

Book Proposal

The European Mayor II: *Political Leaders in the Changing Context of Local Democracy*

(draft title)

edited by Hubert Heinelt, Annick Magnier and
Herwig Reynaert

1. Aims and Origin

Political leadership at the local level has gained more and more interest in the scholarly and political debate during the last 20 years. Political leadership has been seen as necessary to overcome a highlighted democratic deficit by increasing accountability of core policy makers involved not only in policy making in the city hall but also in governance arrangements in which different societal actors play a crucial role (see e.g. the contribution to the book edited by Haus et al. 2005 and Heinelt et al. 2006). Furthermore, political leadership has been seen as essential for administrative reforms – particularly of those inspired by New public Management ideas (see e.g. Christensen and Lægread 2011). These debates about the importance of political leadership at the local level has had for instance a clear impact on the introduction of directly elected mayors in a number of European countries.

The planned book will make a contribution to this debates by referring to a survey on mayors of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants in 31 European countries carried out from the end of 2014 to the end of 2015. The survey is based on a partnership between the COST project ‘Local Public Sector Reforms – an International Comparison’ (LocRef; see <http://www.uni-potsdam.de/cost-locoref/>) and a network of scholars organised in the standing groups on Local Government and Politics (LOGOPOL) of the European Consortium of Political Science (ECPR) and/or in the European Urban Research Association (EURA) which has carried out a number of surveys during the last 20 years. The first survey was focused on executive officers (CEOs) or the highest ranking appointed and non-elected civil servant or employee at the municipal level.¹ As it was supported by UDITE (*Union des dirigeants territoriaux de l’Europe*) is has been called the UDITE survey.² The next survey – named the POLLEADER (‘political leader’) survey – was carried out between 2002 and 2004.³ Results of this survey will be used for a comparison with result of the mentioned current survey on mayors to reflect on changes which might have occurred in the last decade. It followed a survey on councillors from municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants – called the MAELG (‘Municipal Assemblies in European Local Governance’) survey. It was based on a stratified sampling (taking in particular the regional distribution of the total number of municipal councillors in a country into account).⁴ Also a comparison with its results and the one from the mentioned current survey on

mayors will be made in some chapters of the planned book. A further survey concerned particularly councillors from the second tier of local government (i.e. counties, provinces etc.).⁵

Main (interrelated) research questions to be addressed in the planned book in a comparative way between countries (or country groups) as well as over time (i.e. based particularly on the mentioned survey on mayors from 2002 to 2004) are:

- What are the attitudes of mayors towards recent administrative and territorial reforms?
- What are their role perceptions, and what is their actual role behaviour?
- What is their notion of democracy and how does it affect their role perception, role behaviour and attitudes towards administrative and territorial reforms?
- What is the political agenda of mayors involved in policy making?
- Do party politics (or party politicization at the municipal level) play a role?
- How do mayors act with other actors in the city hall as well as with societal actors and actors from upper-levels of government?
- How to become a mayor (social background, political career)?

The following countries are covered by the current survey carried out (by the mentioned partners) in:

- Austria (*Werner Pleschberger*),
- Belgium (*Herwig Reynaert, Kristof Steyvers, Johannes Rodenbach, Min Reuchamps and Vincent Jacquet*) May 2015,
- Croatia (*Ivan Koprić, Jasmina Dzinic and Mihovil Skarica*) May 2015,
- Cyprus (*Andreas Kirlappos and Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides*) March 2015,
- Czech Republic (*Daniel Čermák, Michael Illner, Tomáš Kostecký and Dan Ryšavý*),
- Denmark (*Morten Balle Hansen*),
- England (*Colin Copus, Thom Oliver and David Sweeting*),
- Estonia (*Vallo Olle*),
- Finland (*Pekka Kettunen and Siv Sandberg*) May 2015,
- France (*Eric Kerrouche*) June 2015,
- Germany (*Björn Egner, Hubert Heinelt, Sabine Kuhlmann, Philipp Richter and Angelika Vetter*) May/June 2015,
- Greece (*Nikos Hlepas*) May/June 2015,
- Hungary (*Gabor Soós and Gabor Dobos*) May 2015,
- Iceland (*Gretar Eythorsson, Eva Marin Hlynsdottir and Magnus Arni Magnusson*) March/April 2015,
- Ireland (*Geraldine Robbin and Gerard Turley*) May 2015,
- Israel (*Itai Beeri and Eran Vigoda-Gadot*) March 2015,
- Italy (*Marcello Cabria, Giuseppe Russo and Annick Magnier*) October 2014 and June 2015,
- Latvia (*Iveta Reinholde*) June 2015,
- Lithuania (*Jurga Bucaite Vilke, Arvydas Mikalauskas and Aiste Lazauskiene*) December 2014,
- Netherlands (*Bas Denters, Linze Schaap, Niels Karsten*),
- Norway (*Jacob Aars, Lawrence E. Rose, Bjarte Folkestad and Signy Irene Vabo*) May 2015,

- Poland (*Adam Gendzwill, Marta Lackowska and Pawel Swianiewicz*) May 2015,
- Portugal (*Enrico Borghetto, Luís Vicente Baptista, Elisabetta De Giorgi and Patrícia Pereira*) March-May 2015,
- Romania (*Andrei Gheorghita and Christina Stanus*),
- Serbia (*Vladan Djokić, Mina Petrović, Marija Maruna and Danijela Milojković*) October 2014,
- Slovakia (*Daniel Klimovsky and Michaela Bátorová*) September 2014 and May 2015,
- Slovenia (*Irena Baclija and Vladimir Prebilič*) March 2015,
- Spain (*Carmen Navarro, Jaume Magre, Lluís Medir, Esther Pano and Angel Iglesias*) September-December 2015,
- Sweden (*Anders Lidström and David Karlsson*) September 2015,
- Switzerland (*Oliver Dlabac and Daniel Kübler*) May 2015, and
- Turkey (*Ulas Bayraktar*) June 2015.

2. Definition of the Market

The intended readership of this book consists not only of people, academics and practitioners alike, concerned with the functioning and especially reforms of the municipal level of local government, an issue currently high on the institutional agenda of many countries. In addition, we are convinced that the book is suitable for use as essential or recommended reading in courses concerned with local government and urban studies, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Although the book is clearly inspired by particular disciplinary perspectives, namely those of political and administrative science, we are convinced that the book will be of interest to members of the urban studies community with different disciplinary backgrounds, e.g. sociologists, geographers, planners.

We are sure that the book is suitable for this use because *all* chapters will address the aforementioned questions with a comparative perspective (i.e. there will be *no* chapter focusing just on one or two countries) using the same data base. Therefore, general concerns addressed by a cross-national analysis will be grounded on rich empirical data.

We expect that the book will appeal to readers not only in the large number of countries covered because the more general topic of the whole book will make it attractive for a much larger market.

3. Provisional contents list

According to the aforementioned questions tackled by individual chapters the book will be arranged in the following way:

1. **INTRODUCTION** (*by Hubert Heinelt, Annick Magnier and Herwig Reynaert*). The introduction will comprise of two sections. In a first section an overview will be given about the main topics dealt with in the planned volume. In addition, an overview about the scholarly debate since the 1990s about these topics will be given in this section to put the reflections behind the volume as well as the following chapters of the proposed book in context. Section 2 will provide an overview about the survey (how and when it has been carried out) on whose result the following chapters will be based. This applies also to pre-

vious similar surveys which will in different respects be also taken into account in the following.

2. ***TYPOLOGIES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS*** (by Hubert Heinelt, Nikos Hlepas, Daniel Klimovsky, Sabine Kuhlman and Anders Lidstrom). In this chapter the reflections by Heinelt and Hlepas (2006) on typologies of local government systems will be updated and extended by (a) an index of local autonomy and control (based on the one developed by Sellers and Lidström 2007) and (b) a typology of public administration on the municipal level (based on Kuhlmann/Wollmann 2014). Furthermore, the local government systems in Eastern and Central Europe will be considered in more details than in the book edited by Bäck et al. in 2006 (based on Swaniewicz 2014). All this will be underpinned by statistical data (e.g. about local finance) and information about local government in the considered 31 countries collected by the partners involved in the current survey.
3. ***THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN MAYORS*** (by Herwig Reynaert, Kristof Steyvers, Lluís Medir and Jérémy Dodeigne). In 2006 Kristof Steyvers and Herwig Reynaert concluded: ‘It does however confirm the importance of social background factors as a first (and maybe foremost) base for political recruitment. Paraphrasing Prewitt’s logic of recruitment as a Chinese puzzle box: “from the few are chosen the few”.’ In this chapter the conclusions by Steyvers and Reynaert (2006) will be updated. The results of the survey 2014/2015 will be used for a comparison with the results of a decade ago. The authors will reflect on (possible) changes which have occurred during the last ten years. Furthermore, the social bias for leadership selection will be analysed by focusing on some of the background characteristics of European Mayors.
4. ***THE MAYOR’S POLITICAL CAREER*** (by Jacob Aars, Joanna Krukowska, Bjarte Follestad). To many local politicians, the position as mayor represents the crowning of a political career. In these cases, the mayoral position constitutes the top prize in the hierarchy of elected positions at local level. Yet, to others mayoral office may be no more than a stepping stone to a career at more central levels of government. In some instances, mayors occupy double mandates, by holding elected office at national and local level simultaneously. Hence, as Ulrik Kjær (2006) pointed out ten years ago, mayors are part of a local as well as a national career system. The local career system consists of a number of positions leading up to the position as mayor as well as “retirement” positions within the local political system subsequently to stepping down from the mayors’ office. The national career system is a structure where local elected offices are rungs on a ladder towards office-holding on a more central level. The aim of the chapter is to map mayors’ careers using these two main frameworks as point of departure. First, the chapter will focus on pre-mayoral experience by looking into the number of years in council or other political positions prior to taking office as mayor. Second, seniority will be examined while in office as well as possible double mandates (*cumul des mandats*). Third, ambitions for further offices will be looked at by charting post-mayoral career plans.
5. ***THE MAYORS’ ROLE DEFINITIONS*** (by Siv Sandberg, Enrico Borghetto, Ivan Koprivic and Geraldine Robbins). This chapter examines the mayors’ role perceptions against the backdrop of the changing role of local government in Europe. How do different models of local leadership affect the role definition of the mayor? What are the effects of changes in the role of local government (for example territorial reform, changes in vertical relationships between tiers of government, privatization and electoral reform) on how

the mayors value their tasks? Which are the most important changes in the role perceptions of European mayors during the last 10 years? The dependent variable will be the role perception of the mayor, mainly measured by the question ‘Many different tasks are associated with the mayor’s position. How important do you think these following tasks are?’ In his equivalent chapter in the first book on ‘The European Mayor’, Bäck (2006) identified three main role orientations: *agenda setting*, *networking* (external and internal) and *task accomplishment*. Given the larger number of countries and the broader variations in it is necessary to validate the role orientations in the 2015 material, as well as to examine the variations in role orientation between and within national settings (see also Koprivic 2009). In addition to the national/system level independent variables mentioned above individual level variables related to age, career pattern and party politics (see Bäck 2006) will be included in the analysis

6. **NOTIONS OF LOCAL DEMOCRACY** (by Hubert Heinelt, Itai Beeri, Jurga Bucaite-Vilke, Daniel Klimovský, Simona Kukovič, Lawrence Rose, David Sweeting and Angelika Vetter). Already since the beginning of the 1990s, Robert A. Dahl (1994: 33) supposed that facing an ongoing transnationalisation of political decision-making, “democratic life in smaller communities below the level of the national state could be enhanced [...] provided citizens can exercise significant control over decisions on the smaller scale of matters important in their daily lives.” This notion of a more “participatory” democracy is captured by a distinction already made in 1984 by Benjamin Barber, when he referred to the two notions of a ‘thin’ (liberal or representative) and a ‘strong’ (participatory) democracy. In the current debate about a decline of democratic legitimacy in Western democracies, strengthening ‘strong’ or participatory democracy is often seen as a way of coping with the legitimacy crisis. In this chapter we want to explore in how far mayors as important actors of local democracy share the notions of either ‘thin’ or ‘strong’ democracy. As Heinelt (2013a, 2013b and 2015) has shown with data from an international survey on municipal and county councillors, both notions of democracy are supported empirically: the one emphasizing local decision-making being based on elections and decisions taken by elected representative bodies and the other one emphasizing local decision-making by public deliberation and a broader participation of citizens in policy making. We will test (a) in how far combinations of these two notions of democracy are supported by mayors, (b) what changes in the prevalence of these two notions of democracy have occurred between 2002-2004 and 2014-2015, which differences we find regarding (c) levels and (d) changes in the mayors’ notions of democracy between the countries. Finally we want to explain (e) why notions of democracy among mayors changed over time and (f) how differences between countries can be explained.
7. **LEADERSHIP STYLES** (by Panagiotis Getimis, Nikos-K. Hlepas, Colin Copus, Thom Oliver, Signy Irene Vabo and Johannes Rodenbach). Urban leaders make choices, but within contextual environments. This chapter aims to highlight aspects of political leadership in European cities referring both to institutional settings within the mayors operate and to behaviour, personal traits and perceptions of leaders. First different leadership styles will be distinguished based on the typology developed by John and Cole (1999), i.e. the leader's political values, task perceptions, role behaviour and attitude to the exercise of power. Then it will be tested if leadership styles (a) depend on local government types and national contexts as well as on city size, partisanship, gender and age of the mayor and (b) have an impact on time management (as a dependent variable). Furthermore, it will be checked if there are relations between electoral support, perceptions of influence and leader-

ship styles.

8. **MAYORS' URBAN AGENDAS** (by Annick Magnier, Danijela Milojkic, Mina Petrovic and Patricia Pereira). In reference to Stone's analysis of coalitions objectives in urban regimes and to its European revisions, it has been shown in Bäck et al. (2006) how intensely the local leaders felt responsible for mobilizing the necessary resources to face proactively global competition and assure local development, even if this primary objective could be included in very different sets of objectives. In this chapter the changes will be assessed which, correspondingly to the enduring economic crisis and the emergence of new social and environmental issues, can have occurred in the main orientations of the coalitions governing the European cities. The focus will be on specific objectives of the mayors' activities - namely their representation of the form of the city, its impact on its environment and its social implications. European mayors will be located in the current debates on 'compact' cities vs. urban sprawl, and on the different notions of sustainability and quality of life related to these two models. Furthermore, these attitudes will be put in relation to the priority mayors grant to different objectives of territorial and social transformation and protection. The sociological notions of physical and social density will be thus resumed in search of a typology or mayors' urban ideals.
9. **MAYORS AND GOVERNING COALITIONS** (by Bas Denters, Daniel Cermak and Kristof Steyvers). In his controversial book 'If mayors ruled the world' (2013) US political theorist Benjamin Barber argues that mayors can and do play a major role in solving today's grand societal challenges in domains like social inclusion and poverty, climate change and sustainability and safety and public order. It is increasingly recognized that meeting such challenges requires concerted action by a multiplicity of actors at different geographical scales and levels of government, and from different sectors (state, market and civil society). According to Barber, mayors because of their 'pragmatism and problem-solving' and penchant for 'cooperation and networking', as well as their creativity and innovativeness (2013: 13) are well-equipped to contribute to effective collective action in these domains. Against this backdrop this chapter analyzes the roles of mayors in building governance coalitions (or city regimes; cf. Stone 1989), bringing together relevant actors in efforts to meet major challenges facing their communities. What role, if any, do European mayors in cities of varying size, and in different national local government systems in local governance coalitions aimed at solving major local and regional issues? In the chapter the patterns of interdependence characteristic for various types of issues will be analyzed, and we will investigate the role that mayors may or may not play in building coalitions between the various relevant actors. This will serve as the basis for subsequently looking into the success of these mayoral activities. Important issues here are whether the roles of mayors and their chances of being successful vary across different issue domains or across different national local government systems and are different for appointed, indirectly and directly elected mayors.
10. **MAYORS AND VERTICAL POWER RELATIONS** (by Oliver Dlabac, Daniel Kübler and Marta Lackowska). Vertical power relations between cities, regions and the national state are not once and for all fixed in constitutional arrangements, but they underlie the dynamics of evolving practices, external shocks, and constant re-negotiations between the actors involved at all levels. While the first mayor's survey pointed to ongoing decentralisation processes in many unitary states, we expect that the ensuing economic crisis after 2007 has led to an opposing trend towards regionalisation or – particularly in unitary states – towards recentralisation. Accordingly, mayors who have previously been enthusi-

astic about co-governing with higher state levels may now be more inclined towards unilateral re-scaling strategies, or they may have withdrawn from the vertical power struggle all together. The current dynamics of power-shifting and re-scaling in the enlarged sample may be further explained by national traditions of the state, the hierarchical position and economic conditions of a city, as well as by personal characteristics of a particular mayor and his or her principled attitudes towards metropolitan, regional and national (de-)centralisation (new items).

11. **MAYORS AND PARTIES** (by *Björn Egner, Adam Gendswill Elisabetta De Giorgi, Andrei Gheorghita, Werner Pleschberger and Cristina Stanus*). The chapter will assess the relationship between mayors and political parties at the local level. This will include different perspectives. First, it is interesting to see how the mayor assesses her/his political ideology and the political ideology of the parties. This is both concerning mayors with party membership and – even more important – mayors without party membership. Second, mayor-party relationship is also important in connection with the political struggles between mayor and council and the role of the mayor as a partisan actor in local politics. Third, the chapter will also deal with the comparison of different local government system and different patterns of mayor-party interaction which are connected to the government systems.
12. **MAYORS IN THE TOWN HALL** (by *Carmen Navarro, Jaume Magre, Jacob Aars and Iveta Rheinholde*). The way in which local governments perform their tasks and try to achieve their goals is not only influenced by vertical power relations. Dynamics in the Town Hall and, specifically, the position and the interactions between mayors, councillors and administrators can help us to explain the outputs of local government. Horizontal power relations between executives, legislatures and administrations have been a fruitful field of research not only referring to national institutions but to local level of government as well (Mouritzen Svava 2002). Drawing on mayors' perceptions, this chapter will look at the role and level of influence of each of these three actors in the Town Hall, their patterns of interaction and how the role and level of influence of these actors as well as their interaction have changed over the last 10 years.
13. **MAYORS AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS** (by *Sabine Kuhlmann, Irena Baclija, Philipp Richter and Signy Irene Vabo*). In recent decades, a wave of administrative reforms has changed local governance in many European nations. However, our knowledge about the country (cluster) differences/similarities, driving forces, impacts, perceptions, and evaluations of these reforms is still limited. In this chapter, mayors' perceptions and evaluations of two major reform trajectories will be analyzed: (a) re-organization of local service-delivery and (b) internal administrative/managerial reforms. It is the aim to reveal country (cluster) differences/similarities in these two fields of administrative reform and to identify explanatory factors for specific perceptive/evaluative patterns of local-level modernization, such as territorial sizes, fiscal situation, political/actor constellations of the municipalities, and individual characteristics of the mayors.
14. **MAYORS AND CHANGING PRACTICES IN SPATIAL PLANNING** (by *Annick Magnier, Panagiotis Getimis, Luis Baptista, Marja Maruna, Vladan Djokic and Gerald Turley*) Institutional reforms and innovative informal practices have deeply transformed in the last decades the whole framework of European spatial planning systems. Apparently inspired by a similar planning culture and sustained by the emerging EU urban policy, they lead nevertheless, according to the local institutional, political, social, technical and

cultural traditions, to different modalities of planning and projecting urban landscapes. Numerous revisions of the ‘typologies of spatial planning’ systems have been proposed in the last decades (see the most recent systematic comparison in Reimer et al. 2014). The original data from the survey will offer new answers, on a large quantitative basis, to different questions raised in the literature and on which only case studies in specific contexts offer until now some suggestions: Do European mayors, to realize their ambitions of improving the urban quality of life, concretely trust in new planning instruments such as strategic planning, integrated urban projects in public-private partnerships, more than in forms of planning based on regulation and vertical power relations? How much do they contest further this ‘vertical’ model of planning, searching sustain among local actors (business community, citizens, other municipalities)? Are such innovative attitudes in planning practice linked to specific urban agendas? Which are the main difficulties mayors have to face in defining plans and projects? The resulting patterns of mayors’ attitudes in spatial planning will be then considered in relation to some classical variables, concerning local government capacities and planning system traditions, in order to control the congruence of the recently proposed typologies of European planning systems.

15. **SIZE, DEMOCRACY AND EFFECTIVENESS** (by Pawel Swaniewicz, Adam Gendswill, Lawrence Rose and Philipp Richter). Recent years has brought revitalization of debates on territorial reforms in many European countries (Swianiewicz 2010, Baldersheim and Rose 2010). The potential impact on local democracy is one of the aspects considered in those discussions. Relationship between size of local government and democratic performance has been an issue of numerous investigations starting from the classic Dahl and Tufte (1973) study and up to the most recent comprehensive analysis of Denters et al. (2014). Various studies have led to different conclusions, the Denters at al. study built alternative *Lilliput* and *Brobdingnag* arguments concentrating on advantages and disadvantages of territorial consolidation/ fragmentation for local democracy. In our study we will analyze the impact of size on political careers of local mayors (which are indirectly related to competitiveness of local elections), their styles of communications with other actors as well as their attitudes towards the most important issues facing their municipalities.
16. **CONCLUSION** (by Hubert Heinelt, Annick Magnier and Herwig Reynaert). The editors will present here the key findings and will summarise the chapters of the book. The main focus of this endeavour will be changes over time, i.e. since the last survey on mayors carried out between 2002 and 2004.

TOTAL WORD COUNT: approximately 120,000 words (about 8,000 words per chapter, except the introduction and the conclusion which should consist of just 4,000 words each).

4. Review of competitive works

Local government has been discussed extensively over years – especially since the 1990s in the context of local government reforms. The importance of decentralisation has been emphasised to develop and to promote a more effective as well as legitimate approach of governing public affairs. However, although a lot has been published on local government in general and of local government reforms in particular there are no publication based on survey data of key

actors at the level of local government from so many different countries – except the previous publications mentioned on pages 1-2. Against this background the proposed book will occupy a distinctive place in the literature because it has no direct competitors. Furthermore, together with the aforementioned publications the proposed book will offer a general overview of the role of local elites in the European Union's multi-level governance system.

6. Time schedule

Based on the idea that the proposal is accepted by the publisher by the end of October 2015, we suggest the following time-schedule:

- Up to the end of 2015 the survey will be carried out by all involved national teams (i.e. for all included countries);
- End of April 2016 drafts of all chapters will be presented and discussed at a workshop in Bern;
- Up to the end of July 2016: Authors will re-write their chapters and circulate them among the partners and *two reviewers (Henry Bäck and Hellmut Wollmann)*;
- Up to the end of October 2016: The two reviewers and the editors will comment on the chapters and made suggestions for final modifications. (The partners will try to organise a second workshop for discussion the chapters during this time.)
- Up to the end of December 2016: Authors will re-write again their chapters.
- Up to the end of March 2017: Final corrections by the editors. Delivery of the final manuscript to the publisher.

7. Curriculum Vitae of the Editors

Hubert Heinelt is professor of public administration/public policy and urban studies at the Institute of Political Science, Technische Universität Darmstadt. His current research focuses on participatory governance, European integration and urban studies. His recent book publications (published since 2010), relevant to the volume proposed here, include:

In English:

- *Governing Modern Societies: Towards participatory governance*, Routledge: London 2010.
- *The Second Tier of Local Government in Europe. Provinces, counties, départements and Landkreise in comparison*, Routledge: London and New York 2011 (editor, together with X. Bertrana).
- *Metropolitan Governance. Different path in constrasting contexts – Germany and Israel*, Frankfurt: Campus 2012 (editor, together with E. Razin and K. Zimmermann).
- *The Changing Context of Local Democracy. Role perception and behaviour of municipal councillors*, London and New York: Routledge 2014.
- *Policy Making at the Second Tier of Local Government in Europe. What is happening in Provinces, Counties, Départements and Landkreise in the on-going re-scaling of statehood?* London and New York: Routledge 2015 [in print] (editor together with X. Bertrana and B. Egner).

In German:

- *Das deutsche Gemeinderatsmitglied. Problemsichten – Einstellungen – Rollenverständnis*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: Wiesbaden 2012 (together with B. Egner and M. Ch. Krapp).
- *Wissen und Entscheiden. Lokale Strategien gegen den Klimawandel in Frankfurt am Main, München und Stuttgart*, Frankfurt: Campus 2015 (together with W. Lamping).
- *Städtische Problemdiskurse. Lokale Sinnhorizonte im Vergleich*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2015 (together with M. Barbehön, S. Münch and M. Haus).

Annick Magnier holds the Jean Monnet Chair ‘The City in European Integration’ at the Department of Political and Social Science, University of Florence. As an urban sociologist, her research activity has been mainly dedicated to comparative analyses of local leadership and their recruitment and values. Her focus in research is currently on local spatial policies and planning systems.

Among her recent publications are:

- *Mosaico Italia. Lo stato del Paese agli inizi del XXI secolo*, Associazione italiana di sociologia, Milano: FrancoAngeli 2010 (coed.)
- *Luoghi comuni. Le assemblee nella democrazia urbana italiana*, Milano: FrancoAngeli 2012
- Governing through instruments? The challenging revival of spatial planning in European politics, in: Egner B., Haus M. and Terizakis G. (eds.): *Regieren*, Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag, 2012, 191-204.
- Municipal priorities in urban planning and local development, in Egner B., Sweeting D. and Klok, P.-J. (eds.): *Local Councillors in Europe*, Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag 2013, 237-254 (co-author).

Herwig Reynaert is Professor at the Department of Political Sciences at Ghent University. He was the founder and still is the president of the Centre for Local Politics. His main interests are in local and regional politics. He is specialized in changes and reforms in local democracy, political participation and citizen satisfaction, election studies, political elite studies, comparative local politics and Belgian politics. He has widely published on issues of local politics in (inter)national (peer reviewed) journals and/or books. Some of his recent publications are:

- Municipal amalgamations in the Low Countries: Same Problems, Different Solutions. *Local Government Studies*, 2011, Volume 36, Issue 6, 803-822 (together with K. Deceuninck, K. Steyvers and T. Valcke).
- Foundation or fragment of local democracy? Empirically assessing the roles of local councilors in Belgian governance. *Lex Localis*, Volume 9 (2011), Issue 2, 103-122 (together with T. Verhelst and K. Steyvers).
- The Social Base of Political Recruitment. A Comparative Study of Local Councillors in Europe. *Lex Localis*, Volume 10 (2012), Number 1, 19-36.

References

- Bäck, H., 2006: Does Recruitment Matter? Selecting Path and Role Definition, in: Bäck, H./Heinelt, H./Magnier, A. (eds.), 2006: *The European Mayor. Political Leaders in the Changing Context of Local Democracy*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 123-150.
- Bäck, H./Heinelt, H./Magnier, A. (eds.), 2006: *The European Mayor. Political Leaders in the Changing Context of Local Democracy*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Barber, B., 1984: *Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age*, Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Barber, B., 2013: *If Mayors Ruled the World. Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Christensen, T./Lægreid, P., 2011: Introduction, in: T. Christensen and P. Lægreid (eds.): *The Ashgate Research Companion to New Public Management*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate: 1-13.
- Dahl, R.A., 1994: A Democratic Dilemma. System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation, in: *Political Science Quarterly* 1, 23–34.
- Dahl, R./Tuft, E.R., 1973: *Size and Democracy*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Dahler-Larsen, P., 2000: *Social Bonds to City Hall*, Odense: Odense University Press.
- Denters, B./Lander, A./Mouritzen, P.E./Rose, L., 2014: *Size and Local Democracy*, Cheltenham-Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- Egner, B./Sweeting, D./Klok, P.-J. (eds.), 2014: *Local Councillors in Europe*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Haus, M./Heinelt, H./Stewart, M. (eds.), 2005: *Urban Governance and Democracy. Leadership and Community Involvement*, London: Routledge.
- Heinelt, H., 2013a: Councillors' Notions of Democracy, and their Role Perception and Behaviour in the Changing Context of Local Democracy, in: *Local Government Studies*, 39, 5: 640-660.
- Heinelt, H., 2013b: Councillors and democracy. What do they think, and how can differences in their views be explained? in: Egner, B./Sweeting, D./Klok, P.-J. (eds.): *Local Councillors in Europe*, Springer VS: Wiesbaden: 85-96.
- Heinelt, H., 2014: *The Changing Context of Local Democracy. Role perception and Behaviour of Municipal Councillors*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Heinelt, H./Hlepas, N.-K., 2006: Typologies of Local Government Systems, in: Bäck, H./Heinelt, H./Magnier, A. (eds.): *The European Mayor. Political leaders in the changing context of local democracy*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 21-33.
- Heinelt, H., 2015: Notions of democracy of councillors at the municipal and second tier of local government – and their role perception and behaviour, in: Heinelt, H./Egner, B./Bertrana, X. (eds.): *Policy Making at the Second Tier of Local Government in Europe. What is happening in Provinces, Counties, *Départements* and *Landkreise* in the on-going re-scaling of statehood?* London and New York: Routledge 2015 (in print)
- Heinelt, H./Sweeting, D./Getimis, P. (eds.), 2006: *Legitimacy, Effectiveness and Urban Governance*, London: Routledge.
- John, P./Cole, A., 1999: Political Leadership in the New Urban Governance. Britain and France Compared, in: *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 98-115.

- Kjær, U., 2006: The Mayor's Political Career, in: Bäck, H./Heinelt, H./Magnier, A. (eds.): The European Mayor. Political leaders in the changing context of local democracy, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 75-98.
- Klausen, K.K./Magnier, A. (eds.), 1998: The Anonymous Leader. Appointed CEO's in Western Local Government, Odense: Odense University Press.
- Koprić, I., 2009: Roles and Styles of Political Leaders on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia: Between Authoritarian Local Political Top Bosses and Citizen-Oriented Local Managers, in: Hrvatska Javna Uprava, Vol. 9, No. 1, 79-105.
- Kuhlmann, S./Wollmann, H., 2014: Introduction to Comparative Public Administration. Administrative Systems and Reforms in Europe, Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- Mouritzen, P.E./Svara, J.H., 2002: Leadership at the Apex. Politicians and Administrators in Western Local Governments, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Reimer M./Getimis P./Blotevogel H., 2014 (eds.): Spatial planning Systems and Practices in Europe. A Comparative Perspective on Continuity and Changes, New York: Routledge.
- Sellers, J.M./Lidström, A., 2007: Decentralization, Local Government, and the Welfare State, in: Governance, Vol. 20, No. 4, 609-632.
- Steyvers. K./Reynaert, H., 2006: 'From the Few are Chosen the Few...'. On the Social Background of European Mayors, in: Bäck, H./Heinelt, H./Magnier, A. (eds.): The European Mayor. Political leaders in the changing context of local democracy, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 43-73.
- Stone, C.N., 1989: Regime Politics. Governing Atlanta, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Swianiewicz, P., 2010: Territorial consolidation reforms in Europe, Budapest: LGI – Open Society Institute.
- Swianiewicz, P., 2014: An Empirical Typology of Local Government Systems in Eastern Europe, in: Local Government Studies , Vol. 40, No. 2, 292-311.

-
- 1 This survey covered not only European countries but also Australia and the USA.
 - 2 Results of this survey were published by Klausen and Magnier (1998), Dahler-Larsen (2000) as well as Mouritzen and Svara (2002).
 - 3 Comparative results of the POLLEADER survey were published in Bäck et al. (2006).
 - 4 Comparative results of the MAELG survey were published in a special issue of *Lex Localis* (Vol. 10 [2012], No. 1) and a special issue of *Local Government Studies* (Vol. 39 [2013], No. 5) as well as in Egnér et al. (2013b) and Heinelt (2014).
 - 5 Comparative results of this so-called 'second tier' survey will be published in Heinelt et al. 2015.