List of Maps p. ix
Foreword p. x
Series Editors' Preface p. xiv
Acknowledgements p. xv
Introduction p. 1
The Election of Ethnic Minorities on European City Councils p. 1
Comparing Ethnic Minority Politics in Britain and France p. 3
Contrasting Levels of Representation and Modes of Access in the 1980s and 1990s p. 6
Towards an Analysis of Local Political Processes p. 13
Historical Institutionalism and the Comparison of Local Cases p. 20
Strategies of Management of Ethnic Conflict and Historical Institutionalism p. 20
Strategies of management of ethnic conflict p. 21
Historical institutionalism p. 25
Central and local factors p. 26
Birmingham, Lille and Roubaix, 1980s-2001 p. 29
The Main Propositions and the Outline of the Book p. 32
The framing of debates on immigration and integration in national politics: 1945-2001 p. 32
Contrasting local political systems p. 34
The British Policy Framework: Liberal Citizenship Regime, Depoliticization and the Race Relationism of British Cities p. 37
1948-1958: Pressure on Local Authorities and National Indifference p. 39
The beginning of mass migration p. 39
National apathy and local agitation p. 41
Depoliticization p. 44
1965-1968: the first 'race relations' policies p. 46
Consequences of the race relations framework on later patterns of minority participation p. 49
The 1970s and 1980s: The Legacy of the 1960s Settlement p. 50
The polarization of the 1970s p. 50
The Labour Party as the minorities' party - until 2001? p. 51
The 1980s onwards: local Labour activism p. 54
The 'Race Relationism' of British Cities in the 1980s and 1990s p. 57
Equal opportunities policies, city networks and the election of non-white councillors p. 57
Local variations p. 59
Conclusion p. 61
The French Policy Framework: Planned Migration, Xenophobic Politics and Durable Political Exclusion p. 63
1945-1973: State Planning and Unintended Effects p. 64
The 1945 framework and the generation gap p. 65
The unexpected arrival of extra-European immigrants p. 68
The management of North African populations by the central state p. 69
1974-1983: The Bureaucratic Management of Political Incertitude p. 70
From migrants to minorities p. 70
Struggling to define immigration policy p. 71
1983-1997: National and Local Politicization of Immigration in Xenophobic Terms p. 73
The Socialist Party and the failure of the Beur movement p. 74
The rise of the Front National and the contradictory reactions of party elites p. 78
The Construction of Consensus after 1997 p. 86
Socialist policy innovations p. 86
The 2001 local elections p. 89
Conclusion p. 90
From Indifference to Multi-ethnic Coalition: The Birth of Ethnic Politics in Birmingham p. 95
Birmingham government: polycentric and partisan p. 95
A large, diverse and disadvantaged ethnic minority population p. 97
From indifference and hostility to pluri-ethnic government: 50 years of ethnic politics p. 103
Institutions and Activists: How Ethnic Minorities Penetrated the Labour Party p. 116
Styles of community organization p. 117
The political institutions of the inner city p. 122
Three styles of co-optation in Labour ward-level politics: from vote brokerage to independent councillors p. 125
Conclusion p. 142
Introduction p. 144
The Lille-Roubaix comparison p. 144
A strategy of avoidance and denial p. 145
Lille's Double Strategy of Externalization and Political Exclusion p. 147
The emergence of a North African minority p. 147
The municipality's policy of gentrification p. 150
The persistence of a social and ethnic 'problem' in Lille p. 152
Social discontent in the political arena: Front National, republican universalism and minority disorganization p. 155
The French Municipal System, Machine Politics and Minority Exclusion in Lille p. 159
Municipal institutions in Lille p. 161
The 1980s: municipal politics and the failure of the Beur movement p. 164
The 1990s: machine politics and the marginalization of North African dissent p. 169
Relations between municipality and North African groups in the 1990s: patronage and dependence p. 179
Conclusion p. 185