

## Table of contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	1
<b>1.1. Individual and collective political representation .....</b>	1
<b>1.2. Case selection .....</b>	5
<b>1.3. Empirical strategy .....</b>	6
<b>1.4. Outline of the book .....</b>	8
<b>2. Group leaders between individual and collective representation .....</b>	11
<b>2.1. The many advantages of local government.....</b>	11
<b>2.1.1. Local autonomy .....</b>	11
<b>2.1.2. Efficiency.....</b>	13
<b>2.1.3. Local democracy and participation .....</b>	14
<b>2.2. Party politicization of local government .....</b>	15
<b>2.2.1. Societal and state integration.....</b>	15
<b>2.2.2. Party competition.....</b>	17
<b>2.2.3. Incentives of local politicians.....</b>	17
<b>2.3. Responsible party government model and local government .....</b>	18
<b>2.3.1. The electoral arena.....</b>	20
<b>2.3.2. The legislative arena.....</b>	22
<b>2.4. Representational roles.....</b>	25
<b>2.4.1. Representational roles as ‘patterned game plans’ .....</b>	25
<b>2.4.2. Independent effect of representational roles?.....</b>	27
<b>2.5. The theoretical model.....</b>	27
<b>3. Conceptual tools .....</b>	29
<b>3.1. The concept of individual representation under party politicization.....</b>	29
<b>3.1.1. Contact.....</b>	30
<b>3.1.2. Policy .....</b>	30
<b>3.1.3. Control .....</b>	31
<b>3.2. Representative behavior .....</b>	32
<b>3.2.1. External activities .....</b>	32
<b>3.2.2. Internal activities .....</b>	33
<b>3.3. Instruments of leadership control.....</b>	35
<b>3.3.1. (Non)partisanship .....</b>	36
<b>3.3.2. Candidate selection process.....</b>	37
<b>3.3.3. Political ambition.....</b>	38

<b>4. Case selection .....</b>	41
<b>    4.1. Shared history of local government during Yugoslavia .....</b>	42
4.1.1. Yugoslav local government during the Second World War (1941 – 1945) .....	42
4.1.2. The period of state socialism (1945 – 1952) .....	42
4.1.3. The introduction of communes (1952 – 1963) .....	43
4.1.4. Further fiscal and administrative decentralization (1963 – 1974) .....	44
4.1.5. Participatory reform (1974 – 1991) .....	45
4.1.6. The legacy of Yugoslav local self-government system .....	46
<b>    4.2. Territorial structure and competences of local governments .....</b>	49
4.2.1. Croatia .....	49
4.2.2. Slovenia .....	51
<b>    4.3. The internal structure of Croatian and Slovenian municipalities .....</b>	53
4.3.1. Local political bodies .....	53
4.3.2. Local elections .....	54
4.3.3. Functioning of council .....	55
4.3.4. Relations between the local council and mayor .....	56
<b>    4.4. Party politicization of Croatian and Slovenian local government .....</b>	57
<b>5. Research design and operationalization .....</b>	59
<b>    5.1. Semi-structured interviews .....</b>	60
5.1.1. Topic guide .....	61
5.1.2. Sampling of respondents .....	62
5.1.3. Contacting and interviewing the respondents .....	63
5.1.4. Qualitative data usage .....	64
<b>    5.2. Operationalization of variables .....</b>	64
5.2.1. Representative behavior .....	64
5.2.2. Local political group membership .....	66
5.2.3. Candidate selection process .....	68
5.2.4. Political ambition .....	68
5.2.5. Representational roles .....	69
<b>    5.3. Survey design .....</b>	70
5.3.1. Sampling frame availability and survey mode .....	70
5.3.2. Sampling .....	71
5.3.3. Survey material .....	72

5.3.4. Survey administration and data processing .....	73
<b>6. Contacts of Croatian and Slovenian local councilors with local actors .....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>6.1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>6.2. Agency loss for the collective cause? .....</b>	<b>76</b>
6.2.1. Means.....	78
6.2.2. Hidden information .....	78
6.2.3. Focus.....	79
<b>6.3. Monitoring the contacts (the dependent variable) .....</b>	<b>80</b>
6.3.1. Contacts .....	80
6.3.2. Electoral results .....	81
<b>6.4. Strategy and control capacity of political group leaders .....</b>	<b>82</b>
6.4.1. The strategy of local political group leaders .....	82
6.4.2. Control capacity of local political group leaders.....	83
<b>6.5. Research design .....</b>	<b>85</b>
6.5.1. Dependent variable: the scale of contact activity .....	85
6.5.2. Independent variables .....	89
6.5.3. Method of data analysis.....	90
<b>6.6. Empirical analysis .....</b>	<b>90</b>
6.6.1. Results .....	90
6.6.2. Discussion.....	97
<b>6.7. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>7. Council activity of Croatian and Slovenian local councilors .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>7.1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>7.2. Council activities in the eyes of local political group leaders .....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>7.3. Conceptualization of council activity.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>7.4. The three dimensions of leadership control capacity.....</b>	<b>110</b>
7.4.1. Non-partisan local lists .....	110
7.4.2. Candidate selection process.....	111
7.4.3. Political ambition.....	111
7.4.4. Loyalty to a local political group.....	112
7.4.5. Control variables.....	112
<b>7.5. Research design .....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>7.6. Empirical analysis .....</b>	<b>116</b>
7.6.1. Results .....	116

7.6.2. Discussion.....	123
7.7. Conclusion.....	126
8. Activity and re-selection of Croatian and Slovenian local councilors.....	129
8.1. Introduction .....	129
8.2. Why do incumbents get re-selected? .....	131
8.2.1. Outcomes of the candidate selection process .....	131
8.2.2. Candidate selection criteria .....	132
8.2.3. Which selection criteria do active councilors fulfill?.....	134
8.2.4. The moderating effect of party selectorate.....	135
8.2.5. Additional prerequisites for re-selection .....	137
8.3. Operationalization and method .....	139
8.4. Empirical results.....	141
8.4.1. Descriptive analyses .....	141
8.4.2. Multinomial logistic regression models .....	143
8.5. Conclusion.....	150
9. Conclusion.....	153
9.1. Key findings and their implications.....	154
9.1.1. Leadership control capacity.....	154
9.1.2. Comparative insights .....	160
9.1.3. Methods .....	162
9.2. Limitations .....	163
9.3. Further research.....	165
References.....	167
Appendix: Survey questionnaire .....	187