

# Contents

Introduction .....	9
Chapter 1: Local Party Institutionalization .....	13
1.1. The Importance of Local Party Institutionalization.....	13
1.1.1. Potential Forms of Institutionalization .....	14
1.1.2. Local Party Institutionalization in Comparison .....	16
1.2. The Concept of Local Party Institutionalization .....	20
1.2.1. Institutionalization of Organizations .....	20
1.2.2. Local Party Institutionalization.....	22
1.3. The Formation of Institutionalized Local Parties.....	25
1.3.1. Local Parties.....	25
1.3.2. National and Local Parties.....	26
1.3.3. Party Formation .....	28
1.4. Summary.....	30
Chapter 2: Explaining Local Party Institutionalization .....	31
2.1. Size and Local Democracy.....	31
2.1.1. Size and Democracy .....	31
2.1.2. A New Concept of Size.....	37
2.1.3. Hypotheses About Size.....	40
2.2. Socioeconomic Factors.....	40
2.2.1. Further Literature Survey .....	41
2.2.2. Hypotheses Concerning Intervening Factors .....	49
2.2.3. Factors Intervening Between Municipality Size and Local Party Institutionalization .....	56
2.3. Other Effects.....	56
2.3.1. Electoral Rules.....	57
2.3.2. Social Geography Hypotheses.....	58
2.3.3. Path Dependency Hypotheses.....	59
2.3.4. Party Typology Hypotheses.....	61
2.4. An Explanandum-Oriented Summary.....	62
2.4.1. Electoral Incentives.....	64
2.4.2. Municipality's Significance to National Parties .....	65
2.4.3. Importance of Core Individuals.....	67
2.4.4. Availability of Activists.....	68
2.4.5. Distinct Group Preferences .....	70

2.4.6. Costs of Mobilization .....	71
2.4.7. Collaborative Culture .....	72
2.5. Summary .....	72

## Chapter 3: Methods and Indicators.....75

3.1. The Local Government System in Hungary.....	75
3.2. Measuring Local Party Institutionalization.....	77
3.2.1. Party Government .....	78
3.2.2. Party Loyalty.....	79
3.3. Cases and Data Sources.....	81
3.4. Causal Modeling .....	83
3.5. Variables and Hypotheses .....	86
3.6. Measuring Explanatory Variables .....	88
3.6.1. Population Size .....	88
3.6.2. Functional Size .....	89
3.6.3. Population Stability.....	90
3.6.4. Urbanization.....	90
3.6.5. Age composition .....	91
3.6.6. Citizens' Resources .....	92
3.6.7. Societal Heterogeneity.....	93
3.6.8. Ethnic Heterogeneity.....	94
3.6.9. Electoral Systems.....	95
3.6.10. Proximity to Centers .....	95
3.6.11. The Organizational Strength of Civil Society .....	97
3.6.12. Electoral Participation.....	98
3.7. Summary.....	99

## Chapter 4: Local Party Government..... 101

4.1. Local Party Government in Hungary.....	101
4.2. Bivariate Associations With Local Party Government .....	106
4.2.1. Population Size.....	106
4.2.2. Functional Size .....	107
4.2.3. Population Stability.....	107
4.2.4. Urbanization.....	108
4.2.5. Age composition .....	108
4.2.6. Citizens' Resources .....	109
4.2.7. Socioeconomic Heterogeneity .....	112
4.2.8. Ethnic Heterogeneity.....	113
4.2.9. Civil Society.....	113

4.2.10. Political Participation .....	114
4.2.11. Electoral System .....	115
4.2.12. Proximity to Centers .....	116
4.3. Multivariate Analysis.....	117
4.3.1. Determinants of Party Government.....	117
4.3.2. Party Government In the Short Ticket Electoral System.....	119
4.3.3. Party Government In the Mixed Electoral System.....	121
4.4. Conclusion .....	123
Chapter 5: Local Party Loyalty .....	125
5.1. Loyalty to Local Party Organization.....	125
5.2. Bivariate Associations With Local Party Loyalty .....	129
5.2.1. Electoral System .....	130
5.2.2. Proximity to Centers .....	131
5.2.3. Population Size.....	131
5.2.4. Municipality Significance .....	132
5.2.5. Urbanization.....	133
5.2.6. Population Stability.....	133
5.2.7. Age composition .....	134
5.2.8. Citizens' Resources .....	135
5.2.9. Socioeconomic Heterogeneity .....	136
5.2.10. Ethnic Heterogeneity.....	136
5.2.11. Civil Society.....	137
5.2.12. Political Participation .....	137
5.3. Multivariate Analysis.....	139
5.4. The Association of Party Government and Party Loyalty.....	141
5.5. Conclusion .....	142
Chapter 6: Causal Models .....	145
6.1. Indirect Effects .....	145
6.1.1. Political Participation .....	145
6.1.2. Social Participation.....	147
6.1.3. Functional Size .....	148
6.1.4. Urbanization.....	149
6.1.5. Population Instability .....	150
6.1.6. Citizens' Resources .....	150
6.1.7. Socioeconomic Heterogeneity .....	151
6.1.8. Age .....	152
6.2. Causal Models of Party Government .....	153

6.2.1. Municipalities in the Short Ticket Electoral System .....	153
6.2.2. Municipalities in the Mixed Electoral System.....	155
6.3. Causal Models of Party Loyalty.....	156
6.3.1. Municipalities in the Short Ticket Electoral System .....	156
6.3.2. Municipalities in the Mixed Electoral System.....	157
6.4. Conclusion .....	158
Chapter 7: Further Evidence .....	161
7.1. Local Party Survey .....	161
7.1.1. Systemness: Resources.....	165
7.1.2. Systemness: Differentiation and Control.....	168
7.1.3. Systemness: Routinized Activities .....	170
7.1.4. Autonomy .....	171
7.2. Local Representative Survey.....	174
7.2.1. Power Positions .....	174
7.2.2. Opinion Formation.....	176
7.2.3. Accountability to Local Parties .....	178
7.3. Party Charters.....	180
7.4. Direct Democracy.....	183
7.4.1. The Underused Institution of Local Referendum .....	183
7.4.2. Inviting Citizens to Local Governance.....	187
7.4.3. Local Direct Democracy in Hungary.....	190
7.5. Conclusion .....	190
Chapter 8: Conclusions .....	193
8.1. Aspects of Local Party Institutionalization.....	193
8.2. Confirmed and Unconfirmed Hypotheses.....	194
8.2.1. Specific Hypotheses.....	194
8.2.2. Size-related Hypotheses .....	195
8.2.3. Other Hypotheses .....	196
8.3. A Case for Amalgamation?.....	197
8.4. Limitations and Further Research .....	199
References.....	201
Appendice.....	211
A. Research Hypotheses .....	211
B. The Variables in the Index of Functional Size .....	213