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Political Science
Leadership and Local Democracy: Does Leadership Make a Difference?
July 4-15, 2005

TENTATIVE SYLLABUS

LARRY ROSE

The introductory lectures will focus on methodology discussing alternative approaches to answering the main question posed by the summer school – namely on "Does Leadership make a Difference?"

READINGS

Chapter 2 in Burnham, P, Gilland, K, Grant, W. and Layton-Henry, Z. (2004) 'Research Methods in Politics', Palgrave MacMillan

Chapter 1 in King, G. Keohane, R. O. and Verba, S. 'Designing Social Inquiry', Princeton University Press, 1994

ROBIN HAMBLETON

In the early part of my career I worked in local government in the UK. I actually worked for a 'city boss' for a period in the north east of England - by which I mean the elected leader of a local authority who ruled the area in an autocratic way. In more recent years I have worked with modern leaders who understand the limitations of the 'top down' model. In my lecture I would like to reflect on my personal experience as well as my understanding of leadership concepts and the scholarship of leadership. I will suggest that the literature on urban (or locality) leadership is largely out of date and will want to explore with participants how we can re-frame the way we think about local leadership.

There is much disagreement about what constitutes 'good' local leadership but perhaps we can identify some alternative conceptions of leadership if we examine local leadership in practice. It is a simplification but experience in different countries suggests there are at least three roles for the city leader:

- Ceremonial. Here the leader (or traditional mayor in the UK context) is 'above' politics, speaks for the locality as a whole and strives to emphasize the values that bind. In some ways this kind of leader is the 'symbol' of community.

- Managerial. Here the leader (and it may be an appointed officer such as a chief executive or it could be a politician such as a 'strong' mayor) is focussed on the management of the local authority. The major public services provided by local authorities require skilled managerial leadership to ensure cost-effective delivery of services to service users

- Political. Here the leader is less concerned with management than with the development of a vision for the future of the area. He or she is keen to promote the qualities of the area and to win resources for the

area by working with a whole variety of stake-holders. Effective political leaders address complex social issues and build collaborative advantage by working effectively with others

In the workshop we will view a short (half hour) film I made for the BBC contrasting leadership in Bristol, England with leadership in Leipzig, Germany. In Bristol the three leadership roles just described, are carried out by three different people; in Leipzig the three roles are all concentrated in the position of the directly elected mayor. We will consider the strengths and weaknesses of these different models - and also consider alternatives.

As well as looking at organizational design we will review alternative styles of leadership and consider the way the shift from local government to local governance in many countries has altered what it takes to be a successful local leader. In 2002 I moved from the UK to Chicago and have seen a very different kind of city leadership. I have worked with Mayor Daley - arguably the most powerful locally elected politician in the world - and will offer some reflections on the strengths and weaknesses of the Chicago model of urban governance.

READINGS

Hambleton R. (2005) 'Leading localities - rethinking the agenda' Chapter 9 in Haus M., Heinelt H. and Stewart M. (eds) 'Urban governance and democracy' London:Routledge

Hambleton R. (2002) 'The new city management' Chapter 9 in Hambleton R., Savitch H. V. and Stewart M. (eds) 'Globalism and local democracy' London: Palgrave

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005) 'Vibrant local leadership' Policy Paper published by the UK ODPM and available on the ODPM website: www.odpm.gov.uk

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Svara J. H. (ed) (1994) 'Facilitative leadership in the city. Lessons from successful mayors and chairpersons' San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

NIRMALA RAO
TRANSFORMING POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN EUROPEAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Declining turnout and a growing demand for citizen participation in Europe and elsewhere have, in recent years, prompted the adoption of new forms of political leadership. These have ranged from streamlining decision making within town halls to providing a more focused leadership through strengthening the roles of mayors and councillors. At first sight there appears to be no common trend in the reforms. Yet there are many commonalities and convergences that link these several developments and prompt a search for underlying themes. In Britain, for example, moves to concentrate political authority in a cabinet-style system has required the replacement of the traditional committee structure, which dominated British local government for 150 years. The Norwegian government has allowed municipalities to experiment with the direct election of mayors with a view to increasing the interest of citizens in local affairs. Likewise in Germany, the city manager systems have come under criticism, and the Lander have implemented a South German style strong mayor system in their municipalities. Similar moves to revive local democracy are also evident in France, Sweden, Belgium, while contrasting moves are apparent in Denmark, where there has been something of a return to the traditional committee-based system.

Based on the experiences of reforms in a number of European countries, this lecture will focus on the new and emerging patterns of political executives in local government. The underlying motives of these reforms, and their intended and unintended consequences will be explored, together with their implications for the involvement of lay politicians, political accountability, and recruitment of politicians.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Helge O Larsen: The Political Executive in Local Government: Models, Trends and Reforms

Nirmala Rao: From Committees to Leaders and Cabinets: The British Experience

Hellmut Wollmann: The directly-elected executive mayor in German local government – references to be added, are they perhaps included in the list below?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Armstrong, H (1999), 'The Key Themes of Democratic Renewal', *Local Government Studies*, 25(4), pp. 19-25.

Ashworth, R, C. Copus and A. Coulson, (2004), 'Local Democratic Renewal: An Introduction, *Local Government Studies*, 30 (4), pp. 459-466.

Baldersheim, Harald (1992). 'Aldermen into Ministers: Oslo's Experiment with a City Cabinet', *Local Government Studies*, 18: 18-30.

Caulfield, J. & Larsen, H.O. (eds.)(2002), *Local Government at the Millenium*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

DETR, (1998), *Modern Local Government: In Touch With the People*, Cmnd 4014, London, The Stationery Office.

Ejersbo, N, Hansen, M.B. & Mouritzen, P.E. (1998): 'The Danish Local Government CEO: From Town Clerk to City Manager' in Klausen, K.K. & Magnier, A. *The Anonymous Leader*, Odense: Odense University Press.

Elander, Ingemar & Stig Montin (1990), 'Decentralization and Control: Central and Local Government Relations in Sweden.' *Policy and Politics* Vol. 18(3) pp 165-180.

Ladner, Andreas (2002). 'Size and direct democracy at the local level: the case of Switzerland', in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 20(6) pp 813-828.

Larsen, Helge O. (2002), Directly Elected Mayors – Democratic Renewal or constitutional Confusion, in: Caulfield, Janice and Larsen, Helge (eds.), *Local Government at the Millennium,* Opladen: Leske + Budrich, pp. 111-133

Linder, Wolf (1991). 'Local Government. The Case of Switzerland' in: Hesse, Jens Joachim (ed.). *Local Government and Urban Affaires in International Perspektive*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. pp. 409-428

Montin, Stig (2000) 'Between Fragmentation and Co-Ordination: The Changing Role of Local Government in Sweden.' *Public Management* 2 (1) pp 1-23.

Mouritzen, P.E. & Svara, J. H. (2002), *Leadership at the apex*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Rao, N (2000), *Reviving Local Democracy: New Labour, New Politics?* Bristol, Policy Press.

Rao, N (2002) 'Options for Change: Mayors, Cabinets or the Status Quo?' *Local Government Studies*, 29 (1), pp. 1-16.

Rao, N and K. Young, (1999), 'Revitalising Local Democracy' in R. Jowell et al (eds.) *British Social Attitudes: the 19th Report*, Aldershot, Ashgate.

Serritslew, S. (2003): 'Shaping local councillor preferences: party politics, committee structure and social background', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, No. 3.

Wollmann, Hellmut (2000), 'Local government modernization in Germany. Between incrementalism and reform waves', in *Public Administration*, vol. 78, no.4, pp 915-936

Wollmann, Hellmut (2000), 'Local government systems: from historic divergence towards convergence? Great Britain, France and Germany as cases in point', in *Government and Policy,* vol. 18, pp. 33-55

Wollmann, Hellmut (2002), 'Recent Democratic and Administrative Reforms in Germany`s Local Government. Persistence and Change', in Caulfield, Janice and Larsen, Helge (eds.), *Local Government at the Millennium*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, pp. 63-92

Wollmann, Hellmut (2004), 'Urban leadership in German local politics: the rise, role and performance of the directly elected (chief executive) mayor' in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 150-165.

ANNICK MAGNIER

To be added.

PAWEL SWIANIEWICZ
LEADERSHIP REFORMS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The decade of 1990s brought extremely important changes on the Central and Eastern European political scene, and it was also a decade of a revival of local democracy in the region. But it does not mean there was any uniform model of decentralization and local government which has been adopted in this part of Europe. A broad (and rather vague) verbal agreement for decentralisation has hardly resulted in a common view of the role and position of local governments. As Peteri & Zentai (2002) notice *besides… broad principles, rarely was any political consensus on a comprehensive model of state architecture, let alone elaborate blueprints for its establishment.* This observation concerns lack of consensus within individual reforming countries, but even more lack of common vision in different countries.

Discussion on the **role and position of the local leader (mayor)** has been a hot issue in several countries of the region. Quite recently the move towards direct election of city mayors has been observed in several countries of Western Europe. The same trend may be noticed in Central and Eastern Europe. Direct elections of mayors were introduced at the beginning of 1990's in Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Albania or Ukraine, in 1994 in Hungary and quite recently (in 2002) in Poland. But three Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) as well as the Czech Republic or Croatia still rely on the system in which the mayor is elected by the council or more collective forms of leadership are exercised.

During the lecture we will analyse this dimension of local government system evolution. We will examine arguments which have been raised in public discussions on mayoral reforms and check if expectations raised by pro-reformers have been met in reality.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

P. Swianiewicz (2005) Cities in Transition: from Statism to Democracy [in:] M. Haus, H. Heinelt, M. Stewart (red.) Urban Governance and Democracy: Leadership and Community Involvement, London – New York: Routledge, p. 102-129.

P. Swianiewicz, A. Mielczarek, U. Klimska (2005, in print) Uneven Partnerships: Polish City Leaders in Search of Local Governance [in:] P. Getimis, H. Heinelt, D. Sweeting (eds.), London-New York: Routledge.

K. Sootla & K. Grau (2005) „Institutional Balance In Local Government: Council, Mayor, and City Manager in Local Policymaking" [in:] G. Soss & V. Zentai (eds.) Faces of Local Democracy: Comparative Papers from Central and Eastern Europe, Budapest: Open Society Institute-LGI, p. 275-300.

KATALIN PALLAI

In the early 1990s Hungary was a pioneer of post-communist transformation and it established the most decentralized public administration system in Central and Eastern-Europe. In some localities the newly elected local politicians, in the course of a few years, could bring about important changes. The municipal reform process in Budapest is one of the most recognized cases of the successful transitions to a new administrative and leadership model.

In 1990, Gábor Demszky was elected as Mayor of Budapest, who had previously been a leading figure of the underground opposition. His past created a huge political capital form him and his election program gave legitimacy to embark on liberal reforms. At the same time the context was not offering opportunity for exploiting this political capital for rapid reforms for two reasons. One was that nearly all components of the decentralization system were still shaping. The other was that the planning system inherited form the previous era did not supply adequate information to support major decisions and the new, and yet inexperienced, leadership needed some time to orientate in this chaos. Consistency of leadership and nearly two election terms were needed to put the Municipality to a new strategic course and restructure local management.

I had the opportunity to work directly for the Mayor of Budapest and for his expert team since 1991, as a free-lance expert, and I was a participant in the drafting and implementation of the economic and urban policy reforms in Budapest. My presentation will review the experiences of the local transformation process in Budapest. I will show how could the local leadership establish a strategic course of policy-making and I will describe in details how the most important components of the strategic reforms were designed, accepted and implemented.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Gábor Demszky: Liberalism in Practice, in: Pallai ed.: The Budapest Model, Budapest: Open Society Institute-LGI, 2003. p. 13-34.

Katalin Pallai: Strategic Planning and Management Reforms, in: Pallai ed.: The Budapest Model, Budapest: Open Society Institute-LGI, 2003. p. 34-78.

Downloadable at http://lgi.osi.hu/publications/2003/246/cover.pdf and http://lgi.osi.hu/publications/2003/246/Bpk_eng_all.pdf

VINCENT HOFFMANN-MARTINOT
NEW POLITICAL CULTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON LOCAL LEADERSHIP AND CITIZENS PARTICIPATION

According to the theory of the New Political Culture (NPC), class analysis has grown increasingly inadequate in recent decades as traditional hierarchies have declined and new social differences have emerged. Local politics is organized less by class and more by other loyalties. Municipal political issues shift with more affluence : as wealth increases, people take the basics for granted; they grow more concerned with life-style and amenities.Younger, more educated and mow affluent persons in more affluent and less hierarchical societies should move farthest from traditional class politics. Parties have a distinctive causal role in the rise of the NPC. Closed parties (i.e., ones that ignore citizens' concerns or don't incorporate them into policies) tend to alienate citizenry. Closed parties usually are self-perpetuating, hierarchical, and oligarchical and often represent a particular class or social group. Citizens

protest against closed parties by voting less frequently (declining turnout), becoming independent (partisan dealignment), and joining nonparty organized groups (e.g., ecological). The decline of absolute class voting demonstrates that traditional loyalties (class/party membership) explain less than previously; and that new parties and organizations emerged to fit the gap between oligarchical parties and citizens'preferences.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Clark, Terry Nichols. 1996. "Structural Realignments in American City Politics: Less Class, More Race, and a New Political Culture", *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol 31, No. 3, January, pp. 367-404.

Clark Terry Nichols and Ronald Inglehart. 1998. "The New Political Culture: Changing Dynamics of Support for the Welfare State and Other Policies in Postindustrial Societies", in: Terry Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot (Eds.). *The New Political Culture*. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press (Urban Policy Challenges): 9-68.

Hoffmann-Martinot Vincent. 2000. "The fragmented democracy of French big cities". In: Oscar W. Gabriel, Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, and Hank Savitch (Eds.). *Urban Democracy*. Opladen: Leske+Budrich: 261-311

MICHAL ILLNER
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The following issues will be discussed in the lecture and during the workshop. First, on the general conceptual level, then in terms of their application, particularly in the East Central European countries. Concrete examples of good as well as failed practices will be mentioned where possible, as well as the benefits and risks of their use.

1. Arguments for community involvement in local government
- the concept of local citizenship
- representative and participatory democracy on the local level
- participation increasing legitimacy of local government
- participation enhancing its effectiveness

2. Structural differences in community involvement
- community size, spatial and physical structure
- demographic, ethnic and social structure of local population
- its residential stability
- its identification with the community
- local culture
- local living conditions

3. Modes of community involvement
- involvement of individual citizens, of citizens' groups, of citizens' organizations
- top-down involvement of the community by local government and the community's
  bottom-up involvement in local government
- permanent - systematic involvement and temporary or single issue involvement

4. Forms of involving the community
- monitoring citizens' opinion
- consultation of citizens
- participation of citizens in local government

  ad: Monitoring citizens' opinion
  - analysis of citizens' voices in local media
  - analysis of citizens' proposals and complaints to local administration

- analysis of citizens' voices at public and other meetings
- opinion polls

ad: Consultation
- obligatory and voluntary consultation of citizens
- consultative meetings and fora of citizens and their organizations
- consultative surveys of citizens views
- consultative local referenda
- consultative committees of local councils

ad: Participation
- voting in local elections
- voting in local referenda
- submitting petitions, policy proposals and queries to local government
- participation in citizens' meetings, forums, demonstrations, protest actions
- empowerment of citizens and their organizations by local government with the right to decide or co-decide on specific issues

5. Prerequisites to community involvement
- participative civic culture prevailing within society
- trust in local government
- citizens acknowledging usefulness of participation
- their willingness to stand for offices in local government
- availability of skilled local leaders
- membership and involvement of citizens in local associations and political parties
- open and responsive administrative culture prevailing in local public administration
- guaranteed availability and accessibility to citizens of information on local issues, policies and activities of local government (by means of web pages of local   governments,   local governments' bulletins, making public agendas and minutes of local governments' meetings, making public budgets and final accounts of local government)
- freedom of citizens to associate and to promote their interests

6. Specific aspects of community involvement in East Central European countries

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Lowndes, Vivian. 1995. „Citizenship and Urban Politics." Chapter 9, pp. 160-180, in: Judge, David, Stoker, Jerry and Harold Wolman (ed.). 1995. Theories of Urban Politics. London: Sage.

Fainsten, Susan S. and Clifford Hirst. 1995. „Urban Social Movements." Chapter 10, pp.181-204, in: Judge, David, Stoker, Jerry and Harold Wolman (eds.). 1995. Theories of Urban Politics. London: Sage.

Swianiewicz, Pawel. 2001. „Between Active Appreciation, Passive Approval and Distrustful Withdrawal. Citizens' Perception of Local Government Refoms and Local Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe." Chapter 1, pp. 15-40, in: Swianiewicz, Pawel (ed.). Public Perception of Local Governments. Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Initiative.

Wright, Glenn. 2002. „Conclusion: A Four Country Comparison. Assessment of Progress Toward Local Democratic Systems." Chapter 6, parts 2.2 and 2.3, pp. 388-408, in: Soós, Gábor, Tóka, Gábor and Glen Wright (eds.). The State of Local Democracy in Central Europe. Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative.

<div align="center">**SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS**</div>

Rose, Lawrence, et al. 1996. „Political Culture and Citizen Involvement.“ Chapter 3, pp. 43-104, in: Baldersheim, Harald et al. (eds.). Local Democracy and the Processes of Transformation in East/Central Europe. Boulder: WestviewPress

Loughlin, John. 2001. „Introduction“, pp. 1-33, in: Loughlin, John. „The Transformation of the Democratic State in Western Europe.Subnational Democracy in the European Union. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

<div align="center">HUBERT HEINELT</div>

During the lecture we will discuss hypothesis that the effectiveness and legitimacy of the political process is enhanced by complementarity of leadership and local community involvement in decision-making and implementation of the accepted solutions (*Complementarity of Urban Leadership and Community Involvement – CULCI*). The word "complementarity" is essential here, as it clearly is not a mere combination or co-occurrence of these two phenomena. The term "complementarity" assumes the occurrence of the synergy effect. It also emphasizes that we are dealing with a positive-sum game, and not a zero-sum one. It follows then, that the increase in one actor's resources of power or significance does not have to be accompanied by a proportionate decline of another actor's role.

CULCI will be defined as a situation where the interaction between the leadership and local community involvement leads to positive results (achievement of the adopted objective), and one of its elements compensates for the deficiencies of another. Thus, for instance, whereas the position of the leader may be insufficient to achieve the adopted objective, it can be overcome thanks to the active attitude of the part of the local community cooperating with the leader. It is easier still to point out the reverse relationship in bottom-up projects, initiated by local community or its part. In such cases, it often happens that achieving the objective depends on the support lent to the project by the local leader.

The CULCI hypothesis has been extensively tested by the European Participation Leadership and Urban Sustainability (PLUS) research project and the lecture will call upon empirical evidences collected on this occasion.

<div align="center">**RECOMMENDED READINGS**</div>

M. Haus, H. Heinelt, M. Stewart (eds.) "Urban Governance and Democracy", London and new York: Routledge:
1) chapter 2: Haus & Heinelt: How to achieve governability at the local level: Theoretical and conceptual considerations on a complementarity of urban leadership and community involvement, p. 12-39
2) chapter 8: Getimis: "Changes in urban political leadership: leadershi[p types and styles in the era of urban governance", p. 168-189.
3) chapter 10: Klausen and Sweeting "Legitimacy and community involvement in local governance", p. 214-233.

P. John and A. Cole "Political Leadership in the New Urban Governance" Local Government Studies, Vol 25, No 4: 98-115.

O. Boraz and P. John "The Transfomration of Urban Political Leadership in Wesstern Europe", International Journal of Urban and Regional research, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2004): 107-120.

HARALD BALDERSHEIM
THE IMPACT OF E-GOVERNANCE ON STYLE OF LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

What is e-governance (governance aided by information and communication technology)? Examples of how e-governance is implemented in selected cities

How does e-governance impact on local democracy? Will instant communication across time and space barriers transform local politics as we have known it? Features of 24-hour-democracy

How does e-governance impact in particular on leadership and community involvement? Digital democracy: the ideal environment for the populist political leader? A new face of community power: new opportunities for community involvement in local politics?

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Karl Löfgren and Colin Smith (2003). "Political Parties and Democracy in the Information Age", ch. 2 in Rachel Gibson, Paul Nixon and Stephen Ward, eds.: Political Parties and the Internet. Net Gain? London: Routledge.

Matti Mälikä, Ari-Veikko Anttiroiko and Reijo Savolainen, eds. (2004). e-Transformation in Governance. Hershy: Idea Group Publishing (Section IV: Building Urban and Regional Communities)