jobs when they stood for a seat in local election in 2010. Only 10 candidates were employed in any CSO whereas 126 of them were are members of any CSO and moreover about one third of those are in leading positions of these organisations. The difference is probably caused by volunteerism widespread in the Czech Republic. Majority of CSOs are dependent on work of volunteers (often their members) and they cannot afford to pay their own employees. In addition to that politics, especially at the local level, politicians are frequently asked by local CSOs to be honoured members of supervisory boards and boards of directors to improve their positions.

We have tested also relationship between engagement in CSOs and other sample characteristics. Results do not vary according different political parties neither by

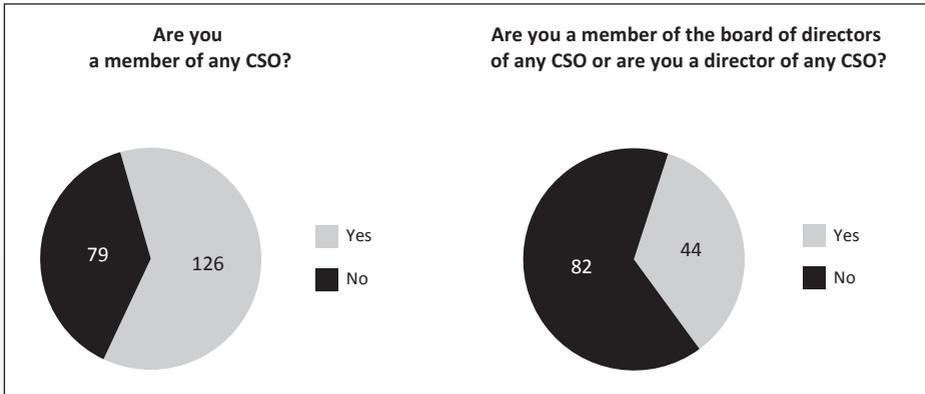
Table 2.6 Relationship between questions: Are you a member of any CSO? and Are you a member of the board of directors or director of any CSO?

		Are you a member of the board of directors or director of any CSO?		Total
		Yes	No	
Are you a member of any CSO?	Yes	44 34.9%	82 65.1%	126 100.0%
	No	6 7.6%	73 92.4%	79 100.0%
Total		50 24.4%	155 75.6%	205 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests	Value	Degrees of Freedom	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	a) 0 cells (0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.27. b) Computed only for a 2x2 table
Pearson Chi-Square	19.660a	1	0.000			
Continuity Correction ^b	18.207	1	0.000			
Likelihood Ratio	22.273	1	0.000			
Fisher's Exact Test				0.000	0.000	
N of Valid Cases	205					

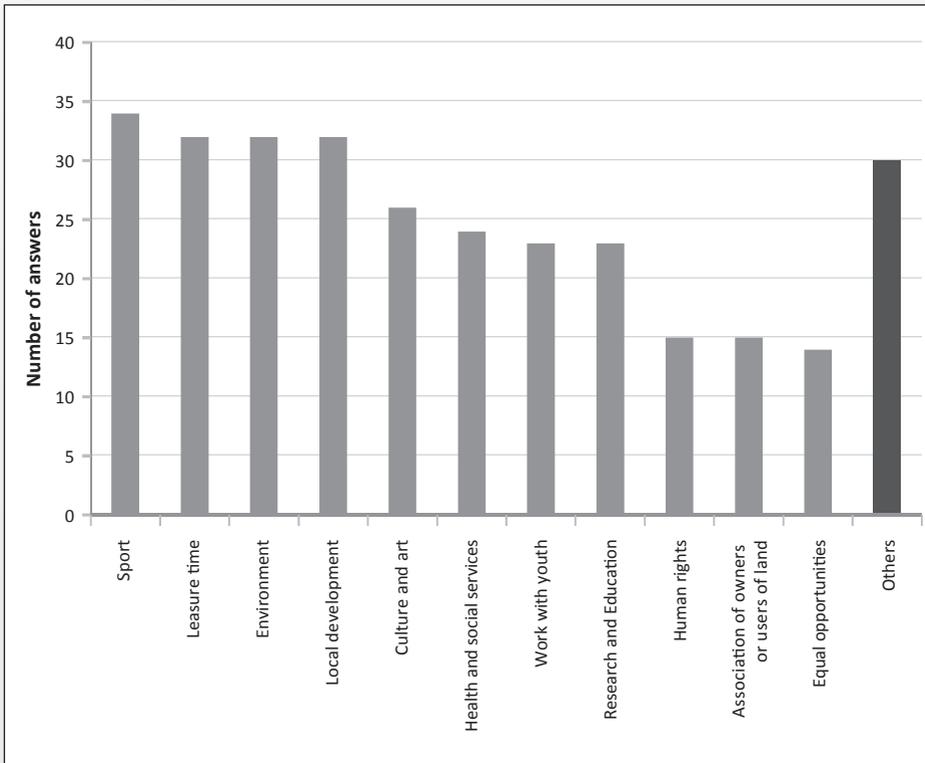
Source: Own calculations

Figure 2.4 Linkage between politicians and CSOs

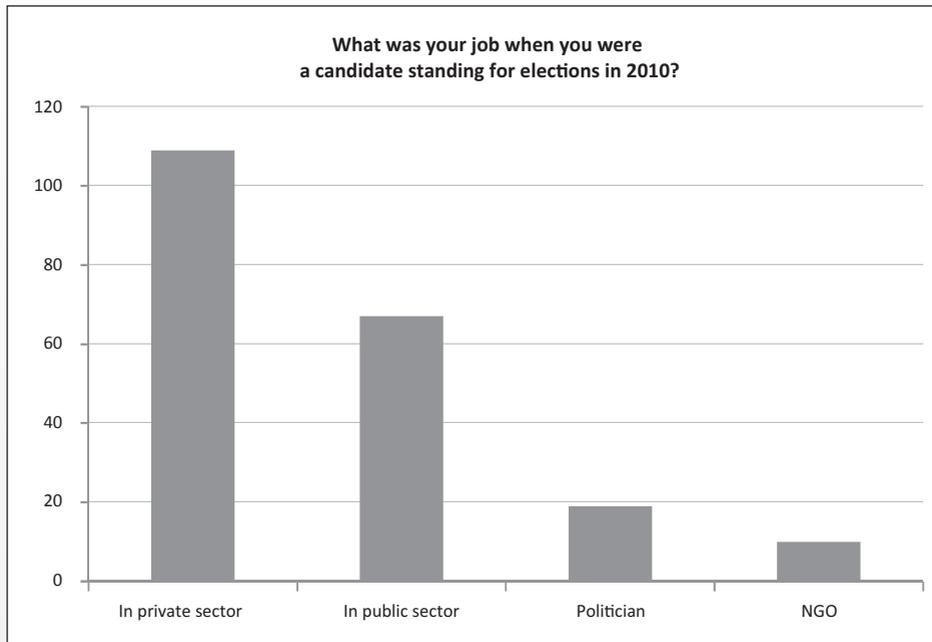


Source: Questionnaire survey

Figure 2.5 Engagement of politicians in CSOs according to their activities



Source: Questionnaire survey

Figure 2.6 Previous jobs of candidates standing for elections in 2010

Source: Questionnaire survey

gender¹¹. The statistical chi-square test did not indicate that there is any political party which is more faraway or closer to the civil society than others. According to the responses it is possible to find at least one member of the board of directors in any CSO or director in every of the main parties.

It is also interesting to point out the activities of the CSOs which were respondents involved in. The most popular CSOs according the respondents are those dealing with sports, leisure time, environment and local development. Detailed information is presented in the Figure 2.5.

There can be seen two types of approaches to the CSOs from the political parties. The first group comprises those political parties and movements where there are similar number of members with active membership in CSOs and non-active members. Those are The Public Affairs, The Civic Democratic Party and The Free Citizens Party (we add this party to this group based on its political programme, although there are only three respondents in our sample). Those are the right-wing oriented parties (except the Public affairs in which case it is somehow unambiguous). Those parties are also ideologically

¹¹ We do not present the results here, but we are ready to provide readers with them upon request.

Table 2.7 Membership in CSOs across political parties

		Are you a member of the board of directors or director of any CSO?		Total	Are you a member of a CSO?		Total
		Yes	No		Yes	No	
Political parties	Other political parties	1	3	4	2	2	4
	Green Party	3	14	17	10	7	17
	Czech Social Democratic Party	8	25	33	20	13	33
	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party	3	9	12	11	1	12
	TOP 09	7	27	34	20	14	34
	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	2	10	12	8	4	12
	Public Affairs	2	6	8	4	4	8
	Civic Democratic Party	10	26	36	18	18	36
	The Free Citizens Party	2	1	3	2	1	3
	Independent or local candidates	12	32	44	30	14	44
Total		50	153	203	125	78	203

Chi-Square Tests	df	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	9	4.373a	0.885	8.463b	0.488	a) 8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.74.
Likelihood Ratio	9	3.943	0.915	9.516	0.391	b) 8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.15.
N of Valid Cases		203		203		

Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

connected to former president of the Czech Republic Vaclav Klaus who has been always an opponent of the civil society organisations.

The second group represents political parties where approximately two thirds of members are also CSOs members.

We would expect that there are more CSO's employees among independent candidates. It has been confirmed by a comparison among all occupations and political parties. Greens and independent candidates are more frequently employees of CSOs than candidates of other parties. Generally there are not so many candidates from CSOs (only 4.9% - see Table 2.8 for detailed description).

Table 2.8 Occupation of candidates at the local level

		Politician	CSO	Private sector	Public sector	Total
Political Party	Other political parties	1	0	2	1	4
		25.0%	.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Green Party	1	2	7	7	17
		5.9%	11.8%	41.2%	41.2%	100.0%
	Czech Social Democratic Party	5	0	14	14	33
		15.2%	0%	42.4%	42.4%	100.0%
	Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party	0	0	4	8	12
		0%	0%	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	TOP 09	1	2	25	6	34
		2.9%	5.9%	73.5%	17.6%	100.0%
	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	3	1	4	4	12
		25.0%	8.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Public Affairs	1	0	4	3	8
		12.5%	.0%	50.0%	37.5%	100.0%
	Civic Democratic Party	6	0	20	10	36
		16.7%	0%	55.6%	27.8%	100.0%
	The Free Citizens Party	0	0	3	0	3
		0%	0%	100.0%	0%	100.0%
Independent or local candidates	1	5	24	14	44	
	2.3%	11.4%	54.5%	31.8%	100.0%	
Total	19	10	107	67	203	
	9.4%	4.9%	52.7%	33.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	a) 38 cells (76.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.04.
Pearson Chi-Square	51.565a	36	0.045	
Likelihood Ratio	54.071	36	0.027	
N of Valid Cases	203			

Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

It is still a question whether the politicians are active in CSOs or activists are active in politics. Based on the above-mentioned results, it seems that there are not many people from CSOs standing for a seat in elections. The politicians are more active in CSOs than activists in politics.

2.5 Conclusions to the Czech Case

The local participation is crucial for sustainable development. CSOs gather people with similar interests. If they have to pursue their ideas, they have to be connected to the political decision-making. Members of CSOs could do that by their active participation in political parties and movements to become elected politicians.

Such an approach is viable as politicians themselves apply less ideological approaches to local policies than to national ones. Local politicians see the local level more close to them and willing to solve local problems even on costs of the national policies.

According to our research, local politicians do not differ in their active participation in the civil society organisations across political scale. It means that the local political representatives are rooted in the civil society. On the other hand there is no effect of participation in any civil society organisation on the success in elections.

Based on the results we could say that Prague's local politicians are rooted in CSOs, but people from CSOs are not successfully rooted in local politics. Thus, the conclusion is that the politicians are more active in CSOs than activists in politics.

3**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF CSOs
LEADERS IN BRATISLAVA****3.1 Introduction to the Slovak Case**

In order to analyse political participation of the civil society organisations (CSOs) leaders in Bratislava we need to look at complex factors that influence performance of the civil society. This includes the overall situation in the CSO sector (human resources, legislation, financing etc.), legislative support to participation and partnership among variety of stakeholders, leadership, motivations as well as political and electoral system and culture. We do not have the ambition to touch upon all these aspects, however, we need to keep them in mind when concluding from the findings of our analytical work.

The aim of our work was to analyse the way local leaders and stakeholders perceive participation of local CSOs leaders and how they are able to influence policy design and policy making on the local level by their involvement in local politics. We focused on local CSOs activists who have been visible in their activities and who have gained some media coverage.

The methodology combined both qualitative and quantitative tools. We reviewed the literature on local participation and the civil society in Slovakia and looked at the concept of civic participation. At the same time, we created a database of local political actors involved in 2010 local election, mainly the members of local councils and candidates to local councils and designed a questionnaire to collect their views on local civic participation and other relevant aspects of the matter. Concurrently, we have studied particular case studies related to the topic of CSOs participation in Bratislava around 2010 election time and conducted four interviews with people who were involved in local politics and/or local CSOs in the given time.

3.1.1 Civic Participation

This section sheds more light on the conceptual background of this research project. Firstly, it is important to find a shared understanding of the broad concept of civic participation. Looking into the empirical typology of activities, which are generally understood as displays of civic participation, will allow delineating the scope of civic participation realm.

Our second aim is to present how is established the link between civil participation and political participation. An explanation that is deemed satisfactory was found in the social capital theory, which allows us to see the relationship between an individual's membership in civic associations and political activism.

Civic participation is defined as active participation of individuals in the process of resolving the issues of public concern. As Bútorová and Gyárfášová (2010) state, civic participation is a display of active citizenship. Civic participation presupposes an individual's entrance into public sphere through concrete actions, as opposed to individual interests and observation of public issues, which may take place exclusively in the private sphere. Thus, through civic participation the individual becomes engaged in the public sphere. (Bútorová and Gyárfášová, 2010)

The realm of civic participation is not limited to the engagement in the field of politics (through partisan politics or political institutions); it also encompasses social and economic spheres. Nevertheless, as co-authors argue, the line between civic and political engagement is thin and may become even more blurred with the increased politicisation of primarily non-political issues of public concern. Furthermore, authors point out that another line needs to be drawn between a societal and civic participation. The former one typically encompasses societies and associations that pursue specific interests (e.g. cyclists, gardeners, musicians), and do not primarily strive to be engaged in the public sphere. However, their participation in the public sphere can grow gradually, for example, if they enter communication with public institutions with an aspiration to improve conditions for realisation of their activities (Bútorová and Gyárfášová, 2010).

Civic participation encompasses a complex range of activities. They have been categorized as conventional activities, unconventional or protest activities and narrow meaning activities. The first category comprises activities such as voting, problem solving on the local level, petitioning, addressing a local representative with an issue, running for a public office or working for a political party. Furthermore, the category of protest activities includes attendance and participation in boycotts and protests, strikes or demonstrations. The last category of civic participation activities includes specialized work in non-governmental organisations or charities (Bútorová and Gyárfášová, 2010).

It has been found that civic and political participation is predetermined by socio-economic factors, such as level of income or level of education attained. In this respect, it has been found that the wealthier and the higher educated people also tend to participate in the public sphere. Nevertheless, there is another predeterminant, which cannot be omitted in this research. It has been suggested that there is a positive relationship between membership in the civil society organisations and political participation, meaning that individuals who actively participate in civic society through various organisations and associations will also become more active in the political participation (Vráblíková, 2009).

3.1.2 Civic Participation in Slovakia after 1989

Political and social transformations that took place in the former Czechoslovakia at the end of 1980s were to a significant degree fuelled and organized by civic movements and organisations, such as Verejnosc Proti Nasiliu – VPN. Confrontation of activists, backed up by general public, and the ruling party resulted in dismantling the communist rule. Afterwards, the process of democratisation could be initiated with a broad participation of all subjects in society (Bútora et al. 2012).

First key steps in the democratisation process in regard to the facilitating a positive development of civic society was the adoption of legal acts granting rights to practise the freedom of association, freedom of assembly and petitioning rights to citizens. Afterwards, the civic society landscape started to flourish with hundreds of various civic associations and organisations, both on the local and the national levels. An important moment of the early development was the establishment of Gremium of the Third Sector (G3S) in 1994, an umbrella platform of numerous civic organisations that gained the status of government's partner. Hence, we can see that the presence of civic organisations was not only recognized legally; moreover, they assumed a role from which they were able to enter democratic decision making processes (Bútora et al 2012).

The authoritarian rule of Vladimir Mečiar in 1994-1998 posed a challenge to the independent and democratic development of third sector organisations. The third sector, too, was subjected to governmental efforts to centralize the power over and control all segments of political and social life. Nevertheless, the governmental pressure created a broad societal basis to resist and, essentially, was a key factor that unified various segments across the spectrum of political opposition and the civic society. From 1996 on, a series of protests Zachráňme Slovensko took place where groups of citizens and political opposition voiced against the rule of Vladimír Mečiar. These protests were followed by creation of a broad alliance of political parties that strived to offer a viable political alternative for a future democratic development of Slovakia. The OK'98 (Občianska Kampaň – Citizens' Campaign) was supported by various NGOs and developed a range of activities in order to raise awareness in citizens and mobilize voters for the upcoming general election of September 1998. Through this campaign, the third sector significantly contributed to the high voter turnout, and provided a civic oversight over the election, securing its fair conduct. As a result of the general election, a broad alliance of political parties came to power and Slovakia returned to the path of consolidation of democracy and future integration with European and transatlantic communities (Bútora et al. 2012).

The period of an unprecedented unity in the civic society in late 1990s was followed by a period of relative fragmentation of the third sector. The civic organisations continued and developed their activities in various policy fields and areas. Some NGOs assumed the role of a "watchdog", hence scrutinized and critiqued various governmental policies, cases of non-transparent conduct, affairs etc. As a whole, the third sector created an

important counterweight in the public discourse; it had and actualised the potential to raise awareness about the conflicting interests between the public and those in exercise of power.

In regard to the funding opportunities of the civic organisations, the 2% of tax assignment created a way to replace diminishing foreign funds and support numerous NGOs which registered as its receivers. The intention of government to abolish this funding scheme raised a great deal of criticism from the third sector organisations, for whom adopting such measure would have damaging consequences in regard to their ability to operate and their very existence. A public discussion and campaigns helped to convince that the 2% assignation is a source of a useful, and hard to replace, force; as a consequence of the public pressure, the intention was eventually dropped (Bútorá et al, 2012). Hence, once again, the third sector found some degree of unity for the sake of protection of more favourable conditions for their operation in Slovakia.

Yet, previous representative studies have shown that civic participation has been diminishing between 1994 and 2008; in addition to this decreasing trend it has been revealed that citizens never actualized civic participation to the levels originally intended. The same research also suggests that the aspiration to be engaged in public sphere has decreased (Bútorová and Gyárfášová, 2010). There have been over 31,000 non-profit organisations registered in Slovakia in 2008 (Košťál et al, 2012).

Based on the National Integrity Report the legislative framework for the functioning of the civil society in Slovakia is sufficient. The three bills that guarantee CSOs freedom and funding are the Constitution, Act on Association of Citizens and Act on Income tax. (Košťál et al, 2012).

3.1.3 2010 Municipal Election in Bratislava

Bratislava is Slovakia's largest and with 431 000 inhabitants (2010) also its most populous city. Accordingly, the Constitution assigns Bratislava the status of the capital city of the country (Law no. 460/1992 as amended, Article 10, para 1). Bratislava is at the same time the seat of the Bratislava Self-Governing Region which, however, holds its own elections that are separate from the municipal elections. The municipal elections are regulated by the Municipal Elections Act 1990 (Law no. 346/1990 as amended), which provides specifications as regards the delineation of the electoral districts (Articles 9 and 10) and the number of members of council to be elected (Article 9, para 1). For municipal elections taking place within the territorial limits of the capital city, the implications are as follows: in the 17 districts of the city, each one holds (1) mayoral election, (1) election of local mayor and (1) election to their respective local councils. Nevertheless, the city districts can be further divided for the purposes of the elections into smaller electoral districts; those, however, cannot extend beyond the city district limits. In each electoral district, up to 12 members of council can be elected depending on the proportion of the population living in that area. The resulting local council of the city district can (and usually will), thus, count more than 12 members of council.

Additionally, as part of the municipal elections, citizens of Bratislava also elect a (1) city mayor and (1) members of city council and a local mayor (1). The city council has 45 members who are elected from the 17 districts of the city, while taking into account the relative population of the districts in order that they are represented proportionately. Unlike with the local council ballots, for the purposes of the city council ballot, the city districts also correspond to electoral districts, as required by Article 9(2) of the Municipal Elections Act 1990. Subsequently, the operation of the city council is governed by the Statute of the Capital City of the Slovak Republic Bratislava which determines the division of responsibilities between the various organs of the city.

In the 2010 municipal elections, there were in total 388 000 registered voters of which 130 000 cast their votes in the city mayoral / city council ballot (voter turnout of 33.5%).¹² Out of a total number of 277 candidates for the city council, the 45 who were elected arose from their respective districts by applying the relative majority rule until all vacancies were filled; notably, this electoral system applies across the other municipal elections as well.

3.2 Questionnaire

3.2.1 Methodology

The first phase of our work entailed essential data collection. As the research in Slovakia focuses on the municipal elections in the capital city (Bratislava) which took place in November 2010, the main objective of the data collection – in light of the stated research questions – was to assemble a list of relevant candidates and their contact information that would allow the researchers to carry out a large n study of the correlation between civil society rootedness and political success.

The quantitative aspect of the work and the limited resources available required that data be processed with relative ease and swiftness. For that reason it was agreed that the questionnaires should be distributed to the candidates by email and that they should be accessible and able to be filled online. As a result, along with the names of the candidates, the database was to include also their email addresses. Because these were the only points of contact, the email addresses should have been as direct and personal as possible.

As regards the scope of the survey, clear delineation of the data sample was paramount, since the November 2010 municipal elections in Bratislava consisted in fact of four separate ballots concerning the: city mayor (primátor); local mayors (starosta); city council (mestské zastupiteľstvo); and local councils (miestne zastupiteľstvo). The research reflects this by including most of the candidates, successful or not, of all the elections for the various posts. All candidates who ran for the office of the city mayor, the local mayors and the members of

¹² For details see Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2014): <http://volby.statistics.sk/oso/oso2010/files/ba.pdf>

the city council are part of the data sample; the only compromise in terms of data selection has been made with regards to the candidates to the local councils due to the insufficient capacities to survey such a large number of persons. Consequently, five municipalities, which best represented the diverse character of the various constituencies were selected: Nové Mesto, Petržalka, Rača, Rusovce, Staré Mesto. This selection takes into account the contrast between both the large (Petržalka) and the small (Rusovce) or the central (Staré Mesto) and the peripheral (Rača). In total, the number of candidates who have run for at least one of the offices – with many having run for more than one – amounted to 627.¹³

Table 3.1 Total number of candidates in Local Election 2010 in Bratislava

	Candidates	Elected
City Mayor Elections	7	1
Local Mayor Elections	81	17
City Council Elections	277	45
Selected Local Council Elections	481	101

Source: authors

Nevertheless, the process of data collection and compilation has been hindered by various challenges. A number of issues emerged from the fact that the research is being conducted with a time delay of almost four years. Obtaining the data was rendered more difficult by the fading out of the unsuccessful candidates from the public life. In these cases, as it was found, candidates' web pages had been deleted along with contact information for the general public. Yet another challenge in data collection emerged from the fact that a number of candidates did not make their email addresses available in the first place – unlike other types of personal contact information, such as telephone numbers or home addresses. Finally, a number of candidates passed away in the meanwhile.

The form, at the end distributed to 391 individual e-mail addresses (62% of all intended candidates), has been open for responds for over two weeks. During this period the form has amassed 71 answers, i.e. a response rate of 18%. Interestingly, an online analytical tool revealed that of the 391 emails only a mere 161 were as much as opened which indicates that many addresses were outdated and not in regular use; this reflects poorly on the candidates' basic contact facilities, i.e. their inaccessibility from the outside.

3.2.2 Findings

Without assigning undue importance to the limited quantitative findings of the survey, some interesting patterns can be, nonetheless, discerned. Rather unsurprisingly, the majority, 82%, of aspiring (or already established) local politicians expressed their preference for a decentralized political system. Likewise, most have not considered the

¹³ This number already accounts for the fact that some of the candidates ran for multiple posts and it also leaves out persons who have died in the meanwhile – hence the discrepancy with the table below.

activities of the Slovak government to be sufficient vis-à-vis the municipal level (87% answering “not” or “rather not”).

When it comes to the economic beliefs of the respondents, 85% indicated a positive stance towards a free market system. Nevertheless, their opinion was more divided as regards the necessity of regulating markets: 25% answered “yes” to the need for regulation, 31% “rather yes, some” but 41% stated “rather not, only some”. Only 3% considered no regulation to be adequate.

To the extent that the questions sought to establish topics which are important for (aspiring) local politicians, the candidates declared strong support for environmental protection (98%), culture (94%) and social justice (86%). Similarly, the candidates viewed the subject of education as important at the local level but 65% also thought that it should be financed from the national, not municipal, budget. At the same time, the significance of these answers is diminished due to the ‘affirmation-inducing’ wording of the questions – it is unlikely that the candidates would stand in opposition to such profound areas of local politics but the degree to which it were to transpire to their political agenda after being elected is uncertain.

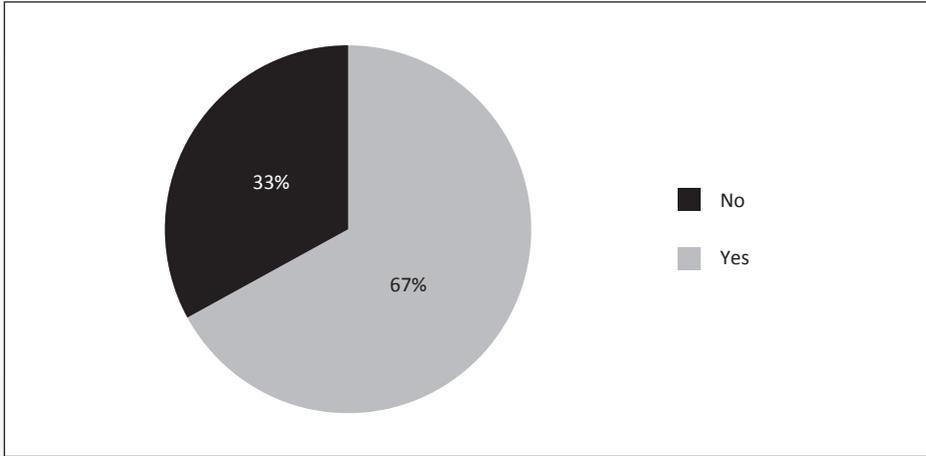
As regards civic participation, the respondents appeared equally supportive of public engagement in decision-making with 65% answering “yes” and 31% “rather yes”. Interestingly, most of the candidates who submitted their responds were, in fact, themselves members of a civic association or a non-profit organisation.

Of the 67% who were part of an organisation, 45% were involved in environmental matters and 26% in culture. Moreover, as further evidence that the more civically active candidates formed the majority of the respondents in the survey, 29% of all who filled out the survey were part of a directorial or a managerial body of a civic association or a non-profit organisation (NPO) and 67% have participated on an activity organized by a civic associations after the 2010 municipal elections.

Most of the candidates (51%) came from the private sector, yet more than a quarter (26%) came from the public sector, i.e. worked as an employee of a public institution. Furthermore, more than a half of them were in the end elected – 56%. When the data of those who were successful, in other words elected, is overlaid with the data regarding membership of civic associations and NPOs, a conclusion is offered that would indicate a relatively high success rate of politicians who were members of CSOs.

As it turns out, 34% of all respondents were elected and also members of a civic association or an NPO. The number is slightly lower, 29%, in relation to those who were in a directorial or managerial position of such an organisation, yet still appreciably high when considering the demands of this role. However, 16 (67%) of those that were elected and were part of an organisation were nominated by a party or stood as candidates of an established party coalitions. That leaves a mere 8 successful respondents who ran as

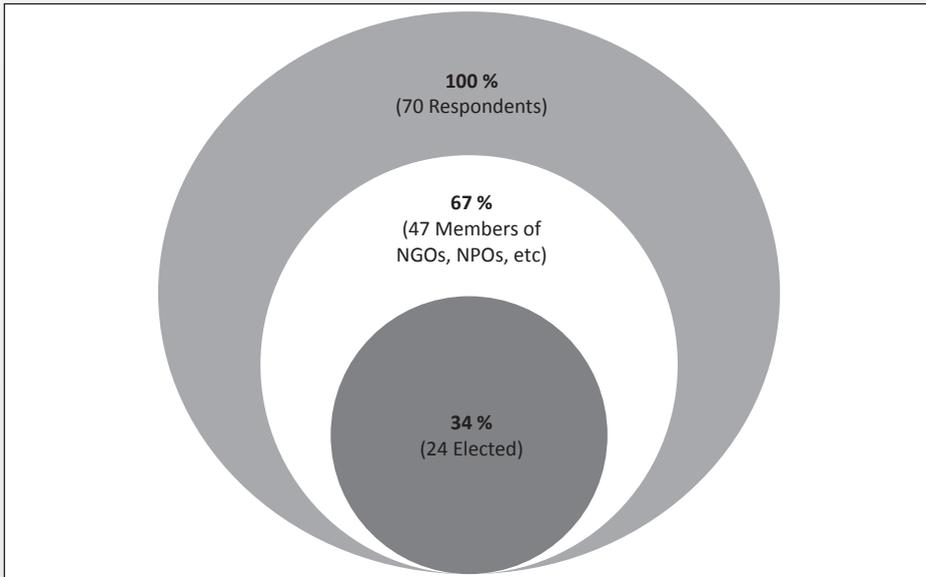
Figure 3.1 Ratio of members of CSOs among the respondents



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

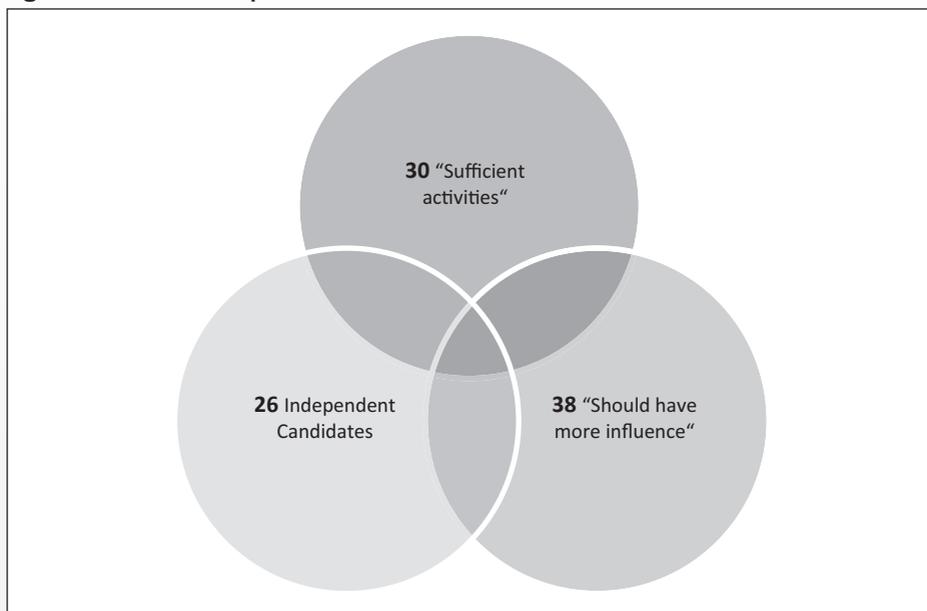
independent candidates that were also part of some organisation. This may point to the fact, as was expounded in the conceptual part above, that membership of civic associations (or other CSOs) is not a strict enough determinant to prove 'actual' or active civic participation.

Figure 3.2 Review of the structure of respondents



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Figure 3.3 Views of Independent candidates



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

In the same vein, the candidates submitted their responds regarding their views on the activities and participation on decision-making in the municipalities of civic associations. 42% viewed the activities of the civic associations in their district as “sufficient”, while 48% rated them as insufficient. Similarly, 55% of the respondents opined that civic associations should have more influence over decision-making on the local level, whereas 40% considered the status quo to be sufficient. Again, it is of interest to look at the intersection of the views of the candidates and their background (political party or independent).

Of the 26 candidates in the survey, 18 stated that civic associations should have more influence over decision-making but only 9 considered the activities of the civic associations to be currently sufficient. This reveals a polarized position of the independent candidates, where they, understandably, desire more influence for NGOs (of which they are often members), but, on the other hand, they are also rather critical of the NGOs’ efforts at the moment. Very few independent candidates, thus, indicated a positive attitude towards both the normative extent of civic associations’ participation and the existing activities of such NGOs. The opposite side of the argument here is the predictably mixed position of party candidates to increased influence of CSOs at the municipal level – 47% thought that they should have more influence, which leaves a relatively high proportion of those who, as the established perception holds, view increased civic participation more as an obstruction to the exercise of the public office.

3.3 Interviews

In order to provide a more complex picture of the situation we planned to trace individual trajectories of the local activists who have entered the local politics in Bratislava. At the same time, we wanted to look at various aspects that influence the quality of political participation of active citizens and their experience with local politics in the capital city. Due to the lack of detailed data on election results we were not able to focus more on the trajectories of active citizens entering local politics but we used personal interviews to find out more about the phenomenon.

We have picked three cases where local activists influenced local politics by their activities focused mainly on the protection of environment in the local context. The three active women whose paths we wanted to analyse closely were: Mrs. Elena Pätoprstá, Mrs. Katarína Šimončíčová and Mrs. Soňa Párnická. We provide a short bio of all three to show the context.

Mrs. Elena Pätoprstá has been an active member of civic engagement communities since the 1980s although the majority of her activities came after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. She has led a number of collective action movements at the local level which were mostly concerned with the protection of the environment in the Petržalka district; however, she has been also very active in projects aimed on the preservation of public spaces and fight against local corruption. In the 2010 municipal elections she ran as a candidate of Zmena zdola, a party focused around civic activism. Over the years, Mrs. Pätoprstá has been heavily involved in the preservation of a small forest in Petržalka called Krasovský lesík, near one of Bratislava's largest and oldest parks, Sad Janka Kráľa. For that purpose she has founded a civic association, Nádej pre Sad Janka Kráľa (Hope for Janko Král Garden) which has continually fought the authorities and developers who sought to construct a multi-level administrative building in the place of the park. This has entailed, among other activities and in cooperation with other activists, the organisation of a petition signed by 14 000 persons against the cutting down of the forest and also the organisation of a human chain of 1500 people surrounding the forest with the aim of preventing the clear-out. Despite the campaign gaining relatively wide support from the locals and the general public, the members of the local council approved the forest clearing which has been afterwards duly executed on 29 March 2009.¹⁴

In 2007, Elena organized and participated on a protest bicycle gathering which aimed to petition the president, Ivan Gašparovič, to refuse to sign an amendment concerning the restriction of movement of persons on bicycles and horses in forests. However, the bill has been signed into law regardless.¹⁵

14 For details see Pravda Daily (2008): <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/207252-petrzalka-prisla-o-lesik-pri-sade-janka-krala/>

15 For details see Hospodárske Noviny Daily (2007): <http://hn.nonline.sk/slovensko-119/ekoforum-organizuje-protest-za-odvratenie-zakazu-vjazdu-bicyklov-do-lesov-243116>

In 2008, Elena co-organized a concert (Verejnosc 2008) in support of civic initiatives in Slovakia, one of which aimed to stop the demolition of a cultural complex (PKO). The concert helped to raise awareness of a number of issues and initiate a public discussion. Specifically, with regards to the demolition of the cultural complex, the pressure created by civic movements resulted in a partial preservation of the edifice pending resolution of contractual claims by the opposing parties.¹⁶

Ms Pätoprstá has also openly opposed the construction of a giant casino complex on the outskirts of Petržalka; as the project was met with considerable resistance from the local population and municipality, the construction of the casino has been subsequently scrapped from the plans of the investor.¹⁷

Ms Pätoprstá stood as a candidate of Demokratická Únia Slovensko in municipal elections to the Bratislava Self-Governing Region in 2009 without winning a seat in the regional body and gaining 2149 votes in her city district Petržalka. She did so again in 2013 (with the support of Zmena zdola), this time being elected as one of the 8 members of the council for the district and having won 4075 votes. Meanwhile, she also successfully ran as the candidate of Zmena zdola in the 2010 municipal elections to the local council in Petržalka by gaining 905 electoral votes; on the contrary, 4827 votes in the elections to the city council proved to be insufficient to win a seat in this body. Previously, in 2006, Elena has been unsuccessful with her candidature under Nezávislé Fórum to Petržalka's local council with 899 votes¹⁸.

Mrs. Katarína Šimončičová is an environmental activist whose main focus lies in the protection of trees and greenery in Bratislava and elsewhere. Her engagement in the environmental protection associations and movements started already in 1982, when she joined a civic environmental association called Slovenský zväz ochrancov prírody a krajiny – the only civic association that was formally allowed to exist in the communist Czechoslovakia. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, she continued her activity in the environmental protection movements; later as a president of the City Committee of SZOPK.

In the past years, she has been involved in numerous public affairs in the municipality of Bratislava, when the environmental interests were at stake. In 2010 she ran for the office of local representative as a candidate of civic movement Zmena zdola. She advocated for more transparency, stronger civic engagement in political decision-making processes and environmental protection on the municipal level. However, her civic efforts and engagement did not translate into political success.

Mrs. Šimončičová has been engaged in a wide variety of civic activities, concerning the protection of trees and greenery in various parts of Bratislava. She participated in

16 For details see SME Daily (2008): <http://www.sme.sk/c/4178889/koncert-verejnosc-2008-prezentoval-kauzy-z-celeho-slovenska.html>

17 For details see SME Daily (2010): <http://bratislava.sme.sk/c/5243695/planovane-megakasino-odmietaju-aj-petrzalkania.html>

18 There was a minor change in number of candidates elected in each subdistrict within the Petržalka district which does not allow for comparison of results from 2006 and 2010.

countless felling proceedings (výrubové konania), initiated petitions to protect forests in Bratislava, which were signed by thousands of citizens. Mrs. Šimončičová's civic engagement and advocacy of public interest have posed a serious obstacle to developers' interest. She has been highly active in voicing concerns on citizens' and activists' behalf in municipal decision-making procedures in environmental and urban planning matters.

To name some of her activities in more detail, she advocated against the felling of trees and forest in the Danube location in the municipality of Petržalka, the Krasovského forest (2006-2008) and adjacent territories. Despite a high civic mobilisation in this case, the municipality in the end decided to clear the trees and let developers pursue their interest in the area.

In 2006, Mrs. Šimončičová initiated the action to relocate and save the root of a 100 years old cut down tree, which was felled in the course of the hotel and business complex 'River Park' construction. Her initiative was followed by a prompt reaction of private parties, namely Mrs. Pätoprstá who helped to provide heavy machinery for transportation of the root, and Mr. Mikulaj who offered his private land to place the root into, as well as professional care in order to restart the growth of the tree in the new environment. It should be mentioned that help was offered also from the side of the Municipality of Petržalka; however, that plan could not have been realized due to technical aspects of the project.

In 2013, Mrs. Šimončičová was awarded for her long-term contribution in the field of environmental protection and civic engagement. The award Biela Vrana recognizes outstanding civic mobilisation for public interests and exceptional civic engagement.

In regard to Mrs. Šimončičová political career, she sought to find her way into the regional and municipal representative bodies in the Bratislava region. She ran for the representative's office in the Bratislava Self-Governing Region in 2009 for the Nezávislé Fórum (Independent Forum); only 800 votes were cast in her name which was too few to secure a seat in the representative body.

In 2010 municipal election Mrs. Šimončičová stood as a candidate for the representative's seat in the city council for the civic platform Zmena zdola. She gained 2793 votes, however, again without winning a seat in the city council of Bratislava.

Mrs. Soňa Párnická is a civic activist and a member of municipal council of Staré Mesto in Bratislava.¹⁹ As a resident of Bratislava, she has been deeply concerned about

19 For details see Párnická S. (2014): <http://www.sonaparnicka.estranky.sk/clanky/kto-som.html>;
Bratislava - Staré Mesto (2014): <http://www.staremesto.sk/sk/content/sona-parnicka-2>;
Bratislava - Staré Mesto (2010): http://www.staremesto.sk/data/MediaLibrary/1/1014/spravodaj_r2_c12.pdf;
Peticie.com (2014): <http://www.peticie.com/trhzilinska>;
Pravda Daily (2014): <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/310799-park-v-centre-bratislavy-je-po-18-rokoch-zachraneny/>

the protection of environment and urban planning in the district where she lives, giving her motivation become engaged in these issues. She started her civic participation in 1996, when she started advocating for the protection of the Belopotockého Park in the centre of Bratislava. Her current platform is Bratislava Otvorene – an initiative of active citizens.

As outlined above, Mrs. Párnická has been involved in the case of protection of Belopotockého Park in Bratislava since 1996. In 1996, an investor declared an intention to build a high-rise building on the piece of land. That would come at the price of destroying the park that is being frequently enjoyed by the local residents. Hence, the citizens protested against the developer's intention. After four years, in 2000, the first investor withdrew the plan and in 2004 sold the land to another private company. The new owner of the land presented a similar development plan and quickly proceeded to cutting down most of the trees in the park. A success of the civic protest movement was that the city urban plan changed in 2007; according to a new urban plan the location was reserved for greenery, as opposed to the amenities purpose from before. In the following years, the intense struggle for preserving the park continued with initiating four petitions (7,000 signatures) and numerous proceedings before courts (including the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court of Slovak Republic). Finally, a solution that seemed acceptable to all parties involved was found in the exchange of estates; the city offered a similar estate in a different district of Bratislava to the investor, thus the Belopotockého Park could be preserved in its current state. For the whole 18 years of this struggle, Mrs. Párnická stood as one of the main advocates of the citizen's interest and the driving force of the civic mobilisation.

In April 2014, Mrs. Párnická also initiated a petition for the preservation of the marketplace in Žilinská Street in Bratislava – a place that is considered valuable and enjoyed by the local residents. However, the future existence of the marketplace is in question, as the owner of the estate has investment and construction intents in the location. The mayor of the Staré Mesto district and citizens were involved in various discussions in order to find a common solution; they were also offered an alternative marketplace in a 1km distance. However, none of the alternatives seems to be satisfactory to all parties. Up to August 2014 about 2400 signatures were collected.

In regard to Mrs. Párnická political background and path, already as a citizen engaged in local environmental affairs of Staré Mesto, she came to a realisation that she would have greater impact and influence in decision-making processes as a member of a local representative body; hence, she decided to run for an office in the municipal election of 2006 as an independent candidate; her effort was successful and she served her first term in the office until 2010. In the same year she ran for a re-election in the municipal assembly. She was listed as an independent candidate of civic initiative Zmena zdola, without political affiliation to any political parties. She found support of 740 voters in her district of Staré Mesto, which was enough to secure a seat in the municipal assembly.

3.3.1 Interviews Methodology and Findings

We interviewed four people who were involved in the local politics prior to local election 2010. Interviews were designed as semi-structured with a set of open questions asked by the interviewers. The main focus of interviews was on the functioning of CSOs in the political context in Bratislava in the period 2006-2010. The three interviewees to whom we posed questions were: Mrs. Elena Pätoprstá (for more above Elena see above), Mrs. Katarína Šimončíčová (for more about Katarína see above), Mr. Michal Novota (former Bratislava city district Petržalka council member). The fourth interviewee wished to remain anonymous.

The interviewees viewed the overall situation in regard to the relationship between CSOs and local politics in the given period as contradictory and inconsistent. This was mainly due to the lack of will among the council members and local mayors to perceive CSOs as partners in the decision making process. The prevailing political culture was based on the perception of absolute power and legitimacy given to local councils in local election 2006 often articulated as “We have got the mandate to make the decisions so you should not intervene.” The inconsistency in using the partnership principle in the decision making process was demonstrated by the non-existing rules on how to involve other stakeholders in planning and policymaking²⁰. Even though the city officials have drafted the Strategy for civic participation it has never been reviewed and discussed on the city council level and has never been followed²¹. At the same time, it is necessary to note that many local issues oriented CSOs emerged in the given period, such as civic associations Mladá Petržalka and Cyklokoalícia or many others following specific agenda in their activities (e.g. restoration of historic bunkers in Petržalka or reconstruction of playgrounds). The political stalemate in Petržalka district council in 2006-2010 opened a window of opportunity for some of the activities covered by CSOs. On many occasions the local council members had to find a compromise and more willingly listened to CSOs proposals due to the given instability. For example, in 2008 they adopted a document on which financial resources to children playgrounds were allocated. Prior to this a fight for localities in which the playground will be restored broke up among the political parties. In order to find a compromise and to meet council members’ preferences a civic association of local mothers was consulted. The association was dealing with the issue for a long time and conducted a survey and made analysis of the abandoned playgrounds that needed to be restored in all parts of the city district Petržalka. The survey showed which playgrounds had the highest potential in terms of future use by parents and their children. Eventually, not all localities got the funding but it was evenly distributed and resulted in a win-win situation for both the politicians and the citizens represented by the civic association²².

As aforementioned, the application of the partnership principle has not been clearly defined thus not used properly by the city authorities in Bratislava. In case of the Plans

20 Interviews with Mrs. Pätoprstá, Mrs. Šimončíčová, anonymous,

21 Interview with Mrs. Šimončíčová

22 Interview with Mr. Novota

of economic and social development that have been a precondition for the municipalities to apply for the EU Structural Funds support the partnership principle had to be applied. It was led in a very constructive manner and resulted in a document that is still being referred to. Besides this case only occasional cases of partnership principle in the decision-making process have been witnessed. For example, there was a cooperation between the Association of Apartment Owners (Združenie domových samospráv) and local authorities in Petržalka in case of launch of a micro-grant scheme for reconstruction of the entrance spaces in apartment blocks. Partnership principle was applied also in the city district Nove Mesto where an expert on urban spaces was employed and facilitated a series of public hearings on the future of the former velodrome site. Contrary to the aforementioned in many cases mostly related to urban development and infrastructure the public has not had sufficient access to the materials/documents and often has been consulted after the decisions were drafted.²³

In order to be successful in local politics it is important for the local activists to organize and form coalitions. In many cases these are electoral coalitions of independent candidates who use the synergy of joint approach and combine limited resources for a campaign. We have witnessed a significant increase in the numbers of elected independent council members across the whole Slovakia in the period 2002-2010. From 13.46% in 2002, the ratio increased to 17.10% in 2006 and to 22.66% in 2010²⁴.

So have the local activists in Bratislava been successful in entering the politics and influencing it? And if yes/no, why?

We would need to come up with a common understanding of what success is, at least with clear and measurable indicators of success. But there are some lessons learnt that need to be taken into account. Firstly, local activists have not set any goals in local elections 2006 or 2010 in regard to success and have not worked with the data in election campaigns. They all used the cases that they have worked on in the late 2000s in their campaigns. As mentioned in the short bios of the three activists above, it is obvious that their agenda is clear and related to specific aspects of local government. In the local election 2006 the political party called Independent Forum allowed any independent candidate to run on its ballot. This was to bypass the requirement that independent candidates need to collect signatures of citizens in order to run in local elections, while as political parties just need to turn in the list of candidates²⁵. In 2010 election some of the local activists ran on the ballot of the political party Zmena zdola which served as a platform for people involved in activities of the local CSOs. Contrary to this effort there is a lack of data analysis in regard to electoral districts and potential gains for local activists involved in various local cases.

23 Interviews with Mrs. Pátoprstá, Mrs. Šimončíčová

24 For details see: http://slovak.statistics.sk/wps/portal/ext/themes/elections/oso/about/!ut/p/b1/jZDBDolwDIYfaWUbM14TBUIAgQHILoadMmaiAicbnFxCPTntr-n1p_ykFaqT65tmemkc79M116pV1qKKUrVYGB5CxA6KStNgyG4exOQL7EYAvxWH2M1u8fZbkGxAFT_08pAbQj68BJt-TKeY09d11vxXGsYuZjCwMYCy-6_OA2hEAI3wTBA_K3MkIAU7-u1-zQOObKV58DfEj_w6pGdElmAHdi389SemulAbRA10KJBI6i5L3C7p15Vg1t0JMX5v0Xnk1/dl4/d5/L2dBISEvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/

25 Interviews with Mrs. Pátoprstá, anonymous

Secondly, local activists have not been very successful in using the potential of their activities. Even though they work with their supporters they would need to professionalize it and get more out of it. They have rarely used their cases for gaining stable financial support from supporters. Contrary to this they have complained that they could not afford to print leaflets in election campaigns²⁶. They have used e-mail communication but with lack of the know-how on how to communicate with the public effectively. They have been also very ineffective in using marketing strategies in election campaign as well as in using social media and other online tools. In many cases they preferred to communicate whom not to vote rather than whom to vote.

Thirdly, they have used a newly gained access to information once becoming the members of city councils. It has helped them to receive information in sufficient time for action. At the same time, they have been successful in working in local committees as well as in nominating their peers and experts into them²⁷.

Fourthly, they have not been able to prioritize in order to push through more agenda. Besides having own jobs they have worked as volunteers and helped other activists around the city and country. This has been time ineffective and affected their performance in particular cases²⁸.

3.4 Conclusions to the Slovak case

As previously stated in regard to the results of questionnaires, the lower response rate does not allow for any comprehensive or generally applicable conclusions to be made over the opinions of the candidates; more extensive research would need to be conducted. Nevertheless, the answers in the survey highlight areas of interest for further studies. Above all, it would be desirable if data were gathered following each municipal election; in order to allow a comparison and monitoring of trends in the opinions of the candidates. Finally, although the survey has shown that a relatively high share of candidates who were part of a civic association or an NPO were elected in the 2010 municipal elections in Bratislava, the causation between the two phenomena would be much more difficult to prove in practice. The formal statements of the candidates can be regarded as positive to the effect that they are somewhat supportive of civic participation and that the candidates realize the significance of certain topics on the local level; however, other determinants, such as party affiliation, are likely to be the more decisive factors of political success. At the same time, not all forms of civic engagement have a direct link to policy making, thus it would be useful to analyse in more detail those who are involved in relevant activities.

The same applies to the findings based on personal interviews and review of the existing documents. We have not been able to come to any comprehensive conclusion

26 Interview with Mrs. Pátoprstá

27 Interview with Mrs. Pátoprstá, Mrs. Šimončíčová

28 Interview with Mrs. Pátoprstá

as many activities in which the local activists had been involved occurred after 2010 elections. We would need more information about the processes of adoption of particular measures and policies. However, in many case on the local level such evidence has vanished after four years.

4

CIVIL SOCIETY TIES OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP – THE CASE OF BUDAPEST**4.1 Introduction to the Hungarian Case – Motivation for Current Research**

Visegrad countries have gone far since transition in 1989 in terms of democratic, socio-economic and institutional development. Although they had matured for EU accession in 2004, belong to the developed part of the world in a lot of criteria, yet their politics, institutions and governance still reflect some deficiencies. The persistence of corruption, state capture and the underdevelopment of the civil society are among these - yet good governance is the outcome of a long historical process, as proved by historical factors playing a considerable proportion of the explanation in quantitative models (La Porta et al, 1999; Treisman, 2000).

The relationship of the non-governmental sector to politics has many aspects: one hand it is has a role of civic control over government excesses, on other hand civil society organisations are partners of government in regulation, service provision or for that matter, access to and monitoring of the EU Cohesion and Structural Funds. Although there is data and some research on the development of the civil society actors at the national level, the local level is under-researched, even though most of civil action in fact happens there. Hence there is room for further investigations, such as the current research.

Hungary's policy agenda to boost a sustainable growth in the context of fiscal consolidation also calls for more efficient ways to deliver public services as well as partnerships for territorial economic development – similarly to many European and Visegrad countries. This means - among others - increased partnership with multiple levels of governments, the non-governmental or the private sector. Given the tremendous socio-economic consequences of the economic and financial crisis after 2008, it is of utmost importance that government and NGO partnerships are fostered, as it is precisely the sectors of education, social policy, health etc. where NGOs play greatest role. This is so in Hungary too, even though NGO sector in Hungary is still far from being as developed as in older EU member states or other OECD countries.

However, the recent trend of concentration of power and re-centralisation in Hungarian politics does not help such processes. After the sweeping victory of both national and local elections by FIDESZ, the right wing party in 2010– several aspects of the political system had been changed, among them new electoral rules at the local level, which made possible for the stronger political actors (such as the national parties) to become more dominant over the weaker participants of local politics (such as civil society organisations). Moreover, several administrative and financing reforms between 2011 and 2014 changed the daily operation of the local governments: tasks distribution (especially education, health) and corresponding financing system strengthened the position of the state’s agencies and administrative institutions at the local level, while limited the activity of the local and the regional governments to their basic services.

This chapter aims to evaluate links between the civil society and local political leadership in the Budapest case. The overall guiding research question of our study is: How local politicians are rooted in the civil society? Throughout this project it is measured by membership and leading positions taken up by local representatives in the civil society organisations – although the social capital literature offers several alternatives, which were beyond scope of this research. Apart from this direct indicator, the survey also explored views of politicians on the various local level policy issues such as market regulations in the economy, environmental protection, culture, social justice, education, participation of citizens on political-decision making, etc. and tries to link these to the civil society membership data. The structure of the chapter is the following: first some background on the development of local government sector and civil society in Hungary is given, then methodology and research results are described, followed by some concluding remarks.

4.2 Background: Development of Local Government Sector and Civil Society in Hungary

4.2.1 Local Autonomy – A Complex Issue

The establishment of a truly decentralized local government system and thus local autonomy was an important feature of the democratisation process all over Central and Eastern Europe throughout transition after 1989. In the past two decades Hungary was considered by many as a successful case of decentralisation, with great progress on legal, institutional, regulatory as well as financial framework enabling truly local decisions (Soós and Kálmán 2002, p.21).

There are cc.3 150 elected local governments (NUTS5/LAU2) in Hungary, which is fairly large for a country of this size, most of them however are villages under 5 000 inhabitants and in fact half is under 1 000. Until recent times, municipalities have had very broad service provision responsibilities similar to Nordic countries’ much larger

local governments - with mandatory and optional tasks in education, social and health services, basic infrastructure (water, sewage, solid waste, road maintenance, lightning etc.) and they use grants from national budget (65-70%) as well as own revenues to cover these. Localities enjoyed autonomy in their spending preferences across these responsibilities, although it was constrained by specific service standards in sectoral laws, which often allow a kind of micro-management of municipalities by the centre. This in turn made local governments somewhat less responsible for their decisions and performance.

However the system had its deficiencies: the too broad responsibilities irrespective of government size, the overly complicated grant system resulted in a fragmented municipal sector – Recognizing these problems, several cabinets from the late '90s tried to e.g. force local governments into effective associations with financial initiatives²⁹: the associations of local governments could obtain special subsidies to reach their common goals, but any institutional or legal change to the fragmented local government system was considered 'against local autonomy'. EU accession gave further stimulus to such municipal cooperation, for accessing resources of the EU Structural and Cohesion funds was easier for larger entities.

One impact of ever tightening public finances and the decreasing share of the public sector in Hungary's GDP was that with less central budgetary resources local governments had been forced to improve their efficiency both in service provision as well as in revenue collection. However partly because of the heavy indebtedness of municipalities prior to and throughout the financial and economic crisis since 2008, partly related to a major reorganisation of Hungarian public administration, between 2010-2014 most of education and health service responsibilities (that took up at least 50% of local government budgets usually) had been re-centralized and given to state agencies. The reform (and the new Act on the Local Governments) came into effect in three phases:

- county governments, legal supervision, asset management (from January 2012);
- financing and tasks of local governments changed (from January 2013);
- incompatibility of national and local political positions (from October 2014).

Parallel to changes in local tasks, local government financing has also been changed to activity-based financing in 2013, meaning coverage of only centrally calculated costs of service provision, also serves as a cost-rationalisation element. Finally, a lot of stringency measures had been introduced into local management: LGs cannot plan with deficit in their yearly budgets, they can provide voluntary services only if it does not endanger the provision of mandatory tasks and must be covered from LG own revenue (e.g. local taxes, incomes from own venture), the conditions of borrowing or issuing bonds became more strict.

²⁹ Since the legal changes would have needed 2/3 majority that none of the central governments had until 2010.

Whether this reorganisation brings greater economic efficiency at national as well as local levels and how it relates to local autonomy and responsiveness etc. is an issue to be evaluated in later years, given the short time that has passed since. What is sure, is that from autonomy point of view, what is an advantage on the legal side can become an obstacle on the fiscal side – yet such issues are fundamental, relying not only on economic rationality. Apart from these administrative and financial changes, the local electoral system had also been changed (Act L of 2010. – see more details below). Thus a possible conclusion is that local governments overall become less significant actors and their leadership more and more captured by the national party politics (Dobos 2014) a trend reversing the decentralisation process going on since 1989 transition.

4.2.2 Budapest Is a Special Case

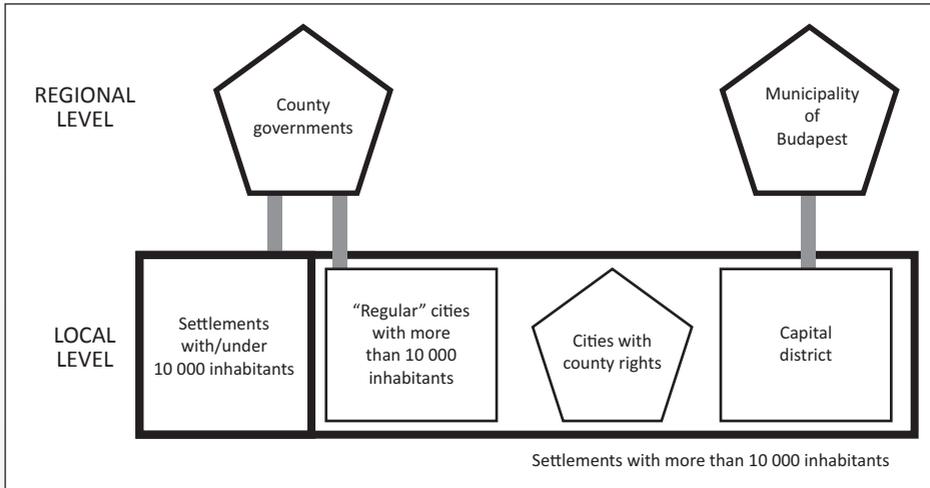
The capital city of Budapest (where the survey for this study had been carried out) had always represented a special case within Hungarian local government system: it has two layers of government (districts elect the Municipality of Budapest), yet with no sub-ordinate features - one city government and mayor general (directly elected) plus 23 independent district local governments and their own mayors. This specific governance setup has its advantages in terms of local autonomy and responsiveness of local politicians, yet at the same time causes tremendous policy coordination-, planning-, financing- and management problems.

For political background of local leaders, in the 2010 local elections (the focus of our survey being 2010-2014) in the capital districts of Budapest there were only two truly independent mayor candidates, while out of the 79 nominated by different organisations, only eight (cc.10%) were representing some civil society organisations – the rest was nominated by national political parties. Among the winners was only one district mayor coming from a civil background – and none in any of the large cities of county rights. As for the directly elected Mayor of Budapest, all four candidates were party nominees – the FIDESZ (party winning national elections) one was the winner, just like in almost all districts of Budapest. Regarding local council member candidates, the picture is more diverse.

4.2.3 Local Government Election rules – Changed in 2010

Since 1990 a compromise between the ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ politics existed in the Hungarian local electoral system: in the settlements under 10 000 inhabitants, a plurality formula with block vote system was in use, and above this limit a mixed formula with compensatory lists. The plurality block vote system helps the selection of individual candidates and the compensatory lists ‘let in’ the national political actors to the local level (Kákai, 2004, p.122), as the list system forces the political actors to establish organisations to compete in elections (Soós n.d., p.:2, Dobos 2014). Roughly 60-80 percent of the elected representatives and mayors are running

Picture 4.1 The relation of the local and regional levels in the Hungarian electoral system



Source: Dobos 2014

as independent candidates in the municipalities under the limit, and only a few (ca. 8-10 percent) independent candidates are there in the larger cities (Pálné Kovács, 2008, p.232) – thus the separation of the ‘locality’ and the ‘national party politics’ clearly determines the political profiles of the local governments (Swianiewicz and Mielczarek, 2005, p.20). Thus, national parties focused on organisation building at the local levels especially in larger sized cities (Soós and Kálmán, 2002, p.75; Soós,

Table 4.1 The Local electoral reform in Hungary in 2010

		Local level		Regional level	
		Under 10 000 inhabitants	With more than 10 000 inhabitants	Country governments	Municipality of Budapest
Nomination	Number of proposals	No change	No change		
	Conditions for set up a list		Candidate in the ¼ of the SMDs more than ½ of the SMDs	Proposals from the 0.3% of voters 1%	Partly list in 6 districts 13 districts
Election	Number of mandates	Fewer mandates	Fewer SMDs and fewer mandates in the compensatory list system	Fewer mandates	Fewer mandates
	Number and size of districts		Bigger SMDs (fewer mandates, same settlement size)	Merged districts (under 10 000 inhabitants)	
	Threshold		No threshold 5%	4% 5%	4% 5%

Source: Own design according Dobos, 2014

2005), while bottom-up political representation of the local civil society organisations were also present – partly due to the lack of any regional or local parties.

In 2010 in between national and local elections the local electoral system had been changed, mostly away from the proportional representation towards a majority system. Number of mandates was reduced with cc. 25 percent in the majority categories, the number of seats allocated with proportional formulas was halved - while the conditions to participate in the proportional type elections (by setting up a party list in the bigger municipalities and in the regional/capital elections) became harder to fulfil.

This is beneficial for the bigger political organisations with a broader horizontal network (such as the national parties), while the smaller actors (such as the civil society organisations) may fall short of seats in the local or regional councils. This translates to stronger political actors, parties becoming more dominant in local politics - as Table 4.2 below shows the changing role of parties and the civil society organisations throughout different regional elections. Contrasted with a more balanced situation before, in 2010 NGOs, local associations etc. could barely make their way into regional politics, apart from their very own districts.

Moreover, the reform brought the strengthening of the mayor's position too: he/she gained veto power over the city council's decisions, if he/she considers them against the municipality's interest or if the council cannot make a decision; moreover in certain (urgent) cases the mayor can decide without involving the council at all. These changes might sound beneficial from management point of view, yet are clearly pointing to more autocratic decision-making and show non-democratic elements, leaving even less influence for elected NGO representatives or the citizenry.

4.2.4 Responsiveness of Local Governments in Hungary

Hungarian citizens trust in local governments more than in political parties in the Parliament, the central government, or the media (Local Government Survey, 2001) – yet the democratic performance of Hungarian local governments is not particularly high. Most of them only fulfil minimum requirements of citizen responsiveness, e.g. through public hearings or consultation hours, yet according to the 2001 Local Government Survey (the last available fairly comprehensive one - Soós et al., 2002) only one-third were making their budgets publicly available and it was also only about 30 percent, that regularly consulted with/involved in decision-making civil society organisations, though they existed in their territory. In 2001, still over 60 percent of Hungarian local governments did not even inform the media about their budgets, and had occasional publicizing on other matters.

International policy evidences point to a negative relationship between decentralisation and corruption, i.e. the larger the degree of decentralisation, the less severe government corruption is - precisely due to better responsiveness, accountability and

Table 4.2 Proportion of party and civil organisation lists in the regional elections (2002-2010)

	2002	2006	2010
by Natl. Parties	55,0%	55,6%	86,1%
by civil society organisations	45,0%	44,4%	13,9%

Source: National Elections Office

Table 4.3 Democratic Performance of Hungarian local governments

Forums and Public hearings (N=648)	More than one forum 33.6%	1 forum 64.6%	0 forum 1.8%
Making the draft budget public (N=645)	Yes 33.4%		No 65.8%
Civic organisations involved in local government decision-making (N=384)	More than half of local civil society organisations 9.6%	At least one organisation, but less than half of them 28.2%	None (although there are civil society organisations) 62.3%
Discussion of draft budget with civil society organisations (N=446)	Yes 28.9%		Never (although there are civil society organisations) 71.1%
Frequency of initiation of journalists (N=280)	At regular intervals 35.9%	Occasionally 57.2%	Never (although there are local media) 6.9%
Presentation of draft budget to journalists (N=280)	Yes 36.6%		No (although there are local media) 63.4%

Source: Own design according Soos-Kalman (2002)

larger budget pressure for efficiency of government at the local level. In Hungary too earlier surveys showed local governments to be less affected by corruption problems than central government (Gallup and Eleven Town Survey 2000-2001)

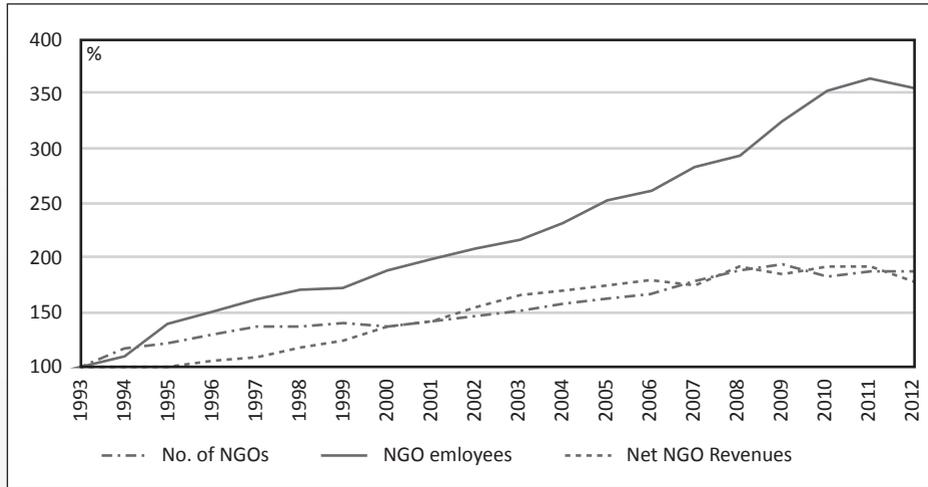
Still evidence clearly shows that, even though representatives show political values favouring responsiveness, in the citizens' opinion, local representatives recognize their interests but do not respond to them in their decisions. (Soos-Kalman, 2002). This is somewhat reflected in generally lower voter turnout rates at local elections as opposed

Table 4.4 Turnout rates at national and local elections in Hungary

Elections	1998	2002	2006	2010
National	56.26 %	70.53%	64.38 %	45.55 %
Local				
National average	45.7 %	51.10 %	53.12 %	46.64 %
Budapest	43.7 %	52,68 %	55,89 %	43,59 %

Source: National Elections Office

Picture 4.2 Development of the Hungarian non-profit sector, 1993-2012 (1993=100%)



Source: Central Statistical Office, Hungary, 2012

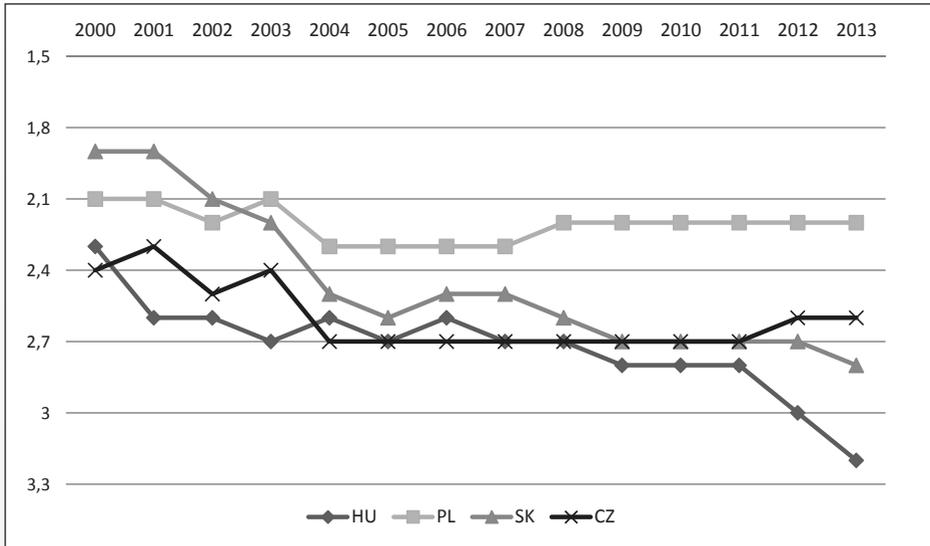
to national ones (Table 4.4) – such low local turnout is fairly average among CEE, however much lower than usual EU15 averages. Needless to say this has its historical reasons and signals the lack of long tradition of true local democracy in CEE.

4.2.5 Civil Society in Hungary: Weak Traditions - Troubled Waters

Hungary's policy agenda to boost a sustainable growth in the context of fiscal consolidation calls for more efficient ways to deliver public services as well as partnerships for economic development. This means - among others - increased partnership especially at the sub-national level - where the average Hungarian municipality size is too small for economies of scale in most services - with other governments or with the non-governmental or private sectors. It is of utmost importance that government and NGO partnerships are fostered, as it is precisely the sectors of education, social policy, health etc. where NGOs play greatest role.

During the first half of the 1990s, given the legal framework and some financial resources available, the Hungarian NGO sector rapidly came into existence and got increased recognition by the state and the public – only to be followed by a stagnation in the second half of the 1990s. EU Accession in 2004 gave another boost, since partnerships gained even more importance in accessing the EU Cohesion and Structural Funds and by the socio-economic consequences of the 2008 crisis.

However the NGO sector in Hungary is still far from being as developed as in older EU member states or other OECD countries – and in fact started to shrink and its operative

Figure 4.1 NGO sustainability index in Visegrad Countries (USAID)

Source: Own calculations, USAID (2014)

environment deteriorates in recent years. This happens in an environment, where the recent general government is not too friendly with NGOs, to say the least – they are subject to official investigations, renewed financial audits, prolonged registration process etc.³⁰ The Non-profit Act and the Civil Code are still inconsistent in their regulation of economic activities and the state supervision of CSOs, restrict their rights to freely determine their bodies (boards etc.).

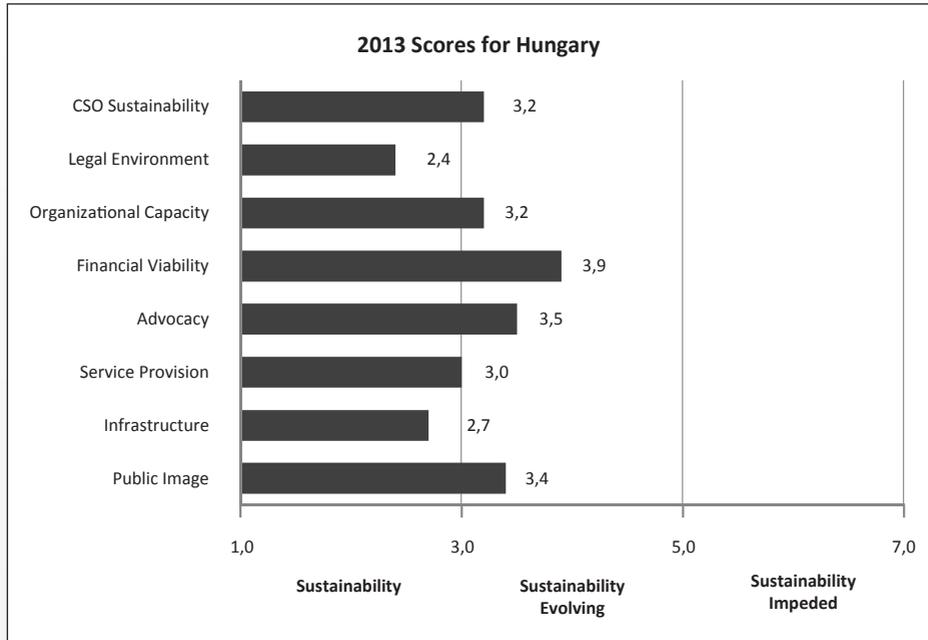
CSOs still receive minimal tax benefits. Regulations induce donors to give rather to professional sports organisations and public procurement is usually giving preference to state-owned non-profit companies and churches instead of CSOs in the bidding process. With the increasing nationalisation of education and health sectors, where CSOs traditionally provide services, the latter have fewer opportunities to compete for government contracts.

As shown in Picture 4.2 according to the Central Statistical Office of Hungary, 2012 was the first year in the last two decades when the number of CSOs, their overall income, and the number of CSO employees decreased. Although the number of CSOs decreased only slightly to around 65 000, the sector's income shrank by four percent and the number of employees fell by three percent.

This worsening situation is reflected in the decrease of USAID NGO sustainability index for Hungary vis-a-vis the other four Visegrad countries. This index had been prepared

30 See e.g. <http://www.liberties.eu/en/news/putinization-hungary>

Figure 4.2 USAID CSO Sustainability Index Indicator Scores for Hungary in 2013



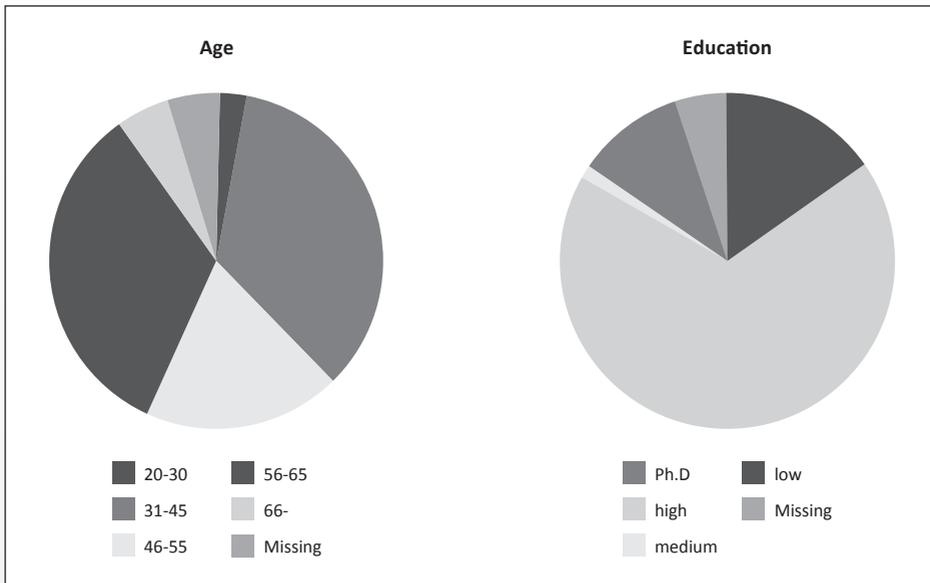
Source: Own design according USAID (2014)

by independent evaluators knowledgeable about the CSO sector since 1997, based on the same methodology, the index being constructed from different indicators: legal environment, organisational capacity, financial viability, advocacy, service provision, infrastructure, public image of NGOs. The larger its values mean worse situation, best values are 1-3.

4.3 Methodology

This chapter aims to evaluate links between civil society and local political leadership in the Budapest case. The overall guiding research question is: How local politicians are rooted in the civil society? Throughout this project it is measured by membership and leading positions in civil society organisations – although the social capital literature offers several alternatives, which were beyond scope of this research. Apart from this direct indicator, the survey also explored views of politicians on the various local level policy issues such as market regulations in the economy, environmental protection, culture, social justice, education, participation of citizens on political-decision making, etc. and tries to link these to civil society membership data.

Figure 4.3 Sample Distribution Characteristics



Source: Questionnaire survey

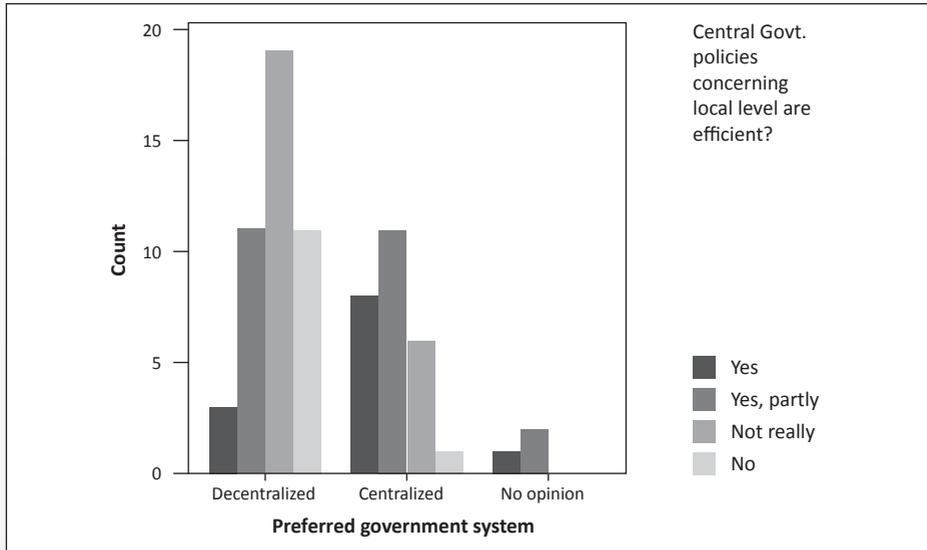
Data was collected through an online survey among candidates of districts of Budapest local government elections in 2010. The survey was held during summer of 2014 (June – Sept). List of candidates for local elections was obtained from the website of the Hungarian National Elections Office. The distribution of questionnaires was managed in two waves - to all candidates to whom an email contact has been found. We managed to get back 78 responses – the total population of the 2010 elected Budapest local council members is 413, in our sample there are 66 elected representatives and 12 unsuccessful candidates³¹.

Respondents were categorized according to gender, age, affiliation to a political party, education etc. The data sample includes answers from 52 men and 21 women (5 respondents did not give their gender). Women are seriously underrepresented in Hungarian politics, this is so at local governments too, with slowly improving figures from 15.6% in 1990- 1994, to 22.2% in 2001 (Soos-Kalman, 2002, p. 59) and 28% in our current survey. The distribution of the sample in terms of education background is quite biased towards highly educated respondents with 83% as opposed to only 10% of low-educated – this is probably so in the main population of local representatives as well, as earlier surveys found similar results³². Generations are also not equally represented in local politics, average representatives are in their thirties, forties or fifties (Soos-

³¹ Finding emails or contact to candidates proved extremely difficult even after this four year lag – hence the low response rate.

³² Soos-Kalman 2002, p.60.: 41% of local representatives were higher educated and 6.4% with primary education in the 2001 Local Representatives Survey.

Figure 4.4 Preferences for/against decentralisation and satisfaction with central government policies



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Kalman 2002 p. 59) – this is similar in our sample too (34%, 20%, 32% respectively). The coverage of the sample according to political parties is fine, as it covers all relevant main political parties – though left wing Hungarian Socialist Party is somewhat under-represented. Respondents in the sample represented all 22 Budapest districts.

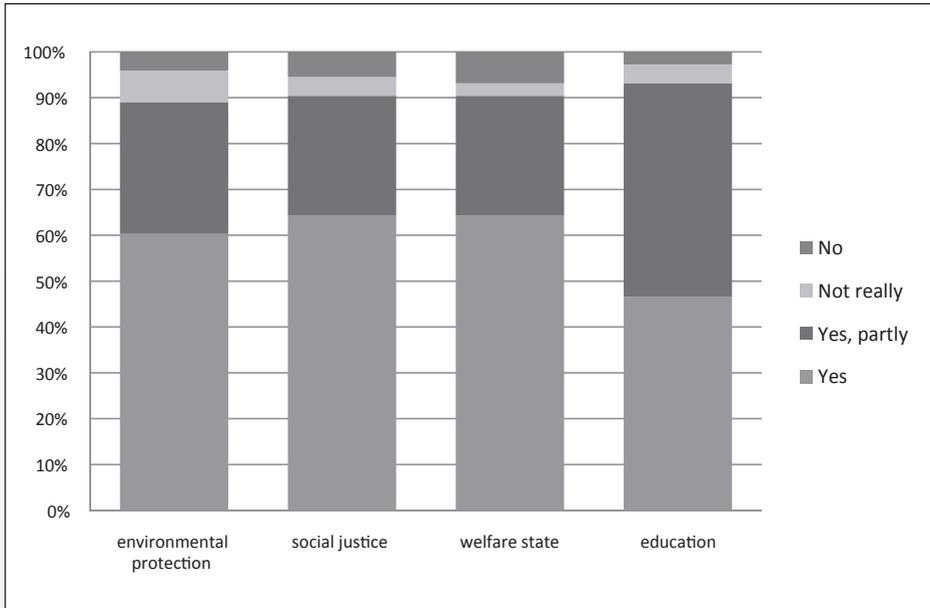
4.4 Research Results

4.4.1 Policy preferences and opinions, satisfaction with central government policies

According to this survey most of local respondents do prefer a decentralised setup – which is as expected from local politicians, yet quite a few local politicians in Budapest seem to prefer centralisation. Moreover, even some of those in favour of decentralisation hold the view that central policies concerning local level are efficient – somewhat surprising as local governments are in general against current centralizing government efforts. Nonetheless, more of those who favour decentralisation seem to be dissatisfied with central government policies concerning local governments (Figure 4.4).

Second we present results dealing with questions about importance of different issues at the local level. According to the responses of local representatives in Budapest

Figure 4.5 Relevance of different issues at the local level – opinions of local politicians in Budapest



*The question about education was modified with the following choices: Yes - Yes (financed by municipality); Yes, partly - Yes (financed by state); Not much; No.
Source: Questionnaire survey, own calculations

all major issues we asked about seem to be considered important, that is social justice and welfare state, education and environment issues. However, the question about education was modified with the choices about local or state financing, and local respondents of this survey signalled equal preferences for both. These opinions are interesting, given the recent major re-organisation of public service provision and transfer of education from local governments to state agencies (as described in the introduction), which got lots of critiques and has operative problems so far.

Table 4.5 describes political orientation of members of each current political party or political movement concerning three basic issues – free market, federalism and importance of a social state. In general, MSZP, LMP and EGYutt-PM are considered leftist parties, while Fidesz (the incumbent both at central level and in the city of Budapest) is a right wing party and Jobbik is supposedly extreme right wing. However, according to respondents of this survey, some Jobbik politicians do not support the idea of free market and favor the importance of a social state at local level, while all leftist party members are supporting free market – this fact also reveals the differences among traditional left-and right wing ideologies and their CEE versions and some controver-

Table 4.5 Political, ideological opinions by party members and satisfaction with central government policies – Budapest

		Do you support the idea of free market?				Do you see the central government activities effective enough in relation to the local level?				Do you see theme of social state important at the local level?			
		Yes	Yes, partly	Not really	No	Yes	Yes, partly	Not really	No	Yes	Yes, partly	Not really	No
Which political party you belong to?	Other org.	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	0	3	0	0	1
	Independent	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
	Egyutt-PM	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Fidesz	5	12	4	1	10	10	2	0	15	7	0	0
	Jobbik	0	5	4	0	0	4	2	3	5	2	1	0
	LMP	0	5	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	4	0	0
	MSZP	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	2	4	0	0	1
Total	9	29	9	1	11	17	12	9	32	13	1	2	

Source: Questionnaire survey, own calculations

sies³³. The way respondents see efficiency of central government policies concerning the local level is fairly diverse, the 'official optimism' of FIDESZ members and the non-satisfaction of the opposition is already visible in Table 4.5, yet we explore this question in more details below.

These results contrast with the opinions of Hungarian citizens expressed in the 2008 wave of the European Values Survey, where 80% of respondents was not confident with government, 89.2% had lack of confidence in political parties overall, and generally vast majority (87.8%) of Hungarian respondents viewed government as rather bad than good.

A great majority (88%) of survey respondents without regard to political affiliation, age, education background expressed participation of citizens in political-decision making as important. Thus we do not consider this question for further analysis due to this strong bias. However, such opinions are contrasted by what was found in Soos-Kalman (2002), that most local governments only fulfil minimum requirements of citizen responsiveness in terms of public hearings, publication of their budgets or plans etc., and citizens do not re-

³³ Given this spread of opinions, it is not surprising we did not see any association in our tests (Chi square) between the support for free market and the importance of welfare state at the local level.

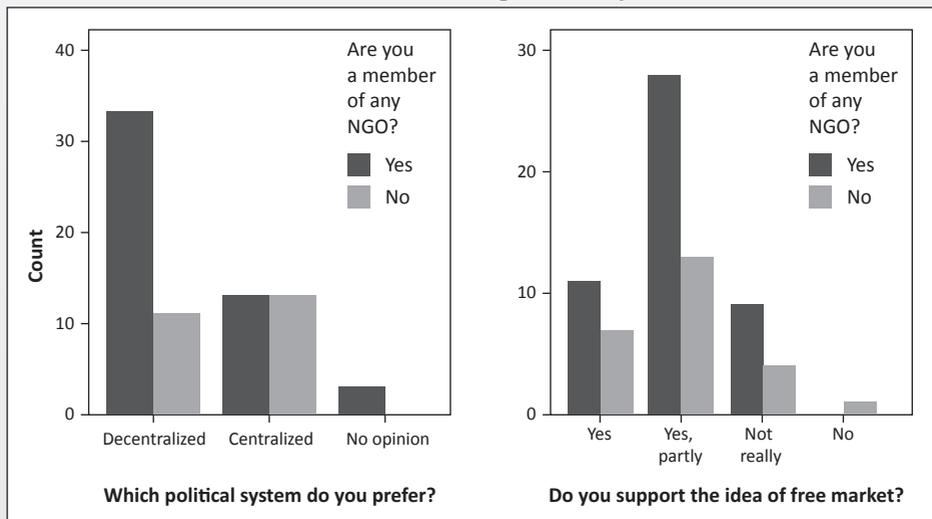
ally feel local governments to be that responsive. It highlights the importance of this issue and calls for a more actual research on the topic to see if Hungarian local democracy has improved on this matter since 2001.

4.4.2 The Civil Society Activity of Local Politicians

Civil society organisations are usually more local in their nature, dealing with a set of different issues, but many being active in education, culture, and social services, health – thus often become partners of local governments in service provision or local development. There is also a large literature on the importance of civil society’s pressure on government and direct involvement in political processes: in CEE historical experience (e.g. Solidarność) many political theorists stress the distinction between state and society and emphasize the civil society’s role to contain the excesses of government. The strength of the civil society can be measured by several indicators, e.g. the density of the local civil society organisations, while its connectedness to politics by the ratio of local councillors with a function in a civic organisation – our survey tried to detect this second one, among others.

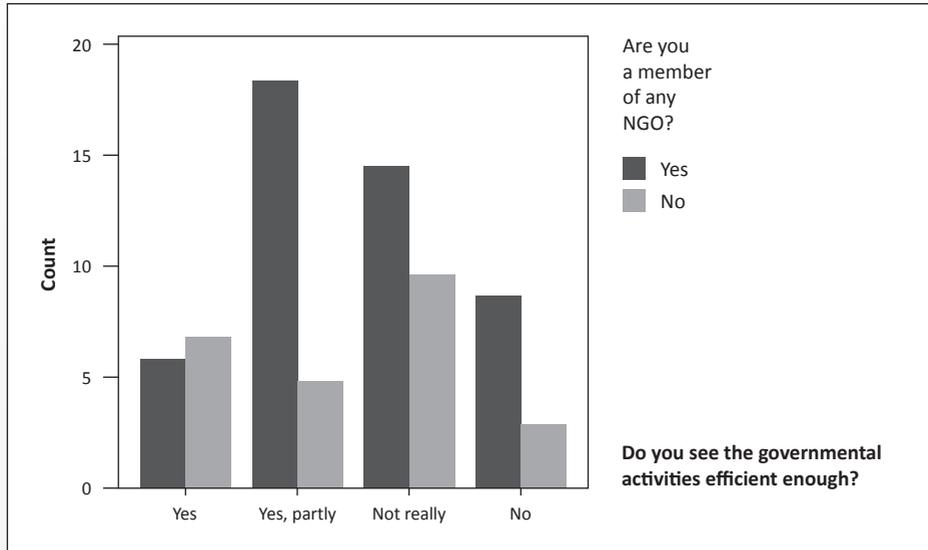
Our results confirmed the hypothesis, that there is a positive relationship between the attitude of preference for decentralisation and NGO membership (Figure 4.6 first chart) - shown by a significant Chi square test between these two questions. This means among survey respondents more (67%) of those in favour of a decentralized system (and

Figure 4.6 Relationship between NGO membership and preference for decentralisation and satisfaction with government policies



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Figure 4.7 Satisfaction with government policies and NGO membership of local representatives



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

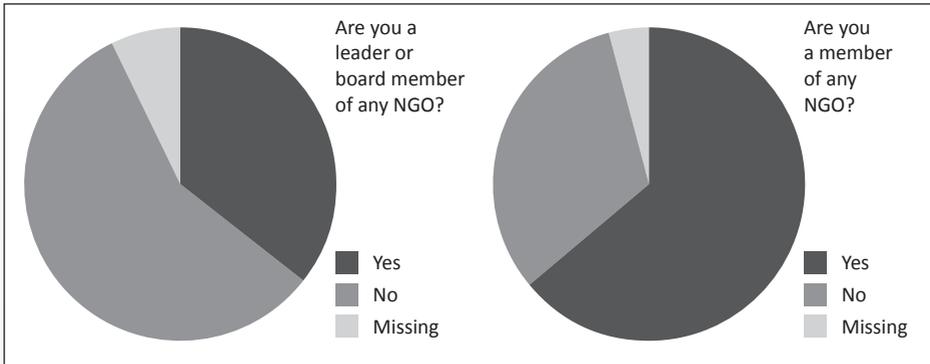
thus believe more in local decision-making being closer to people) are more actively participating in local civic life and thus are members of NGOs. The second chart of Figure 4.6 reveals the relationship for attitudes towards supporting the idea of free market and NGO membership being also positive.

The picture was more scattered when the relationship between NGO membership and satisfaction with government efficiency was explored, yet as the chart on Figure 4.7 signals, dissatisfaction with the efficiency of government somewhat boosts civic participation of local politicians. However the line of causality can go both ways in this case, those more active in civic organisations can be the more critical ones. In the survey roughly half of the respondents signalled satisfaction, the other half dissatisfaction with government policies.

The picture was more scattered when the relationship between NGO membership and satisfaction with government efficiency was explored, yet as the chart on Figure 4.7 signals, dissatisfaction with the efficiency of government somewhat boosts civic participation of local politicians. However the line of causality can go both ways in this case, those more active in civic organisations can be the more critical ones. In the survey roughly

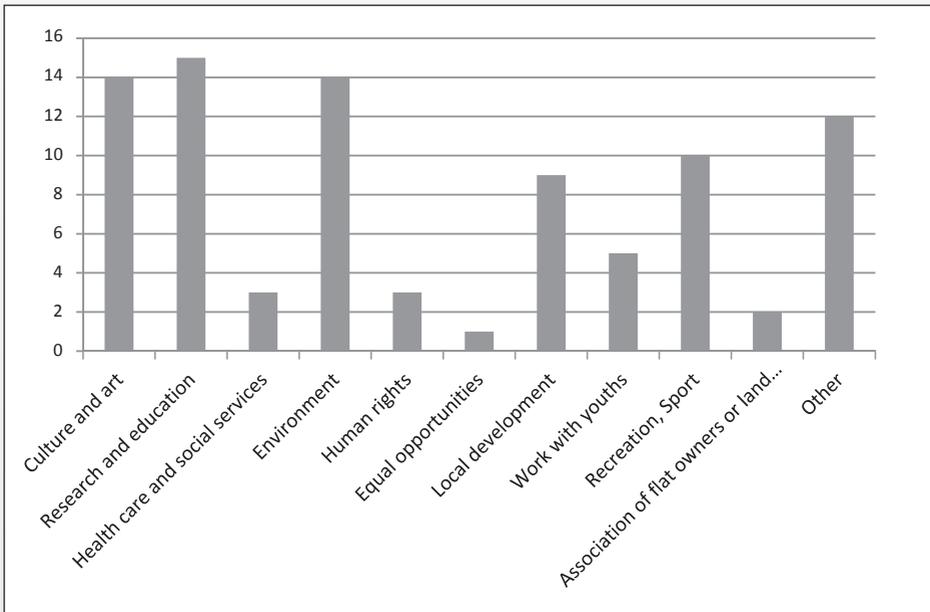
Regarding actual membership and leadership roles in local civil society organisations by local politicians the picture is the following. About two third of local repre-

Figure 4.8 NGO membership and NGO leadership by local politicians in Budapest



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Figure 4.9 Engagement of local politicians in NGOs according to their activities



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

representatives (66.7%) included in the survey are members of any CSO and almost 38.9% of respondents take up leader roles as members of the boards or directors within CSOs (Figure 4.8)³⁴. 35.3% is member in only one CSO, while 12.2% in two and 10.1% in 3

³⁴ In the 2001 Local Representative Survey, 75% of local representatives in cities larger than 10000 inhabitants claimed such CSO membership, half of them in one organization, 30% in two.

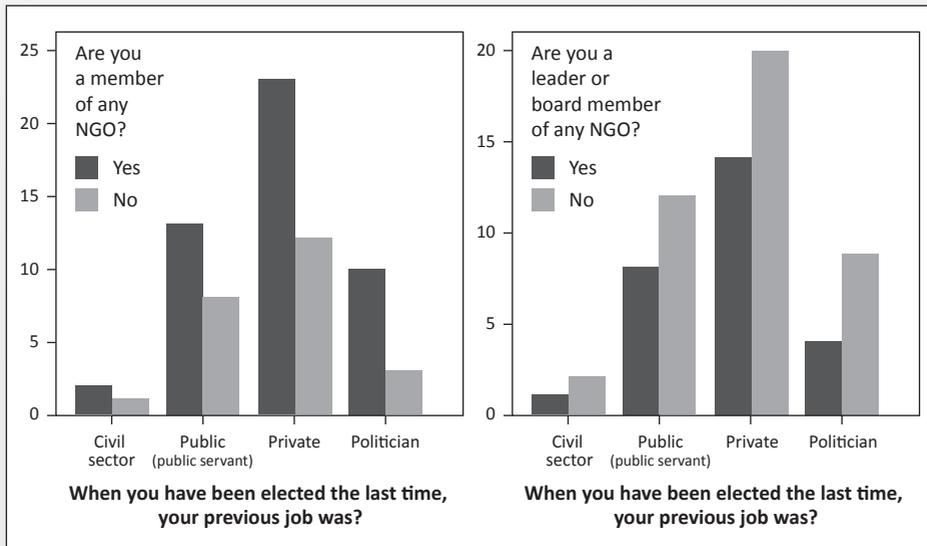
CSOs. Such a result expresses strong rootedness of local politicians in the civil society, but does not say anything about the opposite relationship, and as we will see, civil activists rarely apply as candidates for political representatives.

As far as the activities or the types of NGOs in which local politicians are involved, the most popular CSOs according the respondents are those dealing with culture, education, environment, local development and sports. However due to the small n of our survey and the strong bias in the issues questions we were not able to detect any significant relationship between the importance they signalled to these issues at the local level and their respective CSO membership. Detailed information is presented in the Figure 4.9.

Respondents of the survey had also been asked about their professional background when they ran as candidates for election in 2010. The results shows that nearly half (48%) of respondents were employed in private sector, 23% was public sector employee, plus 13 of them were professional politicians already before the 2010 local elections, while only 3 of them had been working for the civil sector. Those who had been professional politicians prior to running for 2010 local elections are either Fidesz or MSZP politicians.

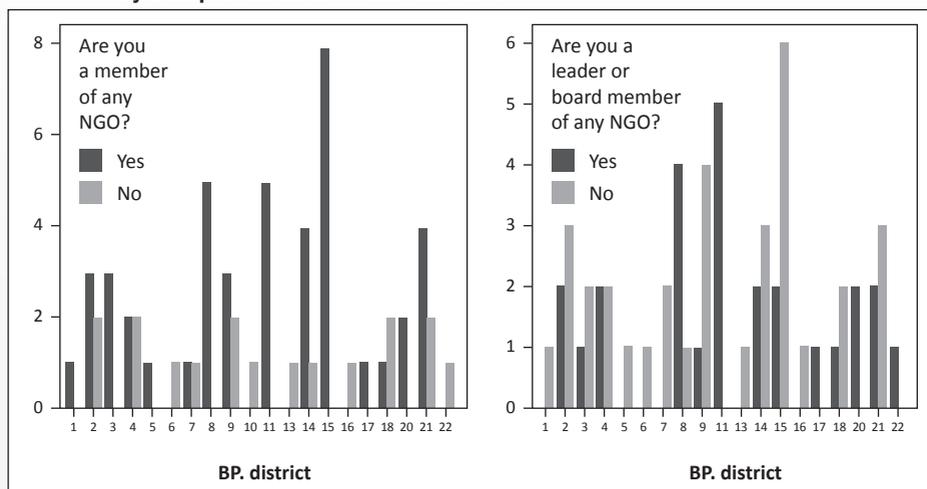
When taking a look at the civil activity of local representatives by sector background (Figure 4.10), it turns out that even though there is no statistical difference in civil activity among different sector backgrounds, yet more professional politicians seem to take up membership in CSOs and only a few are in leader CSO roles. Which shows a sign of

Figure 4.10 Civil activity of local representatives by sector background (former job)



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Figure 4.11 Territorial differences in CSO activity of local politicians by Budapest districts – some extremes



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

independence of the civil sector, that can be good from democratic point of view, yet decreases their lobby power.

As for territorial differences in civil society rootedness of local representatives - as emphasized by the importance of space-based policies in e.g. Barca 2009 - we see some extremes among districts of Budapest. Districts 8, 11, 14, 15 and 21 stand out especially in membership of local representatives in CSOs - a clear sign of different local political and civil cultures, indeed these are districts with a vibrant civil community. The latter district 21 is where an independent mayor with strong civil support is getting re-elected several terms in a row.

The above results show that while local representatives seem to be actively involved in local civil society organisations, the other way around it is not true, professional civil activists do not very often run for local representative positions. It must be noted however, that often local representatives are members in such CSOs due to some political task, either as recognition of the local government sponsorship for these CSOs, or to generate more support for their policies. Further research would be needed to get a more fine-tuned picture.

4.4.3 Party People

Majority of survey respondents (82%) run as candidates of national political parties in 2010 - and among them most as FIDESZ candidates (52.2%), similar to official results

Table 4.6 Official results of 2010 local elections in Budapest - Budapest City Council and Mayor and political affiliation of survey respondents

	Bp. city council % 2010	Bp. Mayor result % 2010	Survey respondents 2014*
FIDESZ	51.5	53.4	52.2
MSZP	30	29.5	14.5
LMP	9	9.9	11.6
JOBBIK	9	7.3	14.5

* Since our survey was taken in summer 2014, there were considerable changes in the political arena since 2010, and in fact some of survey respondents are members of different parties by now, than what they were running as candidates of in 2010.

Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

in Budapest city council. (Table 4.6) These results also confirm the effect of changed electoral rules, that gave preference for national political parties with broad coverage against smaller, local civil society organisations, for whom thresholds for submission of candidates was harder to jump (see change of electoral rules earlier in this chapter).

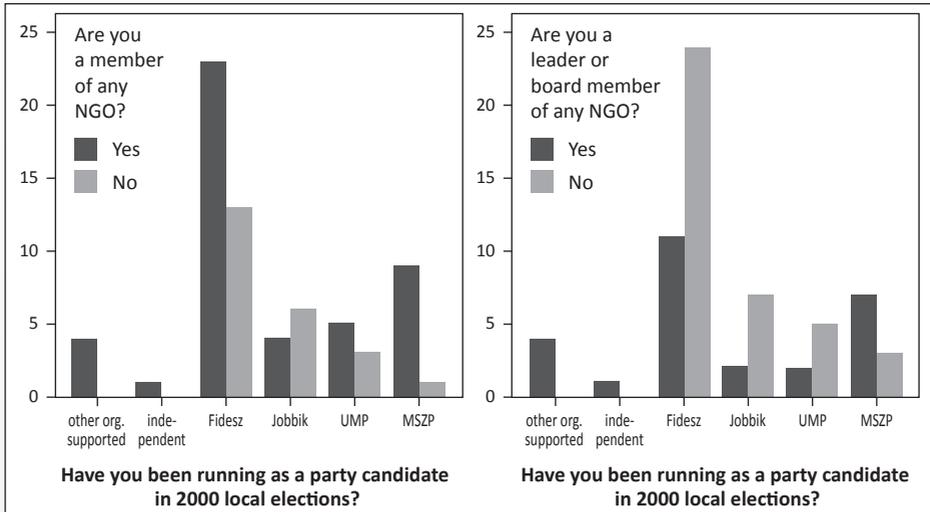
When detecting if the civic participation or leadership role in NGOs has any relationship with the political affiliation of local politicians a diverse picture was drawn: although there seems to be no significant relationship between being candidate of national parties and membership in local CSOs i.e. there are CSO members among candidates from all political parties as well as independent ones. Still both the NGO membership and leadership is highest among candidates of the two largest parties, Fidesz (right) and MSZP (left). Among

Table 4.7 Leadership in NGOs and running as party candidate in 2010

		Are you a leader or board member of any NGO?		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you been running as a party candidate in 2010 local elections?	other org. supported	4	0	4
		14.8%	0.0%	6.1%
	independent	1	0	1
		3.7%	0.0%	1.5%
	Fidesz	11	24	35
		40.7%	61.5%	53.0%
	Jobbik	2	7	9
		7.4%	17.9%	13.6%
	LMP	2	5	7
		7.4%	12.8%	10.6%
	MSZP	7	3	10
		25.9%	7.7%	15.2%
Total		27	39	66
		100,0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Figure 4.12 NGO membership and leadership among political party candidates for local election in Budapest 2010



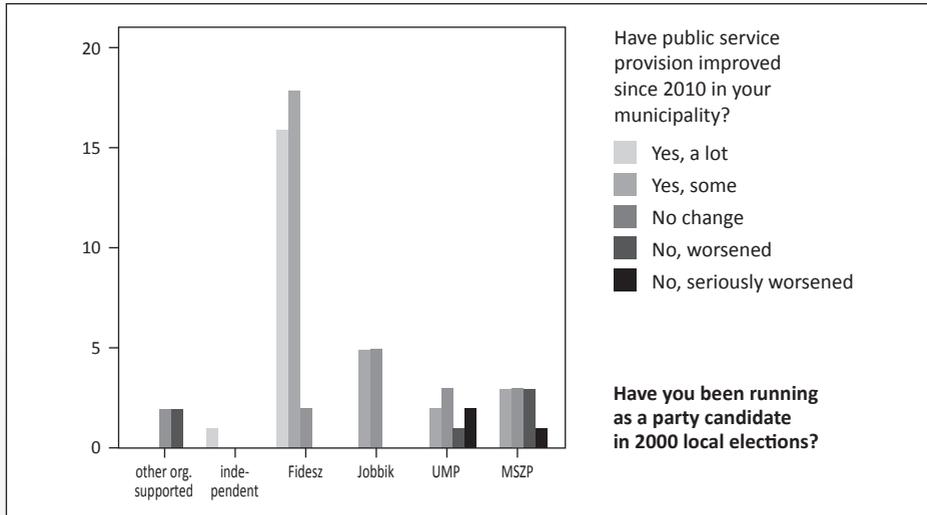
Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

leftist LMP and MSZP party candidates, more seem to be active in civic organisations than their proportional representation in the sample. As far as the few independent and other organisation supported candidates – these are precisely the representatives nominated by civil society, as shown by their membership as well as leadership roles in NGOs.

Results of the survey also revealed an interesting point: there is a positive relationship between being a leader in NGOs and party candidacy/party membership – this result confirms previous results about the connectedness of local NGOs and political parties at the local level. As the civil sphere emerged more and more since transition, the national parties established connections to the civil society organisations – at least in larger municipalities. Favourable to both sides, via these connections the local CSOs could get easier access to mandates in regional governments, while parties could reach the local society easier (Dobos, 2014). However, when an NGO gets a local or regional mandate, its representatives are forced to play the political ‘rules of the game’, thus their civic character becomes political (Kákai, 2004, p.184).

We were interested to know their opinions about local public service provision and development because of the political nature of local representatives. Confirming our hypothesis the incumbent FIDESZ politicians show a kind of ‘official hurray-optimism’ in only seeing improvements in the public service provision in their municipality since 2010, while leftist LMP and MSZP politicians as well as politicians nominated by NGOs seem to be somewhat more critical.

Figure 4.13 Fidesz politicians see more improvement in local public services = ‘official optimism’



Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

We had asked respondents if they consider running for the 2014 local elections, up-coming soon when the survey was taken – partly as an indicator of self-assessment of their own performance, partly as an indicator of the change in political climate. 68.7% of total respondents were running again for the 2014 local elections in Hungary – which means most of local representatives are satisfied with their work and/or see benefits in being a representative. Almost all of those supported by CSOs, more than two-thirds of FIDESZ or JOBBIK candidates, while only half of former MSZP candidates.

4.5 Conclusions to the Hungarian Case

This chapter aimed at evaluating links between civil society and local political leadership in the Budapest case – reflecting upon arguments for decentralisation and local responsiveness, strength of civil society and social capital. Budapest survey data revealed some interesting insights. A great majority (88%) of survey respondents without regard to political affiliation, age, education background expressed participation of citizens in political-decision making as important. Most of local respondents do prefer a decentralized setup, yet some prefer centralisation. Results show a positive relationship between the attitude of preference for decentralisation and NGO membership. The way respondents see efficiency of central government policies concerning the local level is fairly diverse, however the ‘official optimism’ of FIDESZ members is visible.

Table 4.8 Running for the next local elections in 2014 by political affiliation

		Are you going to run for election in 2014?		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you been running as a party candidate in 2010 local elections?	other org. supported	3	1	4
		75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	independent	1	0	1
		100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Fidesz	24	11	35
		68.6%	31.4%	100.0%
	Jobbik	7	3	10
		70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	LMP	6	1	7
		85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	MSZP	5	5	10
		50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Total	46	21	67
		68.7%	31.3%	100.0%

Source: Own calculations, questionnaire survey

Dissatisfaction with the efficiency of government somewhat boosts civic participation of local politicians.

About two third of respondent local representatives are members of CSOs and almost 40% take leader roles within CSOs – a sign of strong rootedness of local politicians in the civil society, yet civil activists rarely apply as candidates for elected political representatives. Majority of survey respondents (82%) run as candidates of national political parties in 2010 - and among them most as FIDESZ candidates - which confirm the effect of changed electoral rules that gave preference for national political parties against smaller, local civil society organisations. There are CSO members among candidates from all political parties as well as independent ones – however there is a positive relationship between being a leader in NGOs and party candidacy/party membership, which reveal how the national parties established connections to the local civil society organisations. There are some territorial differences in CSO activity of local leaders among districts of Budapest - a clear sign of different local political and civil cultures.

However the recent changes in the operative environment of both local governments and the civil sector in Hungary give reasons for concern, thus it is yet to be seen in the future how the formerly successful, now seemingly reversed process of decentralisation and local democratisation continues in the country.

CONCLUSIONS

The issue of linkages between political representatives and the civil society organizations and their possibilities to participate in decision-making discussed in this publication is highly relevant. This year it is exactly a quarter of a century since all Visegrad countries begun their ways of transition to democracies. The authors believe that it is an appropriate time to look back and assess the situation in these newly established democracies. The engagement of politicians in the civil society organizations as well as the engagement of the civil society representatives in politics have been analysed within four different model cases to demonstrate the situation in each Visegrad country.

There is some kind of path dependency in the civil society organisations participation on the political decision – making. Though the EU supports active participation of the civil society organisations in political decision-making through partnership principle (for example in the EU Cohesion Policy) the pre-accession negotiations put behind the strength of such an approach. The accession countries had to fully implement the EU policies without changing them through negotiation. Thus, there was no opportunity to enable the change of the centralised system and change of the position among partners that time. These patterns are still visible in the political systems of the Visegrad countries.

Moreover, the overall situation of the civil society organisations worsens in the Visegrad countries since 2004. Especially, the Hungarian case show long-term sustainability downgrade. Generally, the trust in other people keeps below 30% of the population in all four countries in question. It is not easy for the civil society organisations to participate on political decision-making in such a hostile environment.

Our research proved some very similar points in all countries, though with some variance. All four cases express homogeneity among Visegrad countries when discussing the local politics and the local civil society engagement. There has been found quite a high engagement of local political elites among civil society organisations. About two thirds of the local politicians taking part in the survey are somehow active in any civil society organisation in all surveyed cities. Not only are they active, many of them are in a position of managers, directors or members of the boards of directors in those organisations. Such an engagement reported about one third of respondents in all surveyed cities, and was higher in Poznan, where more than 50% of all deputies declared that they have been active either as directors, members of the boards or members of the social movements and non-profit non-governmental organisations.

The activities in the civil society organisations are rather voluntary than based on a professional basis. Such a situation is proved by statistics revealing the fact that there are not many politicians previously standing for a seat as an employee of a civil society organisation. It is in contradiction to the high share of local politicians being active in civil society organisations. Hungarian and Czech case report only a marginal share of candidates from the civil society sector (around 5%). On the contrary the Polish case reports around 21% of candidates working in a civil society organisation. An exacerbation of candidates just before election could be seen as about 60% of inactive e-mail addresses of candidates has been found in Bratislava (candidates simply never open the received e-mails).

Mainly Slovak and Hungarian case studies reveal how difficult it is for civil society organisations to participate on political decision-making even at the local level.

Hungarian case is also stressing another point of the relationship between political decision-making and the civil society organisations engagement. It is the election system itself. The effect of changed system caused preference of candidates to stand for national political parties and not for smaller, local civil society organisations.

In other countries the d'Hondt system of transformation of votes into seats supports parties with higher share of votes which is easily accessible to nationally-established political parties than for local civic movements.

More optimistic for the civil society sector is a conclusion that local politicians see the politics less ideological than at the national level. Even being members of national political parties, their opinions are not so strictly in accordance with the national level policy line of their parties.

The results confirm claim that democratization is a long-term and still ongoing process and there are many persisting obstacles to be overcome in the newly established democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. It will take some doing to create trust among people and to implement partnership principle till the decision-making will be similar to societies in Western Europe with long-term democratic tradition.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 Projects Implemented by the Poznan City from EU Funds in 2007-2013

Programme	Number	Poznan City as beneficiary / area
OP Human capital	74	Poznan City Office (mainly as a partner - 25) Schools, education, monitoring of education systems, trainings, city regeneration
OP Infrastructure and Environment	20	Poznan City Office and communal enterprises: road infrastructure, water and sewage system modernisation, cultural institutions infrastructure, sport infrastructure (stadium EURO 2012), airport development Sewage management for the Poznan City
OP Innovative Economy	3	Poznan City Office Digital inclusion, culture and digitalisation of patrimony, infrastructure and logistics centre
OP Technical Assistance	1	Poznan City Office - Plan for development of agglomeration of Poznan
WROP	30	Poznan City Office (15) and 15 in cooperation with other units e.g. public city transport enterprises, airport, hospitals (infrastructure, health, innovation, tourism)
OP ETC:		
INTERREG IVC	4	Poznan City Office (3), NGO- 1
Baltic Sea	1	Poznan City Office
URBACT	3	Poznan City Office (cities cooperation)
Total	8	
European Commission:		
LLL		
Leonardo da Vinci	9	Vocational education and training - schools
Comenius	7	schools
Comenius Regio	4	Department of Education/ Project coordination Office - Poznan City
Erasmus	2	Schools
Grundtvig	1	NGO - Centrum for Senior Initiative
Europe for Citizens	2	Poznan City Office - Dpt. Of Sport, Project coordination Office
Europe Aid	1	Poznan City Office - Dpt. Of Environment
Daphne III	1	Poznan City Office - Dpt. Of Health and Social Affairs
7 FP	1	Poznan City Office - Dpt. Of Economic Activity (Entrepreneurship)
Youth in Action	2	Poznan City Office - President Office, school
Total	30	
TOTAL	166	

Source: Own work based on (PCO 2014)

Appendix 2 Questionnaire for Prague (Version 7th of July 2014)

Nr.	Question	Answers
001	Which political system do you prefer?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Centralised; · Decentralised; · No preference
002	Do you see the central government activities efficient enough relating to the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · Not much · No
003	Do you support the idea of free market?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · No, partly · No
004	Are there necessary market regulations in the economy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, some · No, not many · No
005	Do you see environmental protection as an important issue at the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · No, partly · No
006	Do you see culture as an important issue at the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · No, partly · No
007	Do you see social justice as an important issue at the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · Not much · No
008	Do you see welfare state policies as an important issue at the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · Not much · No
009	Do you see education as an important issue at the local level?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes, financed by local municipality budget · Yes, financed from the state budget · Not much · No
010	Do you promote participation of citizens on political-decision making?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · Yes, partly · No, partly · No
011	Are you a member of any CSO?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · No

Nr.	Question	Answers
012	In what areas the organisation of civil society operates? (more options available)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Culture and art; · Research and education; · Health care and social services; · Environment; · Human rights; · Equal opportunities; · Local development; · Work with youths; · Recreation, Sport · Association of flat owners or land users; · Other
013	Are you a member of the board of directors of any CSO or are you a director of any CSO?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · No
014	What was your job when you were a candidate standing for elections in 2010?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Politician · In public sector (public servant) · In private firm · GO
015	Have you been elected?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · No
016	Have you got a job in representative body of the municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Yes · No
017	In which city district?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Rolling menu (CZSO)
018	You have been on a list of candidates of the political party:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Rolling menu (CZSO)
019	What is your gender?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Man · Woman
020	Do you want to see results of the research? If yes, add your e-mail address:	

REFERENCES

- [1] ANHEIER, H. (2004) *Civil Society. Measurement and Policy Dialogues*, Routledge, London.
- [2] AUGUSTYN, A. (2012) *Przywództwo liderów lokalnych w zarządzaniu jednostką samorządu terytorialnego*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Ekonomiczne problemy usług nr 97.
- [3] BACHE, I. (1998) *Politics of European Union Regional Policy: Multi-Level Governance or Flexible Gatekeeping?*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield; p. 16-30.
- [4] BACHE, I. and OLSSON, J. (2001) *Legitimacy through Partnership? EU Policy Diffusion in Britain and Sweden*, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 24, Issue 3, p. 215 – 237.
- [5] BACHE, I. and CHAPMAN, R. (2008) *Democracy through Multilevel Governance? The Implementation of the Structural Funds in South Yorkshire*. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, Vol. 21, Issue 3, p. 397-418.
- [6] BARCA, F. (2009) *An Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy: A Place-based Approach to Meeting European Union Challenges and Expectations*. Retrieved November 28, 2014, from: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/policy/future/pdf/report_barca_v0306.pdf
- [7] BOJAR, E. (2010) *Przywództwo w zarządzaniu rozwojem lokalnym*. Publikacja w ramach projektu: *Rola samorządów gminnych w procesach rozwojowych Polski Wschodniej*, Fundacja BFKK, Białystok. Available at: http://www.bfkk.pl/libs/ckfinder/userfiles/files/administracja_publiczna/przywodztwo.pdf
- [8] BRATISLAVA - STARÉ MESTO (2010) *Volilo vyše 38% Staromešťanov, starostkou je Tatiana Rosová. Staromestský spravodaj*. Vol. 2, Issue 12. December 2010 - January 2011. Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: http://www.staremesto.sk/data/MediaLibrary/1/1014/spravodaj_r2_c12.pdf
- [9] BRATISLAVA - STARÉ MESTO (2014) *Občan: Soňa Párnická*. (Online). Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: <http://www.staremesto.sk/sk/content/sona-parnicka-2>
- [10] BÚTORA, M. et al (2012) *Mimovládny sektor: pluralita činností a foriem*. In: ARBE, S. (ed.) (2012) *10 Kapitol o vývoji občianskej spoločnosti na Slovensku. Partners for Democratic Change Slovakia (2012)*, p. 23-39.
- [11] BÚTOROVÁ, Z. and GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ, O. (2010) *Občianska participácia: trendy, problem súvislosti*. *Sociológia*, Vol. 42, No. 5, p. 447- 491.
- [12] CLARK, D. (2005) *Concepts of Leadership*. (Online). Retrieved June 22, 2014, from: <http://www.nwlink.com/~donclark/hrd/Untitled-1.html>
- [13] COHEN, W.A. (2002) *The New Art of the Leader*. Prentice Hall Press, 1st edition, 320p.
- [14] COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2010) *European Charter of Local Self-Government and Explanatory Report*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.
- [15] CZAPIŃSKI, J. and PANEK, T. (eds) (2013) *Social Diagnosis 2013, Contemporary Economics*, Vol. 7 (special issue). Retrieved May 30, 2014, from: <http://ce.vizja.pl/en/download-pdf/volume/7/issue/3.1/id/346>
- [16] CZECH REPUBLIC (2000) *Act No. 128/2000 Coll., on municipalities*.

- [17] CZECH STATISTICAL OFFICE (2014a) Satellite account of non-profit institutions. Retrieved November 4, 2014, from: http://apl.czso.cz/pll/rocenka/rocenka.indexnu_sat?mylang=EN
- [18] CZECH STATISTICAL OFFICE (2014b) Local council elections 15.10. - 16.10.2010: Lists of names. Retrieved June 28, 2014, from <http://www.volby.cz/pls/kv2010/kv222?xjazyk=EN&id=1&xv=11&xnumnuts=1100>
- [19] DAVIES, J.S. and IMBROSCIO, D. (2009) *Theories of Urban Politics*. Second Edition, Sage Publications, 140 p.
- [20] DOBOS, G. (2014) *Changing Local Relations: Effects of Political and Administrative Reforms in Hungary* – Conference Paper for 8th ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, 2014.
- [21] DRUCKER, P.F. (1996) *Your Leadership Is Unique. Good News: There is no one “leadership personality”*, in: Hesselbein F., Goldsmith M. and Beckhard R. (eds.) *The Leader of the Future*, The Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management, San Francisco.
- [22] DUDKIEWICZ, M. and MAKOWSKI, G. (2011) *Współpraca między organizacjami pozarządowymi i administracją samorządową. Problemy, wyzwania i rekomendacje*, Ekspertyza przygotowana przez Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa.
- [23] ESS (2012) *European Social Survey data*. (Online). Retrieved October 20, 2014, from: <http://nesstar.ess.nsd.uib.no/webview>
- [24] EVS (2010) *European Values Study 2008: Hungary (EVS 2008)*. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4772 Data file Version 1.1.0.
- [25] FALUDI, A. (2011) *Multi-level (Territorial) Governance: Three Criticisms*; Vienna RSA Workshop 29-30 November 2011, p. 1-23.
- [26] FITCH POLSKA (2014) *Fitch Ratings Polska*. (Online). Retrieved November 5, 2014, from: <http://www.fitchpolska.com.pl/pl/>
- [27] GRZESZCZAK, J. (2012) *Partycypacja publiczna w dużych miastach*, In: Olech A. (eds.) *Dyktat czy uczestnictwo? Diagnoza partycypacji publicznej w Polsce*. Tom I, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa.
- [28] GUS (2014) *Central Statistical Office of Poland, Local Data Bank*.
- [29] HARVEY, B. (2004) *The illusion of inclusion. Access by CSOs to the structural funds in the new member states of eastern and central Europe*, European Citizens Action Service, Brussels.
- [30] HAUSNER, J. (2003) *Administracja publiczna*, PWN, Warszawa.
- [31] HAUSNER, J. (2014) *Dokąd idziemy?*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 09.08.2014.
- [32] HOOD, C. (1991) *A Public Management for All Season?* “*Public Administration*, Vol. 69, Issue 1, p. 3-19.
- [33] HORVÁTH, M.T. (1996) *Pártok a helyi önkormányzatokban.- A települések politikai intézményei. [Parties in the Local Government – Political Institutions of the Municipalities]* Budapest, Magyar Közigazgatási Intézet.
- [34] HOSPODÁRSKE NOVINY DAILY (2007) *Ekofórum organizuje protest za odvrátenie zákazu vjazdu bicyklov do lesov*, [3.7.2007]. (Online). Retrieved October 20, 2014, from: <http://hn.hnonline.sk/slovensko-119/ekoforum-organizuje-protest-za-odvratenie-zakazu-vjazdu-bicyklov-do-lesov-243116>
- [35] INTERVIEW NO. 1, Mrs.Elena Pätoprstá, Local Council Member Bratislava-Petržalka, conducted on 4 Augusta 2014 in Bratislave. Interview conducted by the authors.

- [36] INTERVIEW NO. 2, Mrs. Katarína Šimončíčová, Local civic activist, conducted on 5 August 2014 in Bratislava. Interview conducted by the authors.
- [37] INTERVIEW NO. 3, Mr. Michal Novota, former Local Council Member Bratislava-Petržalka, conducted on 25 August 2014 in Bratislava. Interview conducted by the authors.
- [38] INTERVIEW NO. 4, anonymous, conducted on 9 September 2014 in Bratislava. Interview conducted by the authors.
- [39] KÁKAI, L. (2004) *Önkormányzunk értetek, de nélkületek!* [We Govern for You But Without You] Budapest, Századvég Kiadó.
- [40] KENNEMER, K. (2008) Five Ways Poor Leadership Can Destroy A Company. *Tulsa World*, Aug. 14, p. E4. ISSN 87505959.
- [41] KINOWSKA, Z. (2012) *Kondycja społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce*, Infos nr 22 (136), Biuro Analiz Sejmowych, Warszawa.
- [42] KOSMOWSKI, J. and SZYMCZAK, S. (2012) *Diagnoza stanu trzeciego sektora w Poznaniu. Badanie potrzeb w zakresie wsparcia NGO's*, Fundacja Edukacja dla Przyszłości, Poznan.
- [43] KOŠŤÁL, C. et al (2012) *National Integrity System Assessment – Slovakia*. Transparency International Slovakia, Bratislava, 2012.
- [44] KRASNOWOLSKI, A. (2014), *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie i jego instytucje*, Opracowania tematyczne OT-627, Biuro Analiz i Dokumentacji Kancelarii Senatu. Warszawa.
- [45] LA PORTA, R.; LOPEZ-DE-SILANES, F.; SHLEIFER, A. and VISHNY, R.W. (1999) The Quality of Government, In *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 222–279.
- [46] LABOUTKOVA, S. (2009) The establishment of CSOs as one growing part of developing interest groups in the Czech Republic. *E+M Economics & Management* 1, p. 14 – 30.
- [47] LAKMAL, K. (2013) Transformational leadership behavior. Theory and reflections. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2398486>.
- [48] LAMB, L.F. and MCKEE, K.B. (2004) *Applied Public Relations: Case in Stakeholder Management*. Mahwah, New Jersey; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Routledge.
- [49] LEWICKA-STRZAŁECKA, A. (2007) *Korupcja i zaufanie*, *Annales. Etyka w życiu gospodarczym*, Vol. 10, No. 1.
- [50] LIJPHART, A. (1997) Unequal Participation. *Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma*, *American Political Science Review*, No. 1.
- [51] LIPSET, S.M. (1995) *Homo Politicus. Społeczne podstawy polityki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- [52] MAIR, P. (1997) *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- [53] MARKS, G. and HOOGE, L. (2004) Contrasting visions of multi-level governance, in: I. Bache, M. Flinders (eds.) *Multi-level Governance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 15-30.
- [54] MUSIAŁ-KARG M., (2011) *Metody zwiększania frekwencji wyborczej. Polska a doświadczenia innych państw*, *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, nr 2.
- [55] OECD (2013), *Better Life Index*. Retrieved October 25, 2014, from: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/civic-engagement/>
- [56] PÁLNE KOVÁCS, I. (2008) *Helyi kormányzás Magyarországon*. [Local Governance in Hungary] Pécs, Dialóg Campus.

- [57] PÁRNICKÁ, S. (2014) Soňa Párnická aktivistka iniciatívy Bratislava otvorene. (Online). Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: <http://www.sonaparnicka.estranky.sk/clanky/kto-som.html>
- [58] PCO (2014) Fundusze europejskie. (Online). Retrieved July 31, 2014, from: <http://www.poznan.pl/mim/fundusze/program-operacyjny-kapital-ludzki,p,13631,26452,26474.html>
- [59] PETICIE.COM (2014) Petícia za zachovanie trhoviska na Žilinskej ulici v Bratislave. (Online). Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: <http://www.peticie.com/trhzilinska>
- [60] PIETRAK, M. (2004) Warunki progowe narodzin społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce, *Studia Iuridica Tom 43 Miscelanea*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.
- [61] PKW (2010) Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza (National Electoral Commission), database.
- [62] POTLUKA, O. (2009) Impact of partnership on political decision-making. In: Working Paper for a Regional Studies Association Working Group. Bristol, 20.03.2009. Bristol: IREAS, 2009. 28 p.
- [63] POTLUKA, O. and LIDDLE, J. (2014) Managing European Union Structural Funds: Using a Multilevel Governance Framework to Examine the Application of the Partnership Principle at the Project Level, *Regional Studies*, 2014.
- [64] POTUCEK, M. (1999) Havel versus Klaus: Public policy making in the Czech republic, *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, p. 163-176.
- [65] POZNAŃ (2014a) Konsultacje społeczne. (Online). Retrieved October 24, 2014, from: <http://www.poznan.pl/mim/main/konsultacje-spoleczne,p,15574.html>
- [66] POZNAŃ (2014b) Uchwała Nr Lvii/896/Vi/2013 Rady Miasta Poznania z dnia 15 października 2013r. w sprawie Roczego Programu Współpracy Miasta Poznania z Organizacjami Pozarządowymi oraz podmiotami, o których mowa w art. 3 ust. 3 ustawy z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 roku o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie, na 2014 rok.
- [67] PRAVDA DAILY (2008) Petržalka prišla o lesík pri Sade Janka Kráľa, [30.3.2008]. (Online). Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/207252-petrzalka-prisla-o-lesik-pri-sade-janka-krala/>
- [68] PRAVDA DAILY (2014) Park v centre Bratislavy je po 18 rokoch zachránený, [7.3.2014]. Retrieved August 25, 2014, from: <http://spravy.pravda.sk/regiony/clanok/310799-park-v-centre-bratislavy-je-po-18-rokoch-zachraneny/>
- [69] PRESIDENT, C.G. (2004) Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society, *Democratization*, Vol. 11, Issue 3, p. 27-35.
- [70] PUTNAM, R.D. (2008) Samotna gra w kręgle: Upadek i odrodzenie wspólnot lokalnych w Stanach Zjednoczonych, *Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne*, Warszawa.
- [71] PUTNAM, R.G.; LEONARDI, R. and NANETTI, R.Y. (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton N.J : Princeton University Press, 1993.
- [72] SME DAILY (2008) Koncert Verejnost 2008 prezentoval kauzy z celého Slovenska, [16.11.2008], available on the internet: <http://www.sme.sk/c/4178889/koncert-verejnost-2008-prezentoval-kauzy-z-celeho-slovenska.html>
- [73] SME DAILY (2010) Plánované megakasíno odmietajú aj Petržalčania, [16.2.2010], available on the internet: <http://bratislava.sme.sk/c/5243695/planovane-megakasino-odmietaju-aj-petrzalcania.html>

- [74] SOÓS, G. (2005) Local Party Institutionalization in Hungary. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Central European University.
- [75] SOÓS, G. (n. d.) Mitől függ a helyi politikai szervezetek választási jelentősége? [What the Electoral Importance of Local Political Organizations depends on?]
- [76] SOÓS, G. and KÁLMÁN J. (2002): Report on the State of Local Democracy in Hungary. In: Soós – Tóka – Wright (eds.) (2002) The State of Local Democracy in Central Europe, Budapest, Open Society Institute.
- [77] STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC (2014) Elections to the bodies of communal self-government. Retrieved December 12, 2014, from: <http://volby.statistics.sk/oso/oso2010/files/ba.pdf>
- [78] SULEIMAN, R. (2013) The NGOs and the Grand Illusions of Development and Democracy, *Voluntas*, Vol. 24, p.241–261.
- [79] SWIANIEWICZ, P. (2008) Nowe koncepcje zarządzania i polityki miejskiej w świadomości liderów lokalnych w Polsce, in: *Przywódstwo lokalne a kształtowanie demokracji partycypacyjnej* (ed. Michałowski S., Kuć-Czajkowska K.) Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin.
- [80] SWIANIEWICZ, P. and MIELCZAREK, A. (2005) Parties and Political Culture in Central and Eastern European Local Governments. In: Soós – Zentai (eds.) (2005) *Faces of Local Democracy*. Budapest, Open Society Institute
- [81] TREISMAN, D. (2000) The causes of corruption: a cross-national study. In *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 76, no. 3, p. 399-457.
- [82] USAID (2013) The 2012 CSO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. United States Agency for International Development, 16th Edition - June 2013. Retrieved October 14, 2014 from: http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1863/2012CSOSI_0.pdf
- [83] USAID (2014) The 2013 CSO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. United States Agency for International Development, 17th Edition - June 2014. Retrieved November 8, 2014 from: <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1863/E%26E%202013%20CSOSI%20Final%2010-29-14.pdf>
- [84] VAJDOVA, T. (2005) Česká občanská společnost 2004: po patnácti letech rozvoje. Prague, 2005. Retrieved November 2, 2014 from: http://ksos.fhs.cuni.cz/KOS-40-version1-vajdova_ceska_obcanska_spolecn.pdf
- [85] VRÁBLÍKOVÁ, K. (2009) Politická participace a její determinanty v postkomunistických zemích. *Czech Sociological Review* (2009), Vol. 45, No. 5, p. 867-897
- [86] WEF (2013) The Future Role of Civil Society, World Scenario Series. World Economic Forum.

List of Figures

- Figure 1.1 Percentage of active members of various organisations in Poland in 2013
- Figure 1.2 Percentage of people trusting others in Europe (age 16+)
- Figure 1.3 Voter turnout in (last) national parliamentary elections in Poland in 2011
- Figure 1.4 Preferences of the councillors for political system in the country
- Figure 1.5 Are (self)governmental activities efficiently enough?
- Figure 1.6 Membership of the councillors of the City Council in CSOs by area (number of responses)
- Figure 1.7 Profession before being elected to the Council of the City of Poznan
- Figure 1.8 Involvement in activities for achieving the objectives of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013
- Figure 1.9 Areas with the most positive impact of the EU Cohesion Policy
- Figure 2.1 Sustainability of the Czech civil society compared with development in Visegrad countries
- Figure 2.2 Distribution of the sample
- Figure 2.3 Relevance of different issues at the local level
- Figure 2.4 Linkage between politicians and CSOs
- Figure 2.5 Engagement of politicians in CSOs according their activities
- Figure 2.6 Previous jobs of candidates standing for elections in 2010
- Figure 3.1 Ratio of members of CSOs among the respondents
- Figure 3.2 Review of the structure of respondents
- Figure 3.3 Views of Independent candidates
- Figure 4.1 NGO sustainability index in Visegrad Countries (USAID)
- Figure 4.2 USAID CSO Sustainability Index Indicator Scores for Hungary in 2013
- Figure 4.3 Sample Distribution Characteristics
- Figure 4.4 Preferences for/against decentralisation and satisfaction with central government policies
- Figure 4.5 Relevance of different issues at the local level – opinions of local politicians in Budapest
- Figure 4.6 Relationship between NGO membership and preference for decentralisation and satisfaction with government policies
- Figure 4.7 Satisfaction with government policies and NGO membership of local representatives
- Figure 4.8 NGO membership and NGO leadership by local politicians in Budapest
- Figure 4.9 Engagement of local politicians in NGOs according to their activities
- Figure 4.10 Civil activity of local representatives by sector background (former job)
- Figure 4.11 Territorial differences in CSO activity of local politicians by Budapest districts – some extremes
- Figure 4.12 NGO membership and leadership among political party candidates for local election in Budapest 2010
- Figure 4.13 Fidesz politicians see more improvement in local public services = ‘official optimism’

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Percentage of active organisation members and people active in the community in Poland between 2003 – 2013
Table 1.2	Parties and committees, whose candidates were elected to the Council of the City of Poznan, 2010
Table 2.1	Variation of a number of elected mandates according to the size of a municipality
Table 2.2	Turnout in elections in Prague
Table 2.3	Political opinions of the political parties and movements in Prague
Table 2.4	Relationship between questions: Do you support the idea of free market? and Do you see social justice as an important issue at the local level?
Table 2.5	Relationship between questions: Do you support the idea of free market? • Do you see welfare state policies as an important issue at the local level?
Table 2.6	Relationship between questions: Are you a member of any CSO? and Are you a member of the board of directors or director of any CSO?
Table 2.7	Membership in CSOs across political parties
Table 2.8	Occupation of candidates at the local level
Table 3.1	Total number of candidates in Local Election 2010 in Bratislava
Table 4.1	The Local electoral reform in Hungary in 2010
Table 4.2	Proportion of party and civil organisation lists in the regional elections (2002-2010)
Table 4.3	Democratic Performance of Hungarian local governments
Table 4.4	Turnout rates at national and local elections in Hungary
Table 4.5	Political, ideological opinions by party members and satisfaction with central government policies – Budapest
Table 4.6	Official results of 2010 local elections in Budapest - Budapest City Council and Mayor and political affiliation of survey respondents
Table 4.7	Leadership in NGOs and running as party candidate in 2010
Table 4.8	Running for the next local elections in 2014 by political affiliation

List of Pictures

Picture 4.1	The relation of the local and regional levels in the Hungarian electoral system
Picture 4.2	Development of the Hungarian non-profit sector, 1993-2012 (1993=100%)



