



**Jean Monnet
Centre of Excellence**

ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY, POZNAŃ

EU external actions in the contested global order –
(in)coherence, (dis)continuity, resilience

Direct democracy in the European Union and the EU's neighbouring countries

Prof. Magdalena Musiał-Karg

magdalena.musial-karg@amu.edu.pl

Academic Year 2018/2019



Switzerland

Direct Democratic Practice



150 years of experiences with DD

Insights and lessons which might be learned
from the national, regional and local level in Switzerland

Prof. UAM dr. hab. Magdalena Musiał-Karg



Aim and structure of this lecture

Aim:

Answer the question about the role of direct democratic institutions in Swiss federation, cantons and communes

Structure:

1. **Introduction** - Swiss political system
 - a) Origins of the Swiss Federation 1815-1848
 - b) Federalism
 - c) The Parliament and the Executive

2. **Direct Democracy in Switzerland**
 - a) Federal level
 - b) Cantonal level
 - c) Local level

3. **Conclusions**

Lessons, possibilities etc.



History of Swiss Federalism



1291

- 3 alliance of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden
- date of birth of the Swiss Confederation.

14th century

- Confederation of 8 cantons (Lucern, Zurich, Bern, Glarus i Zug)

1798

- first constitution of Switzerland, Helvetic Republic

1848

- new constitution adopted in referendum. It laid down the foundations of modern Switzerland,

18.04.1999

- Federal Constitution of the Republic of Switzerland
(went into effect – 1.01.2000)

The fight for democracy and federalism 1815-1848: not so peaceful

- 1815: No common state.
Reestablishment of authoritarian governments in the Cantons
- After 1830: Democratic movements in protestant cantons

Riots in parts of Switzerland

- 1844: Aargau prohibits Catholic monasteries / Lucerne calls ultra-conservative Jesuit monks.
- 1845: Irregular troops from Aargau attack Lucerne twice



Assembly demanding more democracy in Uster 1830

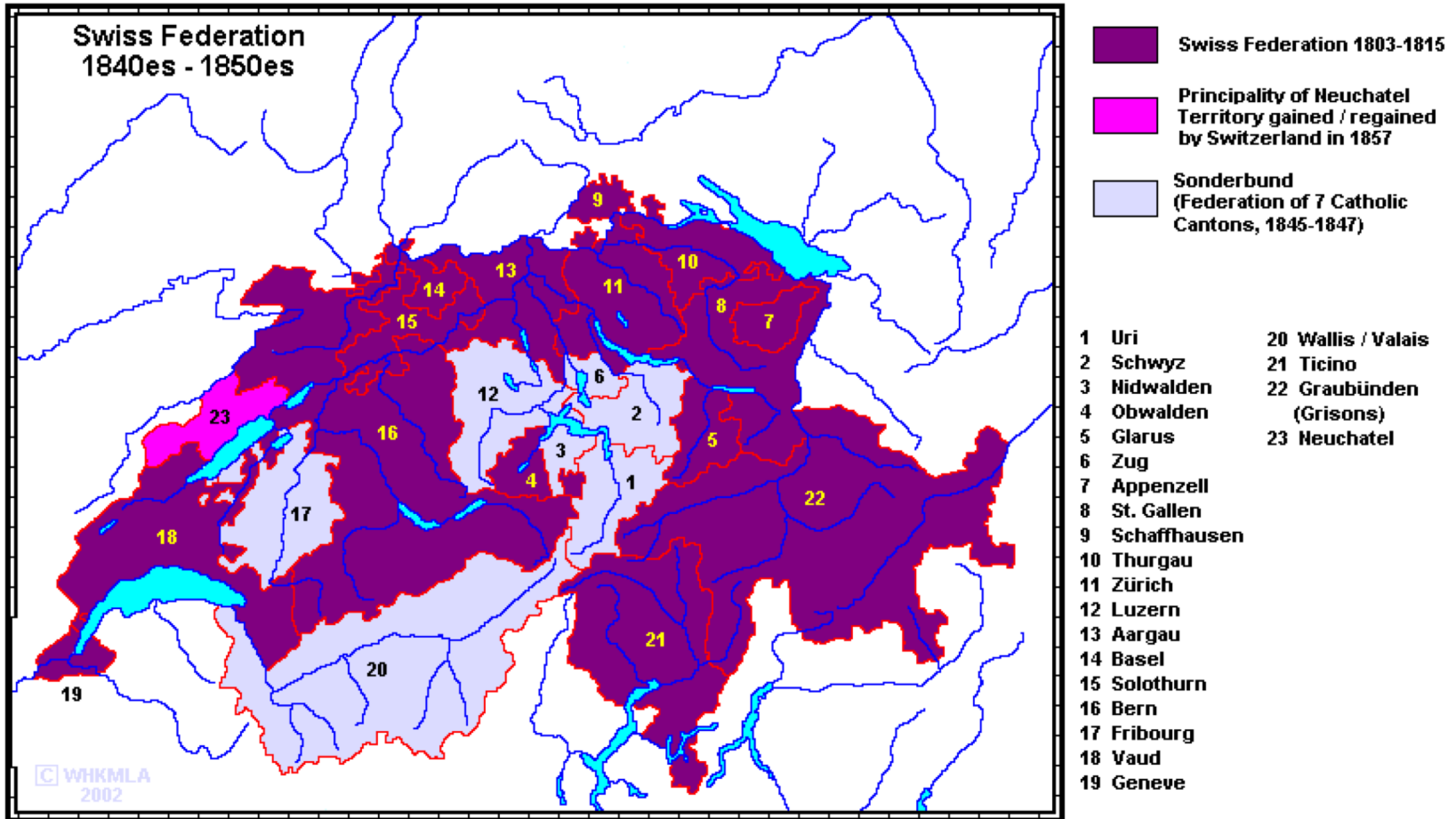
Unrest after 1830

**Army troops putting down insurgent movements of the rural population
in Basel 1831 (left) and Zurich 1839 (right)**



In Basel, the people were fighting against a conservative, in Zurich against a liberal government

1845 Alliance of 7 Catholic Cantons „Sonderbund“ as reaction to liberal movement



The „Sonderbund“ War

20 July 1847

The „Tagsatzung“ decides that the Catholic Alliance must be dissolved. The Catholic Cantons reject the decision.

4 November 1847

The Liberal majority decides to go to war - the enemy should be treated with humanity

After 20 days, the Catholics are defeated at Gislikon near Lucerne (100 death and 500 wounded)



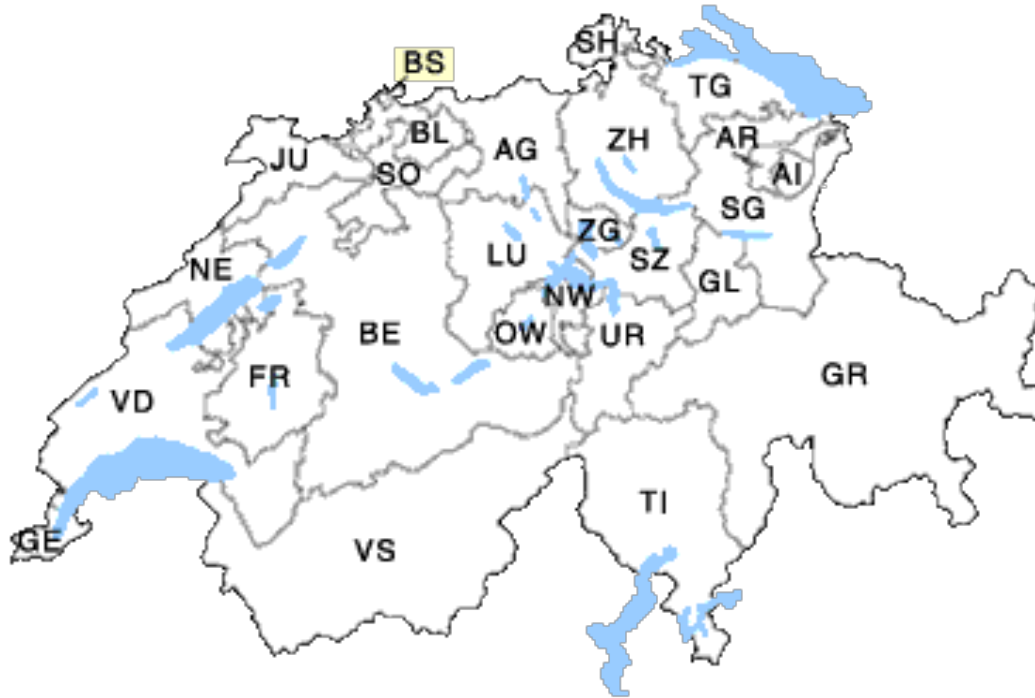


The Federal Constitution of 1848

- A political compromise between the protagonists of a central state and the opposition who did not want a central state at all. Only few competencies for the Federal Government
- Bi-cameral parliament and collective leadership in the Executive
- Federalism: A bottom-up approach to governance
- Semi-direct Democracy: Referendum for constitutional amendments
- Main reasons for the creation of the Federation:
 - National independence
 - Economy

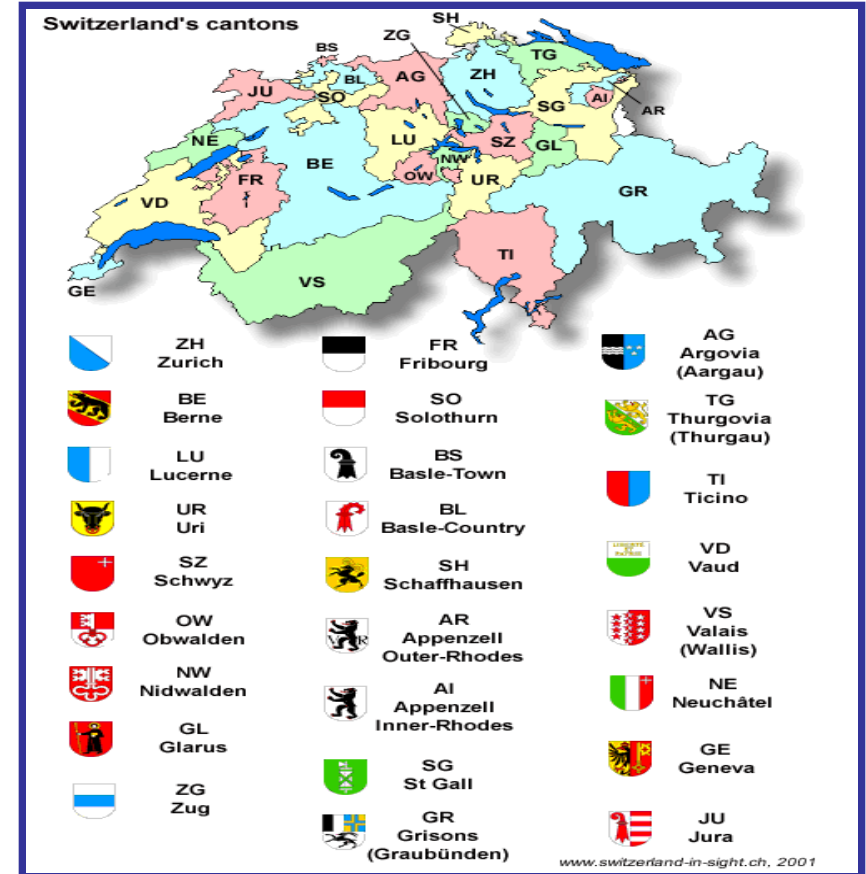
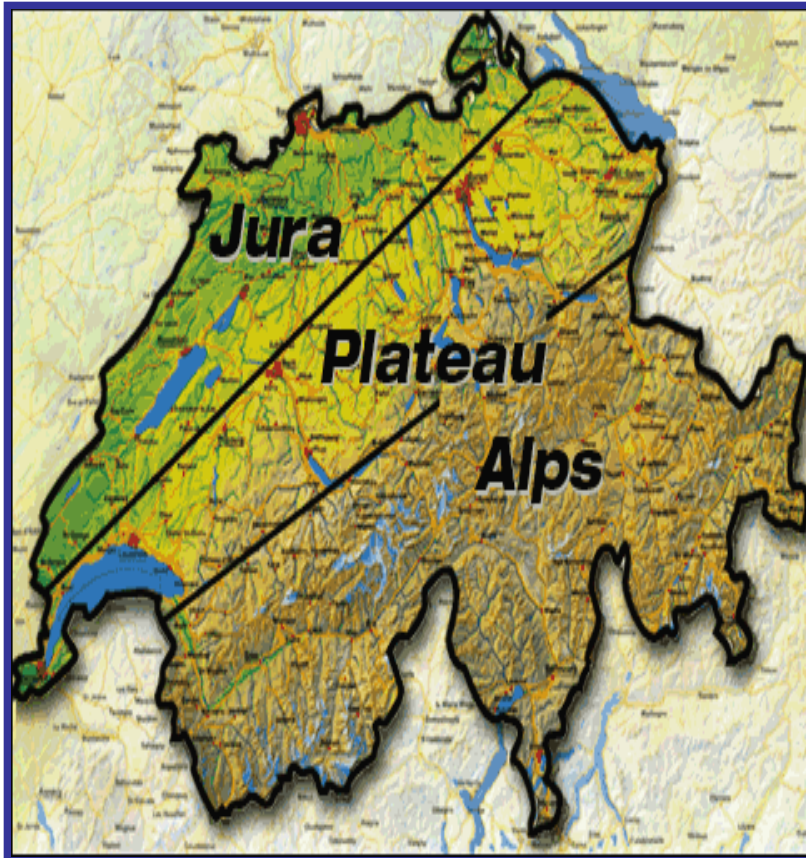
Swiss Federalism

A State conceived bottom-up





Swiss diversity





Swiss diversity

Languages in Switzerland

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| German | 63.7% |
| French | 20.4% |
| Italian | 6.5% |
| Rumantsch | 0.5% |
| Other | 9.0% |

Source : Federal Statistical Office
(2002)

Percentage of Swiss population according to religion (2000)

| | |
|--------|---|
| 41.8% | Roman Catholicism |
| 35.3% | Protestantism |
| (2.2%) | of which Free Evangelicals and related churches |
| 4.3% | Islam |
| 1.8% | Orthodox Christianity |
| 0.4% | Other Christianity |
| 0.4% | Hinduism |
| 0.3% | Buddhism |
| 0.2% | Judaism |
| 0.1% | Other |
| 11.1% | None |
| 4.3% | No reply |



Federation and cantons



Each of the 26 Swiss cantons has its own:

- Have power to organise themselves (constitution),
- government,
- parliament,
- courts and its laws
(Implement their own but also most of federal laws)

- compatible with those of the Confederation.

The Communes

Have limited power to organize themselves

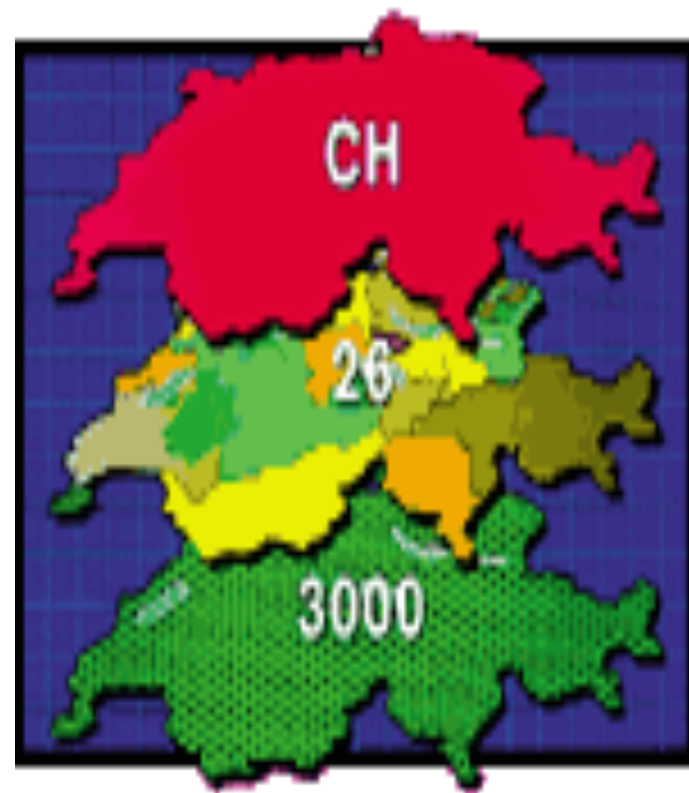
Have government and parliament or citizens assembly (depending on size)

Possess (judicially protected) autonomy regarding their own laws



Citizenship and the three levels of the federal system

| LEVEL | CITIZENSHIP |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1 nation | (3) federal |
| ↑↑ | ↑↑ |
| 26 cantons | (2) cantonal |
| ↑↑ | ↑↑ |
| 2600 communes | (1) communal |



Powers and politics in Swiss federalism

Bottom-up state: all powers belong to the communes and the cantons, unless

A (new) competency is conferred to the federation by constitutional amendment (vote of the people and the cantons)

The cantons participate in the decision-making of the central state (bi-cameral parliament, double majority of cantons and the people in constitutional amendment)

Consequences:

- Strong position of the Cantons, central government “weak”
- A strongly decentralised state, living up to the principle of “subsidiarity”

Who is doing what? A portfolio of shared responsibilities

| | Federation | Cantons | Communes |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Schools | (x) | X | X |
| Health | (x) | X | X |
| Police | (x) | X | X |
| Money | X | | |
| Army | X | | |
| Roads | X | X | X |
| Foreign Policy | X | | |
| Social security | X | (x) | (x) |
| Welfare | | X | X |
| Taxation | X | X | X |

Strong federalism: Why?

- History 1848: The federal state as a compromise between cantons “pro” and “against” a central state
- Multi-cultural society: Strong divides between
 - Catholics and Protestants
 - Industrialised and rural cantons
 - Four linguistic regions (German, French, Italian, Romansh)
- Federalism gives utmost autonomy to the cantons, protecting minorities and the diversity of their cultures
- Modern meanings:
 - Efficiency (small bureaucracy, low taxes)
 - The cantons as laboratory of policy innovation
 - A State close to the people: Why federalism makes the Swiss happy



Legislative power



Federal Palace in Bern



Structure of the federal authorities

The Swiss Parliament is made up of two chambers:



National Council

(200 representatives)

Seats distributed among cantons according to population

Elections (every 4 years) since 1918:

Speaker: Rotates every year among main parties



Council of States

(46 representatives)

Two representatives per canton
Elected every 4 years according to system determined by canton

Equal weight and competencies as National Council

The Executive: The Federal Council

- 7 members (Ministers)
 - Elected by Federal Assembly for 4 years
 - Rotating Presidency (each year)
- Speaks with one voice (principle of collegiality)
- Each member is head of one ministry



The members of the Federal Council (from left to right): Federal Councillor Didier Burkhalter, Federal Councillor Johann N. Schneider-Ammann (Vice-President), Federal Councillor Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf, Federal Councillor Doris Leuthard, Federal Councillor Ueli Maurer, President Simonetta Sommaruga, Federal Councillor Alain Berset, Federal Chancellor Corina Casanova



The Swiss executive authority

Federal Council with its Departments



1. Federal Department of International Affairs,
2. Federal Department of Home Affairs,
3. Federal Department of Justice and Police,
4. Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports,
5. Federal Department of Finance,
6. Federal Department of Economic Affairs,
7. Federal Department of Transport, Communications and Energy.

The most stable government of the world ????

Switzerland's "All Party Government": Composition of the Federal Council

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Political Parties (1959 – 2008)</p> <p>2011</p> | <p>FDP - The Liberals 2</p> <p>Christian Democratic Party 2</p> <p>Christian Democrats 1 (2 until 2003)</p> <p>Swiss People's Party 2 (1 until 2003)</p> <p>FDP - The Liberals 2</p> <p>Social Democrats 2</p> <p>Christian Democratic Party 1</p> <p>Swiss People's Party 1</p> <p>Conservative Democratic Party 1</p> |
| <p>Languages</p> | <p>German speaking 4 – 5</p> <p>French/Italian speaking 2 – 3</p> |
| <p>Religion</p> | <p>Catholics at least 2</p> <p>Protestant not more than 5</p> |
| <p>Gender</p> | <p>2010 majority of 4 women</p> |

Reasons for, and the functioning of the governmental „Grand Coalition“

- From a one-party government to proportional representation: a historical process of co-optation and integration
- Direct democracy: Referenda allow opposition groups to veto governmental politics. This forces the political parties to cooperate in a grand coalition.
- The „formula“ of the grand coalition: proportional representation (party, language, gender) ?
- Mode of functioning: negotiation and compromise
- No „big change“ between government and opposition parties, but different issue-wise coalitions amongst the members of government (and parliamentary factions)
- Effect: political stability, slow innovation, high integration

Direct democracy in Switzerland

Four ballots a year....



... on national issues

www.vol-des-rentes.ch

Commissariat général de l'économie (CGE), SEI, ICI, ICI/POI, SYMA, Syndicat, ICI, Les Verts, Parti socialiste général, mouvement pour le socialisme, solidarité, Association de défense et de droits de tous les retraités et futurs retraités, Cartel intersyndical du personnel de l'Etat et du secteur subventionné, CAS (Défense des salariés, des Locataires, de l'Emploi et du Social)



NON

au vol de nos retraites et des rentes d'invalides et survivants LPP

votation du 7 mars 2010

NON à la baisse du taux de conversion

les socialistes

CARTEL INTERSYNDICAL
du personnel de l'Etat et du secteur subventionné



2x Ja Chemiemüll weg!
am 13. Juni zu sauberem Trinkwasser

rettet das Wasser
sauvez les eaux
salvate le acque
salvai las ovas
save our water



Steuereingänge wie noch nie!

Für die Aufrüstung hat der Bund genug Geld.
Eidg. Steuervorlage:

NEIN

Direct democracy: basic notions

The most important decisions of parliament are subject to the people's vote (referendum)

The people has the right to propose its own ideas for basic legislation and to vote on them (popular initiative)



Federal level - DD

3 instruments of Swiss DD at federal level

- **obligatory referendum:** if parliament wishes to change something in the constitution - the constitution itself lays down that the draft amendment or supplement has to be approved in a national referendum (all decisions must be accepted by the majority of the people and the cantons)
- **facultative referendum:** new laws or changes to laws, which have been passed by parliament (if 50,000 voters support a demand for this within 100 days from the announcement of that law)
- **citizens' initiative:** electorate has the right to make legislative proposal which must be decided in a referendum if the proposal supported by 100,000 voters within 18 months



Referenda and popular initiatives in Switzerland

| Type of vote | Result | Time | | | Together |
|-----------------|----------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | | 1848-1950 | 1951-1980 | 1981-05. 2006 | |
| R. obligatory | accepted | 43 | 58 | 52 | 153 |
| | rejected | 20 | 17 | 16 | 53 |
| | | 63 | 75 | 68 | 206 |
| | | | | | |
| R. facultative | accepted | 20 | 19 | 44 | 83 |
| | rejected | 34 | 18 | 21 | 73 |
| | | 54 | 37 | 65 | 156 |
| | | | | | |
| Pop. initiative | accepted | 9 | 4 | 8 | 21 |
| | rejected | 31 | 42 | 81 | 154 |
| | | 40 | 46 | 89 | 175 |
| | | | | | |
| | accepted | 72 | 81 | 104 | 257 |
| | rejected | 85 | 77 | 118 | 280 |
| together | | 157 | 158 | 222 | 537 |



Direct Democracy in Swiss cantons

Constitutional referendum – obligatory in all cantons

| Canton | Subject of referendum |
|------------------------|--|
| Aargau | Laws [o+f], Finances [f] |
| Appenzell Inner-Rhodes | Laws [o+f], Finances [f] |
| Appenzell Outer-Rhodes | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f] |
| Basel Country | Laws [o+f], Finances [f], Admin. [o] |
| Basel City | Laws [f], Finances [f] |
| Bern | Laws [f], Finances [f], Admin. [f] |
| Fribourg | Laws [f], Finances [o+f] |
| Geneva | Laws [f], Finances [f], Admin. [f] |
| Glarus | Laws [o], Finances [o], Admin. [o] |
| Graubünden | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |
| Jura | Laws [f], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |
| Lucerne | Laws [f], Finances [o+f] |

| Canton | Subject of referendum |
|--------------|--|
| Neuchâtel | Laws [f], Finances [o], Admin. [o] |
| Nidwalden | Laws [f], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |
| Obwalden | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f] |
| St. Gallen | Laws [f], Finances [o+f] |
| Schaffhausen | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |
| Schwyz | Laws [o+f], Finances [o] |
| Solothurn | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |
| Thurgau | Laws [f], Finances [o+f] |
| Ticino | Laws [f], Finances [f] |
| Uri | Laws [o+f], Finances [o+f] |
| Valais | Laws [f], Finances [f], Admin. [o] |
| Vaud | Laws [f], Admin. [o] |
| Zug | Laws [f], Finances [o] |
| Zurich | Laws [o], Finances [o+f], Admin. [o] |

F – facultative referendum; O – obligatory referendum



Cantonal referendums (1970-2003 r., 1997-2003 r.)

| Canton | Total number 1970 - 2003 | (1997-2003) |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Zurich | 457 | (77) |
| Solothurn | 316 | (47) |
| Basel-Country | 282 | (74) |
| Schaffhausen | 272 | (52) |
| Graubünden | 262 | (69) |
| Basel-Town | 242 | (22) |
| Bern | 222 | (22) |
| Uri | 183 | (29) |
| Aargau | 183 | (50) |
| Thurgau | 163 | (17) |
| Geneva | 150 | (30) |
| Schwyz | 142 | (26) |
| Valais | 136 | (8) |
| Neuchâtel | 121 | (6) |
| St.Gallen | 121 | (20) |
| Lucerne | 99 | (21) |
| Zug | 97 | (25) |
| Vaud | 86 | (23) |
| Fribourg | 85 | (11) |
| Ticino | 53 | (12) |
| Jura | 45 | (4) |
| Total | 3709 | (645) |

Source: C2D - Research and Documentation Centre on Direct Democracy, University of Geneva
(<http://c2d.unige.ch/>)



Average turnout in national referendums (1991-2005)

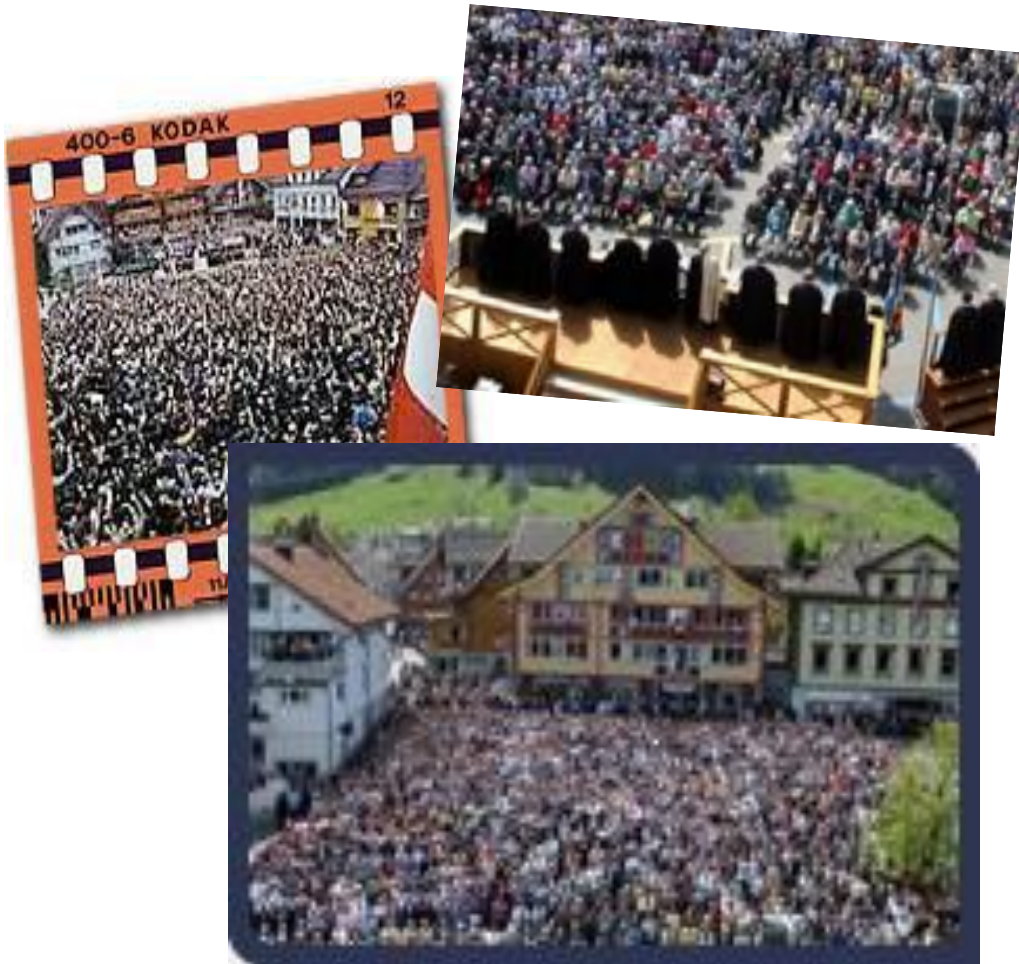
| Kanton | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Genf | 30,2 | 46,8 | 44,3 | 41,0 | 35,2 | 42,5 | 42,1 | 47,0 | 38,3 | 50,4 | 49,1 | 53,4 | 43,4 | 52,8 | 56,8 |
| Wallis | 25,4 | 48,7 | 46,4 | 41,5 | 28,5 | 35,3 | 44,3 | 41,4 | 26,2 | 38,1 | 40,4 | 37,7 | 27,4 | 38,3 | 52,4 |
| Waadt | 25,1 | 43,6 | 41,7 | 35,1 | 32,8 | 30,2 | 30,5 | 38,5 | 28,3 | 39,0 | 37,8 | 47,7 | 40,9 | 48,0 | 53,0 |
| Bern | 26,9 | 52,7 | 50,2 | 45,0 | 38,9 | 35,2 | 35,0 | 43,3 | 39,0 | 43,9 | 44,6 | 46,0 | 36,3 | 45,0 | 45,7 |
| Freiburg | 38,6 | 45,0 | 44,5 | 37,2 | 35,4 | 41,7 | 34,6 | 42,3 | 32,8 | 43,8 | 47,2 | 42,8 | 34,7 | 43,3 | 49,8 |
| Jura | 27,3 | 48,1 | 43,5 | 32,8 | 38,2 | 40,7 | 31,8 | 42,7 | 27,2 | 45,6 | 40,2 | 39,9 | 32,9 | 46,0 | 48,3 |
| Neuenburg | 27,7 | 45,3 | 42,6 | 36,5 | 34,6 | 30,6 | 30,6 | 37,7 | 30,3 | 41,8 | 55,5 | 55,7 | 47,1 | 53,3 | 57,0 |
| Solothurn | 43,4 | 59,9 | 56,0 | 52,0 | 43,9 | 38,8 | 50,8 | 47,3 | 46,7 | 46,7 | 48,5 | 51,5 | 41,3 | 47,9 | 49,7 |
| Aargau | 26,6 | 47,9 | 46,7 | 42,8 | 34,4 | 33,1 | 36,1 | 42,7 | 38,3 | 40,7 | 41,2 | 44,4 | 35,8 | 43,4 | 49,2 |
| Basel-Landschaft | 37,9 | 55,8 | 52,5 | 46,8 | 39,6 | 34,4 | 41,6 | 44,3 | 40,8 | 44,5 | 45,9 | 49,1 | 39,5 | 47,6 | 49,6 |
| Basel-Stadt | 35,6 | 53,0 | 50,8 | 49,6 | 44,7 | 47,3 | 45,7 | 51,4 | 47,6 | 52,5 | 51,5 | 53,8 | 48,3 | 53,3 | 56,0 |
| Zürich | 36,4 | 56,3 | 50,8 | 48,1 | 46,7 | 38,4 | 41,4 | 44,9 | 43,7 | 46,8 | 47,2 | 51,5 | 42,5 | 48,5 | 53,2 |
| Appenzell A. Rh. | 39,7 | 59,5 | 55,1 | 52,1 | 46,1 | 40,4 | 51,4 | 49,8 | 50,4 | 49,6 | 51,8 | 54,2 | 48,0 | 53,4 | 55,9 |
| Appenzell I. Rh. | 32,5 | 53,6 | 46,3 | 44,0 | 39,5 | 31,4 | 32,8 | 42,5 | 44,4 | 40,9 | 47,6 | 48,1 | 32,9 | 41,2 | 48,6 |
| Glarus | 28,9 | 51,0 | 42,4 | 41,7 | 36,7 | 34,3 | 30,3 | 43,2 | 39,7 | 41,8 | 43,0 | 47,8 | 33,7 | 42,5 | 45,8 |
| Graubünden | 25,2 | 47,1 | 37,4 | 35,9 | 31,1 | 29,4 | 27,1 | 37,7 | 33,5 | 36,3 | 40,4 | 41,9 | 30,9 | 38,6 | 45,1 |
| St. Gallen | 34,0 | 53,0 | 48,4 | 45,8 | 39,1 | 35,4 | 38,1 | 43,5 | 41,6 | 42,8 | 45,6 | 48,2 | 38,3 | 44,3 | 49,7 |
| Schaffhausen | 64,1 | 73,3 | 70,9 | 68,2 | 64,2 | 61,0 | 62,2 | 65,6 | 63,2 | 64,5 | 64,2 | 66,8 | 60,7 | 63,8 | 66,9 |
| Thurgau | 39,6 | 52,5 | 48,7 | 47,2 | 44,3 | 35,0 | 38,9 | 45,4 | 45,5 | 42,7 | 44,0 | 48,0 | 43,5 | 42,2 | 50,9 |
| Luzern | 40,5 | 53,3 | 47,1 | 46,9 | 42,8 | 40,5 | 41,2 | 48,8 | 49,4 | 48,1 | 49,4 | 53,6 | 41,3 | 51,5 | 55,7 |
| Nidwalden | 30,7 | 53,7 | 49,8 | 46,6 | 52,4 | 41,6 | 43,7 | 48,2 | 46,0 | 47,3 | 50,2 | 56,8 | 41,9 | 49,9 | 52,8 |
| Obwalden | 30,4 | 50,9 | 43,0 | 41,7 | 36,4 | 33,3 | 31,4 | 47,6 | 46,8 | 43,6 | 50,7 | 49,4 | 39,3 | 49,0 | 53,7 |
| Schwyz | 28,9 | 52,4 | 42,1 | 43,3 | 34,4 | 31,8 | 33,2 | 40,6 | 41,5 | 47,5 | 53,1 | 54,4 | 45,9 | 49,6 | 54,6 |
| Uri | 32,1 | 51,2 | 41,8 | 47,1 | 35,6 | 37,5 | 32,5 | 42,0 | 37,1 | 45,1 | 44,5 | 43,5 | 39,7 | 47,0 | 45,6 |
| Zug | 37,3 | 60,5 | 53,6 | 50,3 | 43,2 | 38,4 | 42,8 | 47,2 | 45,9 | 49,3 | 52,3 | 56,3 | 43,9 | 55,0 | 57,6 |
| Tessin | 27,4 | 52,8 | 44,6 | 41,8 | 31,0 | 30,9 | 28,7 | 35,2 | 43,9 | 39,7 | 36,0 | 36,4 | 28,7 | 42,0 | 46,4 |
| śr. frekwencja | 33,5 | 52,6 | 47,7 | 44,6 | 39,6 | 37,3 | 38,4 | 44,6 | 41,1 | 45,1 | 47,0 | 49,2 | 40,0 | 47,6 | 51,9 |



Landsgemeinde

Special meeting on the last Sunday in April

All interested voters from Appenzell gather on the “Landsgemeinde” square



Aim of Assemblies

- to appoint the highest authorities,
- to pass resolutions and new laws concerning important cantonal matters

Swiss citizens who are residents of the canton from the age of 18

Each voter can bring ideas which have to be either in the form of a formulated initiative or a general suggestion.

The initiator of the text has to hand in the text before the 1st October



Local level - DD

The number of Swiss municipalities has changed since they were established in the middle of the 19th century.

in 1850 - 3205 municipalities,

in 2000 - 2896

More than half of them have fewer than 1000 inhabitants.

Almost half of the Swiss population lives in municipalities with more than 10 000 inhabitants

Swiss local democracy - in municipalities the citizens decide what the authorities can or should do.



Depending on whether the municipality has a parliament or a local assembly - two different political institutions are found at the local level

Municipalities with a parliament

Around one-fifth of these communes have their own parliament;

Citizens have basically the same DD instruments as at the national level: initiatives, compulsory and optional referendums.

Municipalities with an assembly

In the four-fifths municipalities decisions are taken by a process of direct democracy in the local assembly

All assembly decisions within the assembly are a form of compulsory local referendum

Only those taking part decide





Direct Democracy in municipalities

Table 3. Percentage of municipalities (assembly or parliament system) with an increased use of referendums and initiatives in recent years, according to size (source: local secretary survey 1994).

| Size of municipality | Municipalities with assembly | | Municipalities with parliament | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| | initiative | referendum | initiative | referendum |
| 1–249 | 5.2 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 14.3 |
| 250–499 | 10.1 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 8.6 |
| 500–999 | 8.1 | 4.5 | 12.7 | 10.5 |
| 1000–1999 | 10.2 | 8.3 | 11.3 | 7.3 |
| 2000–4999 | 13.7 | 10.2 | 11.4 | 14.3 |
| 5000–9999 | 15.9 | 12.5 | 25.0 | 31.0 |
| 10 000–19 999 | 45.8 | 12.5 | 25.0 | 30.6 |
| ≥ 20 000 | | | 23.5 | 15.8 |
| All municipalities | 10.5 | 5.7 | 14.2 | 15.3 |
| <i>N</i> | 1358 | 1148 | 275 | 287 |

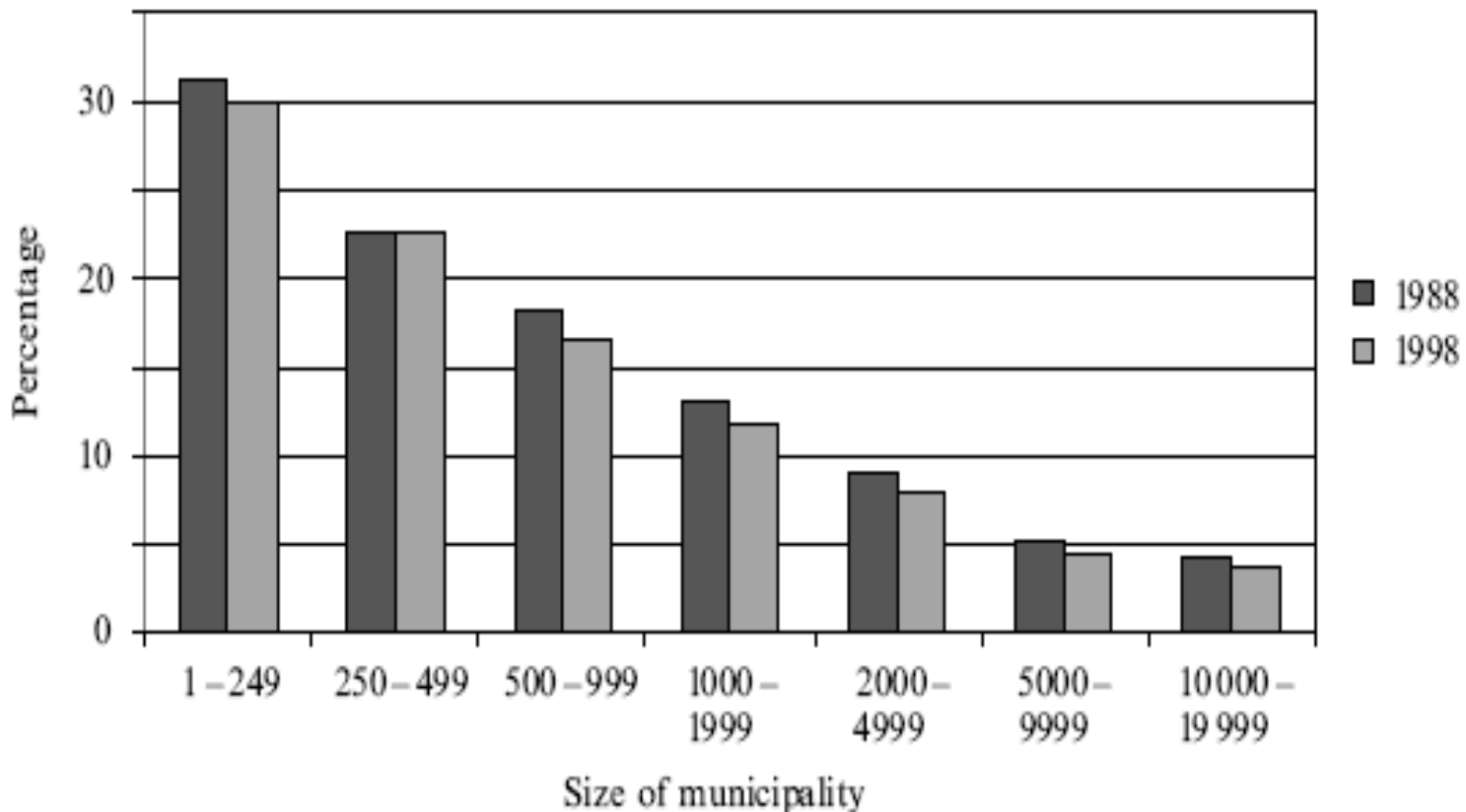


Popular assemblies - turnout

1988 - average turnout : 17,5%

1998 - average turnout : 16,5%

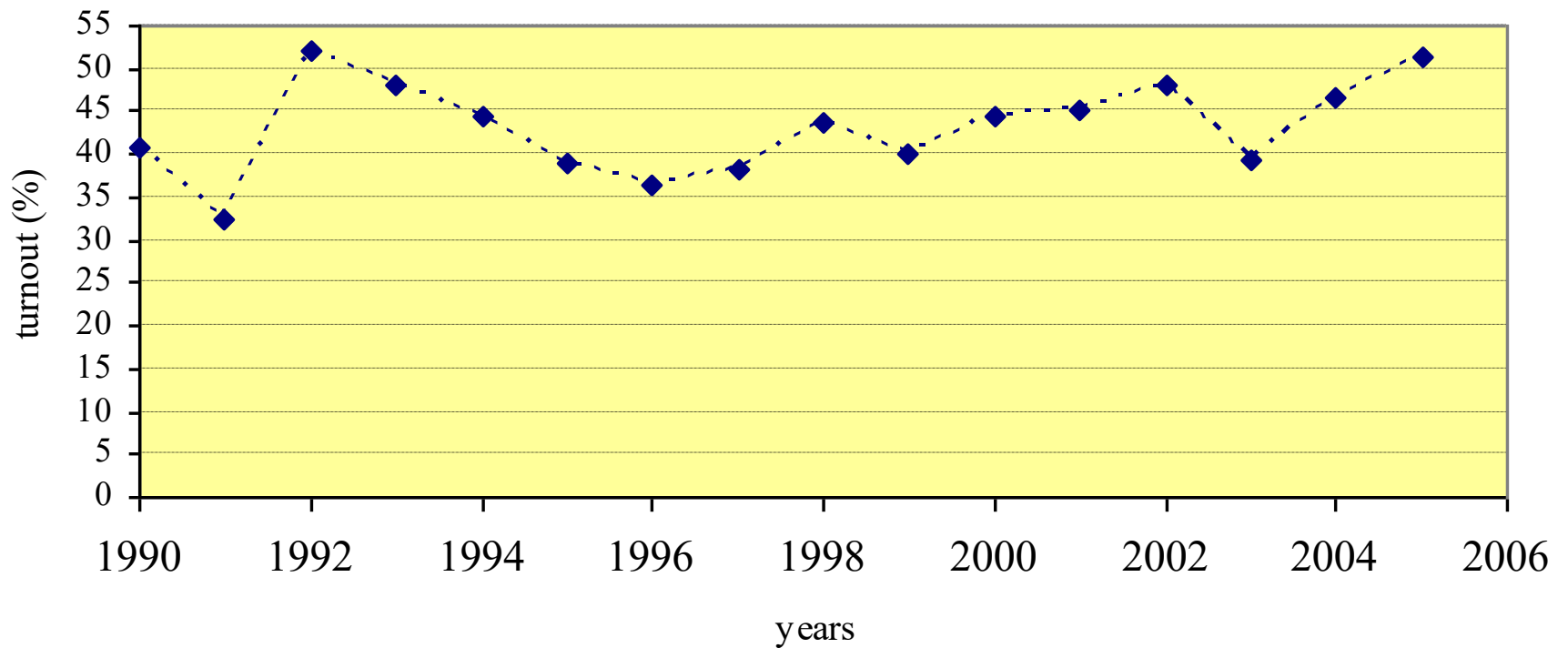
Turnout during popular assemblies at the local level
in accordance to the municipalities size - 1988 and 1998



Direct democracy...

- ...gives people the last say in many important but not all issues
- ... is a control of political elites and sometimes ends with defeat of the government
- ... has led to slow (but steady) innovation
- ... has kept the state small and efficient
- ... gives evidence that people are capable to participate in questions of “high” politics,
- ... but depends on governmental parties which refrain from sheer populism

Average turnout in federal referendums 1990 - 2005





Electorate in Switzerland

**Average turnout in federal referendums is ca. 40-50%
(depending on attractiveness of subject)**

Swiss electorate – 3 groups:

- **ca. 30% almost always vote**
- **ca. 20% - never vote (abstainers)**
- **ca. 50% „sporadically ” vote**
 - this group influences significantly differences in turnout in referendums – from 30% to 70%

National referenda (2005 – 05. 2006)

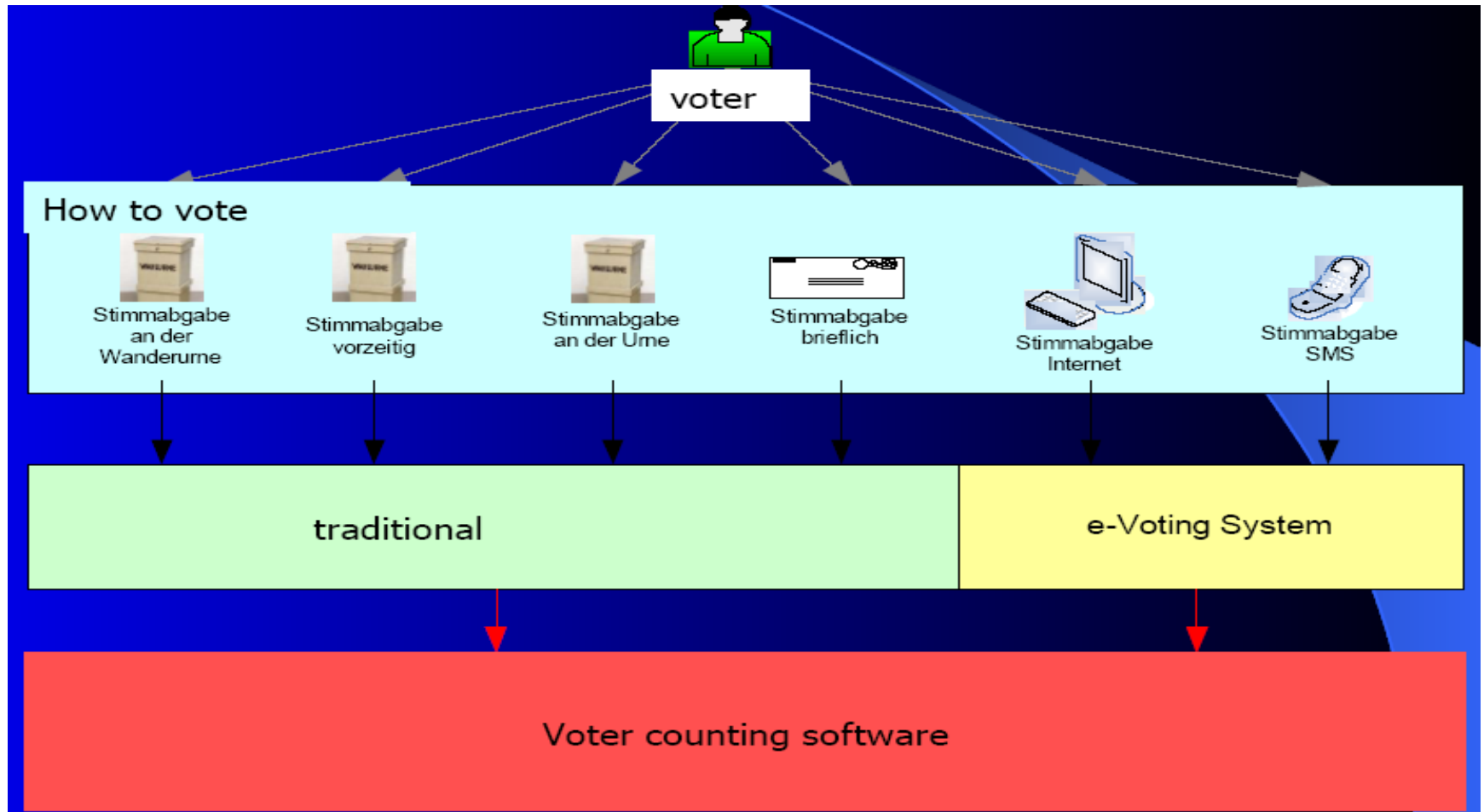
| Data | Przedmiot | Typ | Frekwencja (%) | Tak (%) |
|-------------------------------------|--|-----|----------------|---------|
| 05.06.2005 | - Układ z Schengen | F | 56,8 | 54,6 |
| 25.09.2005 | - ustawa o związkach partnerskich - swobodny przepływ osób | F | 56,6 | 58,0 |
| | | F | 54,4 | 56,0 |
| 27.11.2005 | - artykuły spożywcze produkowane bez wykorzystania technik genetycznych - godziny otwarcia sklepów | I | 42,3 | 55,7 |
| | | F | 42,4 | 50,6 |
| | | | | |
| 21.05.2006 | - system edukacyjny | O | 27,3 | 85,6 |
| Średnia frekwencja (2005 – 05.2006) | | | 46,63 | |

F – referendum fakultatywne; O – referendum obligatoryjne; I – inicjatywa powszechna

Źródło: Bundesamt für Statistik; <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index.html>, 03.06.2006.



Forms of voting in Switzerland

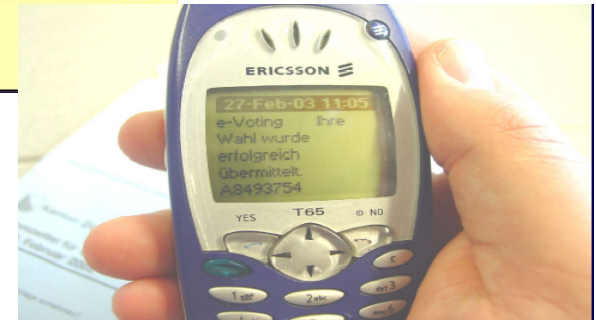
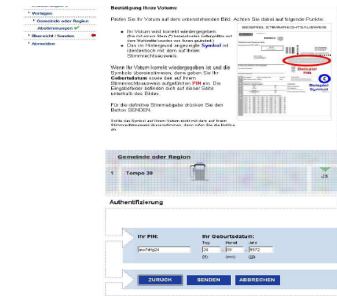
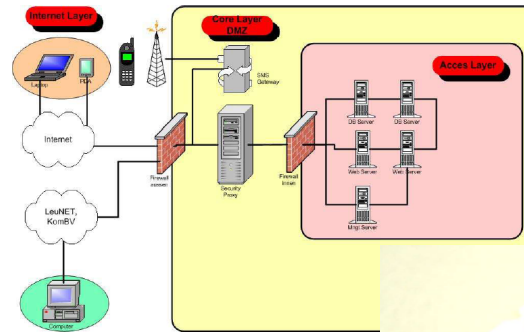




E-voting in Switzerland

3 projects:

1. Geneva
2. Neuchâtel
3. Zurich



Phases:

2000-2005: 3 projects

2005: evaluation of projects: results, effectiveness

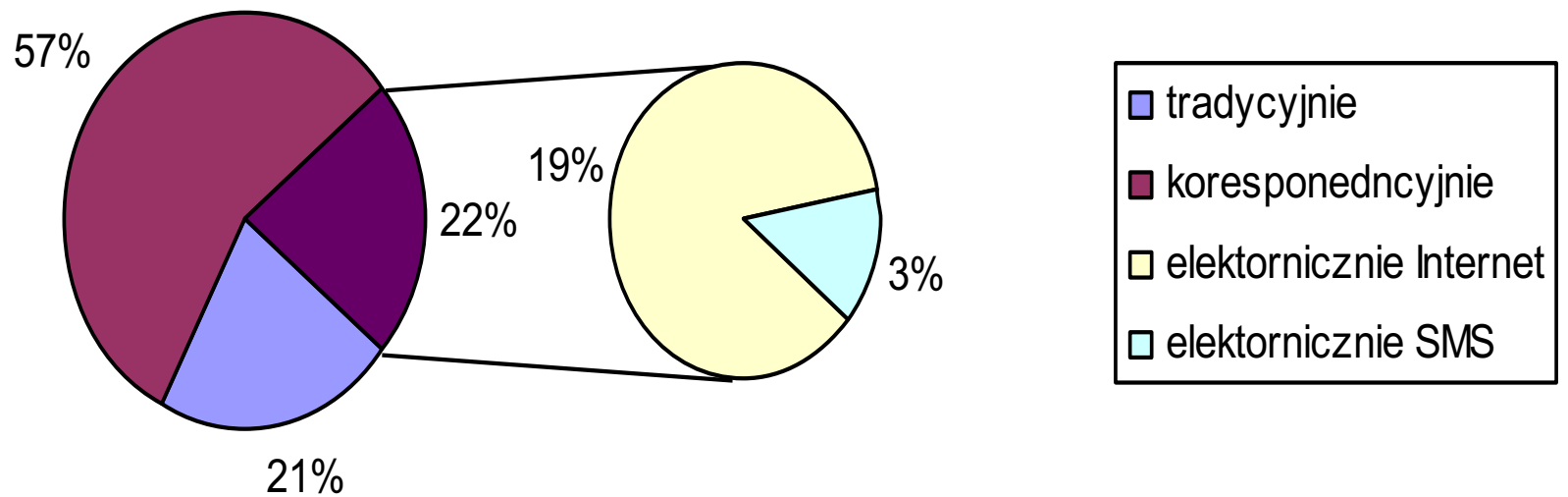
2006-2007: parliaments decisions in introduction of e-voting

Internet voting will not take place current methods of voting (the post, polling stations), but it will be the third possibility of participating in votes.

Pilot e-votings in federal referendums 2006-2008

| Time | Canton/Municipality | Number of eligible to vote | Number of e-votes |
|------------|--|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 26.11.2006 | Neuchâtel | 3554 | 1311 |
| 26.11.2006 | Zurich: Bertschikon, Bülach, Schlieren | 17344 | 1309 |
| 11.03.2007 | Neuchâtel | 3757 | 1538 |
| 17.06.2007 | Neuchâtel | 4151 | 1494 |
| 17.06.2007 | Zurich: Bertschikon, Bülach, Schlieren | 17292 | 932 |
| 24.02.2008 | Neuchâtel | 4355 | 1516 |
| 01.06.2008 | Neuchâtel | 4705 | 1593 |
| 01.06.2008 | Zurich: Bertschikon, Bülach, Schlieren | 17777 | 1209 |

Referendum in the town of Bülach – 27.11.2005





Switzerland was a fruitful ground for the ideas of modern Direct Democracy

Switzerland has the richest national experiences with Direct Democracy – although it has not invented it

- Direct Democracy became the key element of the political system and the Swiss political culture
- 3 or 4 times a year participation in issue voting
- People are used to vote on issues on all 3 levels, 2 to 5 issues per level (Total: 7 - 15 issues per time)
- This changes the public sphere (s): More open, more pluralistic, more controversial
- It creates a “sense of belonging” of the citizens
- Switzerland integrates a multivariable society by open participation rights for all (exception: The non-Swiss)



The best lessons to be taken from the Swiss DD experience

- Citizen friendly design is possible and works (Low signature % requirement, free gathering, cooperative structure with the Parliament, no majority quorums, no issue restrictions, no financial limits)
- Don't exclude anybody or anything from DD process
- Decentralised power (The country who gives most powers to the regions and communes, even taxes)
- Citizens are able to decide, you should not underestimate them



The best lessons to be taken from the Swiss DD experience

- Do not rush: Participating, deliberations, negotiations, interactions need time: The faster you go, the less you get out of it
- A NO is more than a NO: It is often partially also a yes, or sometimes a “not yet”
- The Swiss learnt to loose, because they may always try again



The more citizens may participate - the more carefully public money is spent

- **An argument which may help to create political coalitions for the introduction of DD**
- **Politicians know, they can not spend money without the consent of the majority of the citizens**
- **This has an effect on all political matters: You can not be generous to culture or foreigners if the citizens feel badly treated socially or economically**
- **Politicians have to care about the people and all interests and items**



**The binary structure of DD (only Yes or No)
-the primitive side of Democracy
- can be opened and improved**

- **DD is an ongoing and never ending process**
- **In a cooperative design of DD the Parliament has the option of Counterproposals which offers a 3 options vote**
- **People may vote 3/4 times a year on 5/6 issues and may come back on similar questions within 2/3 years: This allows permanent adjustments of once taken decisions**



Important questions

If DD is so good and effective, why other states do not use DD as much as Switzerland?

What is so unique in Swiss Democracy?

What are the dark sides of Swiss DD?

What can we learn from the Swiss?

What might be transferred to other political systems in EUROPE?