

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	5
List of tables and figures	10
Abbreviations.....	11
1 Introduction.....	13
1.1 Background and rationale for the topic.....	13
1.2 Research aim and structure of the thesis	14
2 Local government and decentralisation	17
2.1 Local government and its values – democracy and autonomy	17
2.2 Democratisation.....	20
2.2.1 The transition to democracy at the state level.....	20
2.2.2 The impact of legacies.....	22
2.2.3 Decentralisation and democratisation at the local level	26
2.3 Local government in post-communist countries	31
3 Analytical framework and methodology	37
3.1 Historical institutionalism.....	37
3.1.1 The main concepts – path dependence and critical junctures	38
3.1.2 Gradual change and resurrection of the past	42
3.1.3 Historical institutionalism and case studies	46
3.1.4 Some remarks on rational choice institutionalism	47
3.2 Research methods and data.....	48
4 Local government in 1918–1940: The periods of the Parliamentary Republic and the Era of Silence.....	50
4.1 General context	51

4.1.1	Development of the legal framework	53
4.1.2	The rise and fall of county government	59
4.2	Local autonomy.....	64
4.2.1	Supervision	65
4.2.2	Local government finances	67
4.3	Local democracy and local government bodies	74
4.3.1	Constantly changing electoral rules.....	74
4.3.2	The appointed mayor	86
4.4	Discussion and conclusion	92
5	Abolishment of local self-government	96
5.1	General context	97
5.1.1	Local administration in the Soviet Union	98
5.1.2	Short period of German occupation	100
5.2	The sharp end of the old system	101
5.2.1	People.....	102
5.2.2	Abolishment of counties and rural municipalities.....	106
5.2.3	Establishment of local soviets.....	109
5.3	Local administration at the beginning of the 1980s	114
5.3.1	Administrative-territorial units.....	115
5.3.2	Local soviets	116
5.4	Discussion and conclusion	122
6	Democratic revival at the local level.....	125
6.1	General context	125
6.2	Development of the legal framework for local government and for administrative reform	127
6.3	Decentralisation.....	136
6.3.1	The issue of the county level.....	136

6.3.2	The process of granting self-governing status to local government units.....	140
6.3.3	Administrative territorial units – Partial survivors of the Soviet era.....	142
6.3.4	Attempts at territorial reform.....	144
6.3.5	Some remarks on financial autonomy.....	148
6.4	Local democracy and local government bodies.....	150
6.4.1	Local elections and debates on dual mandate and electoral alliances.....	151
6.4.2	The institution of mayor	159
6.5	Discussion and conclusion.....	166
7	History rhymes	169
7.1	County administration.....	172
7.1.1	The role of legacies during critical junctures in the 1990s	173
7.1.2	Initial weakening of county government sets path for decades.....	175
7.2	The appointed mayor	178
7.2.1	Widely used practice obscures legacy.....	178
7.2.2	Path enforced by context or legal path dependence.....	179
7.3	Election rules in political winds.....	181
7.3.1	Legacy of incomplete nation-building commandeers the parliamentary debate in the 1990s.....	181
7.3.2	Limited path dependence	183
7.4	Development of central-local relations from the standpoint of continuity	185
7.4.1	Tendency towards a Northern European system	186
7.4.2	The role of (cultural) values.....	188
7.4.3	Additional aspects.....	190
7.5	Discussion and conclusion.....	190

8	Conclusions and recommendations	195
	References	200
	Appendix A: Counties (13 th century, 1918, 1939, 1949, and 1991) and raions (1950, 1965, and 1987)	231
	Appendix B: Financial indicators.....	233
	Appendix C: Overview of the election rules.....	237
	Appendix D: List of Prime Ministers and Ministers of the Interior.....	241
	Appendix E: Information on the interviews	243