

References

- Aberbach, J.D., Putnam, R.D., and Rockman, B.A. (1981). *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J. (2012). *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*. New York: Random House.
- Acquavita, S.P., Pittman, J., Gibbons, M., and Castellanos-Brown, K. (2009). Personal and organizational diversity factors' impact on social workers' job satisfaction: results from a national internet-based survey. *Administration in Social Work*, **33**(2), 151–166.
- Alford, C.F. (1985). The 'Iron Law of Oligarchy' in the Athenian Polis and today. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, **18**(2), 295–312.
- Allen, J., Massey, D., and Cochrane, A. (1998). *Rethinking the Region*. London: Routledge.
- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multi-cultural city: living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, **34**, 959–980.
- Amin, A. and Graham, S. (1999). Cities of connection and disconnection. In J. Allen, D. Massey, and M. Pryke (eds), *Unsettling Cities?* London: Routledge, pp. 8–38.
- Ancona, D. and Caldwell, D.E. (1992). Cross functional teams: blessing or curse for new product development. In T. Kochan and M. Useem (eds), *Transforming Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 154–168.
- Andrews, R. (2009). Civic engagement, ethnic heterogeneity, and social capital in urban areas. *Urban Affairs Review*, **44**(3), 428–440.
- Andrews, R. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in the United Kingdom. In P. von Maravić, B. Guy Peters, and E. Schröter (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 156–168.
- Andrews, R., Boyne, G.A., Meier, K.J., O'Toole, J., and Walker, R.M. (2005). Representative bureaucracy, organizational strategy, and public service performance: an empirical analysis of English local government. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **15**(4), 489–504.
- Ansell, C.K. (2011). *Pragmatist Democracy: Evolutionary Learning as Public Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Armenta, A. (2009). Policing immigrants: the local dilemmas of immigration enforcement. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association. Denver.
- Ashworth, R. and Andrews, R. (2010). Representative bureaucracy and fire service performance: evidence from England. Unpublished paper. Cardiff School of Business, Cardiff, Wales.
- Bache, I. and Flinders, M. (2004). Multi-level governance and the study of the British state. *Public Policy and Administration*, **19**(1), 31–51.
- Back, L. (1996). *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture*. London: UCL Press.
- Badash, L. (2000). Science and McCarthyism. *Minerva*, **38**(1), 53–80.
- Baker, P. and Eversley, J. (eds) (2000). *Multilingual Capital: The Languages of London's Schoolchildren and their Relevance to Economic, Social and Educational Policies*. London: Battlebridge.
- Barnard, C. (1938). *The Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bauböck, R. (2005). Expansive citizenship: voting beyond territory and membership. *Political Science and Politics*, **38**, 683–7.
- Bauer, O. (1923 [1965]). *Die österreichische Revolution*. Wien: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung.
- Becker, G.S. (1974). A theory of social interactions. *The Journal of Political Economy*, **82**, 1063–1093.
- Begg, I. (2002). *Urban Competitiveness : Policies for Dynamic Cities*. Bristol: Policy Press
- Bellah, R. N. (2005). McCarthyism at Harvard. *The New York Review of Books*, February 10.
- Benavides, A.D. and Hernandez, J.C.T. (2007). Serving diverse communities: cultural competency. *Public Management*, **89**(6), 14–18.
- Bendix, R. (1946). Representative bureaucracy: an interpretation of the British civil service. *American Journal of Sociology*, **51**, 75–76.
- Bendix, R. (1980). *Kings Or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Benhabib, S. (2002). *The Claims of Culture. Quality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ben-Tovim, G., Gabriel, J., Law, I., and Stredder, K. (1986). *The Local Politics of Race*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Béteille, A. (1991). Distributive justice and institutional well-being. *Economic and Political Weekly*, **26**(11), 591–600.
- Bigley, G.A. and Roberts, K.H. (2001). The incident command system: high reliability organizing for complex and volatile task environment. *Academy of Management Journal*, **44**(6), 1281–1300.
- Birnbaum, P. (1977). *The Heights of Power*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

- Blake, G., Diamond, J., Foot, J., Gidley, B., Mayo, M., Shukra, M., and Yarnit, M. (2008). Community engagement and community cohesion. Joseph Rowntree Foundation report, York, UK.
- Blanc, M. and Beaumont, J. (2005). Local democracy within European urban development programmes. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, **96**(4), 409–420.
- Blomgren Bingham, L. (2006). The new urban governance: processes for engaging citizens and stakeholders. *Review of Policy Research*, **23**(4), 816–826.
- Bollens, S.A. (2003). Managing urban ethnic conflict. In R. Hambleton, H.V. Savitch and M. Stewart (eds), *Globalism and Local Democracy*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, pp. 108–124.
- Bolotin, F.N. and Cingranelli, D.L. (1983). Equity and urban policy: the underclass hypothesis revisited. *The Journal of Politics*, **45**(1), 209–219.
- Bradbury, M.D. and Kellough, J.E. (2008). Representative bureaucracy: exploring the potential for active representation in local government. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **18**, 697–714.
- Brink, van der, H. (2004). *Ethnisch-kulturelle Konflikte: Ursachen, Folgen und Handlungsempfehlungen am Beispiel der Stadt Duisburg*. University of Duisburg, Institute of Geography, Discussion Paper, 1/2004.
- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brudney, J.L., Hebert, F.T., and Wright, D.S. (2000). *From organizational values to organizational roles: examining representative bureaucracy in state administration*. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **10**(3), 491–512.
- Burger, M. and Buskens, V. (2009). Social context and network formation: an experimental study. *Social Networks*, **31**(1), 63–75.
- Burns, D., Hambleton, R., and Hoggett, P. (1994) *The Politics of Decentralization. Revitalising Local Democracy*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Calhoun, C. (1993). Civil society and the public sphere. *Public Culture*, **5**(2), 267–280.
- California State Auditor (1999). Dymally-Alatorre bilingual services act: state and local governments could do more to address their clients' needs for bilingual services. Report No. 99110. Bureau of State Audits, Sacramento.
- Capano, G. and Carboni, N. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in Italy. In P. von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe,*

- Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 11–128.
- Carpenter, D.P. (2002). *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th edn. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Checkoway B. (2009). Community change for diverse democracy. *Community Development Journal*, **44**(1), 5–21.
- Choi, S. (2009). Diversity in the US Federal Government: diversity management and employee turnover in federal agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **19**(3), 603–630.
- Chrisafis A. (2010). Immigration: France sees tensions rise five years on from Paris riots. *The Guardian*, 16 November.
- Clark, T. and Hoffman-Martinot, V. (eds) (1998). *The New Public Culture*. Oxford, UK: Westview Press.
- Clarke, S. (2006). Regimes of immigrant incorporation in London boroughs. Urban Affairs Association Annual Meeting.
- Cooke, M. (2008). “What we might become”: the lives, aspirations, and education of young migrants in the London area. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, **7**(1), 22–40.
- Cornwall, A. (2008). *Democratising Engagement. What the UK Can Learn from International Experience*. London: DEMOS.
- Councillors Commission (Chaired by Dame Jane Roberts) (2007). *Representing the Future*. London: Department of Communities and Local Government.
- Cox, K. (1997). *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Cox, T. and Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: implications for organizational competitiveness. *The Academy of Management Executive (AME)*, **5**(3), 45–56.
- Cox, T. H., Lobel, S.A., and McLeod, P.L. (1991). Effects of ethnic group cultural differences on cooperative and competitive behavior on a group task. *The Academy of Management Journal*, **34**(4), 827–847.
- Dahl, R.A. (1991). *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Dahlstedt, M. and Hertzberg, F. (2007). Democracy the Swedish way? The exclusion of “immigrants” in Swedish politics. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, **30**(2), 175–203.
- Daley, D. (1984). Political and occupational barriers to the implementation of affirmative action: administrative, executive, and legislative attitudes towards representative bureaucracy. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, **4**, 4–15

- Daley, D. (1985). Administrative responsibility and control of the bureaucracy: the dog that did not bite. *State and Local Government Review*, **17**, 195–199.
- Davies J.S. (2007). Against partnership: toward a local challenge to global neoliberalism. In R. Hambleton and J.S. Gross (eds), *Governing Cities in a Global Era*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, pp. 199–2010.
- Davies J.S. and Imbroscio D.L. (eds) (2009). *Theories of Urban Politics*. London: Sage.
- Davis M. (1992). *City of Quartz. Excavating the Future of Los Angeles*. London: Vintage.
- Davis M. (2006). *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.
- Deane, H.A. (1972). *The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski*. Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press.
- Dee, T.S. (2004). Teachers, race and student achievement in a randomized experiment. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, **86**, 195–210.
- Denters, B. and Rose, L.E. (2005). *Comparing Local Governance. Trends and Developments*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Derlien, H.-U., and Mayntz, R. (1989). Party patronage and politicization of the West German administrative elite 1970-1987 – towards hybridization? *Governance*, **2**, 384-404.
- Di Gaetano, A. and Klemanski, J.S. (1999). *Power and City Governance. Comparative Perspectives on Urban Development*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dobbin, F. (2009). *Inventing Equal Opportunity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dolan, J. and Rosenbloom, D.H. (2003). *Representative Bureaucracy: Classic Readings and Continuing Controversies*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. Preface, pp. xi–xiii.
- Downs, A. (1967). *Inside Bureaucracy*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Drage, J. (2008). *A Balancing Act. Decision-making and Representation in New Zealand's Local Government*. Wellington, NZ: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Dresang, D.L. (1974). Ethnic politics, representative bureaucracy and development administration: the Zambian case. *American Political Science Review*, **68**(4), 1605–1617.
- Dryzek, J.S. and Niemeyer, S. (2008). Discursive representation. *American Political Science Review*, **102**, 481–493.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1899). *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Series in Political Economy and Law. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

- Dubois, V. (2010). *The Bureaucrat and the Poor: Encounters in a French Welfare Office*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Dudek, S.M. (2009). *Diversity in Uniform? Geschlecht und Migrationshintergrund in der Berliner Schutzpolizei*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag.
- Dudek, S. M. (2009). Diversity in Uniform? Geschlecht und Migrationshintergrund in der Berliner Schutzpolizei. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Easton, D. (1965). *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: Wiley
- Easton, D. (1975). A re-assessment of the concept of political support. *British Journal of Political Science*, **5**(4), 435–457.
- Edelman, L.B., Riggs F.W. and Mara-Drita, I. (2001). Diversity rhetoric and the managerialization of law. *The American Journal of Sociology*, **106**(6), 1589–1641.
- Eliaeson, S. (2000). Max Weber's methodology: an ideal-type. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, **36**(3), 241–263.
- Elkins, D.J. and Simeon, R.E.B. (1979). A cause in search of its effects, or what does political culture explain. *Comparative Politics*, **11**, 127–154.
- Ely, R. J. (2004). A field study of group diversity, participation in diversity education programs, and performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, **25** (6), 755–780. doi:10.1002/job.268
- Engels, F. (1968). Introduction. In K. Marx, *The Civil War in France: The Paris Commune*. New York: International Publishers, pp. 9–22.
- Escobar-Lemmon, M. and Taylor-Robinson, M.M. (2005). Women ministers in Latin American government: when, where, and why? *American Journal of Political Science*, **49**(4), 829–844.
- Etzioni-Halevy, E. (1983). *Bureaucracy and Democracy: A Political Dilemma*. Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eulau, H. and Wahlke, Hrsg., J.C. (1978). *Politics of Representation: Continuities Theory and Research*. London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Eurocities (2010a). Cities accommodating diversity. Findings and recommendations from the peer review project 'Diversity and equality in European cities'. Brussels: European Commission. Available at <http://www.integratingcities.eu/>.
- Eurocities (2010b). Eurocities charter on integrating cities. Brussels: European Commission. Available at <http://www.integratingcities.eu/>.
- European Commission (EC) (2001). White Paper on European Governance. Brussels: European Commission.
- Fischer, F. (1993). Citizen participation and democratization of policy expertise: From theoretical inquiry to practical cases. *Policy Sciences*, **26**(3), 165–187.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

- Florida, R. (2008). *Who's Your City?* New York: Basic Books.
- Fox, J. (1994). The difficult transition from clientelism to citizenship: lessons from Mexico, *World Politics*, **46**(2), 151–184.
- Frederickson, H.G. (2005). Transcending the community: local leadership in a world of shared power. *Public Management*, **87**(10), 8–15.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). Identity, immigration and democracy. *Electoral Systems Today, Journal of Democracy*, **17**(2), 4–20.
- Gandhi, J. (2010). *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Auflage reprint. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, J. and Lust-Okar, E. (2009). Elections under authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Political Science* **12**(1), 403–422.
- Garbaye, R. (2002). Ethnic minority participation in British and French cities: a historical–institutionalist perspective. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **26**(3), 555–570.
- García, M. (2006). Citizenship practices and urban governance in European cities. *Urban Studies*, **43**(4) 745–765.
- García, M. (2010). The breakdown of the Spanish urban growth model: social and territorial effects of the global crisis. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **34**(4), 967–980.
- Gaventa, J., Dunn A., Foot, J., and Zipfel, T. (2007). *Champions of Participation. Engaging Citizens in Local Governance*. Brighton: Institute for Development Studies.
- Geddes, A. (2003). *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. London: Sage
- Gerth, H.H. and Mills, C.W. (1948). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Gilchrist, A. (2004). *The Well-connected Community*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Gleeson, S. (2011). To protect one, we must protect all: bureaucratic scripts for protecting undocumented workers. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, NV.
- Golden, M. (2003) Electoral connections: the effects of the personal vote on political patronage, bureaucracy and legislation in post-war Italy. *British Journal of Political Science*, **23**, 189–212.
- Gonzales, R.G. (2007). Wasted talent and broken dreams: the lost potential of undocumented students. *Immigration Policy in Focus*, **5**(13), 1–11.
- Goodman, S.W. (2012) Fortifying citizenship: political strategies for civic integration in Europe. *World Politics*, **64**, 659–98.
- Goodsell, C.T. (2010). *The Case for Bureaucracy*, 5th edn. Washington DC: CQ Press.

- Gormley, Jr., W.T. and Balla, S.J. (2004). *Bureaucracy and Democracy: Accountability and Performance*. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Gornick, J.C., Myers, M. K., and Ross, K.E. (1997) Supporting the employment of mothers: policy variation across fourteen welfare states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, **7**, 45–70.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1954). *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy: A Case Study of Modern Factory Administration*. New York: The Free Press.
- Green, K.W., Whitten, D., and Medlin, B. (2005). Impact of relational differences on supervisor/subordinate dyad. *Industrial Management and Data Systems*, **105**(3), 369–383.
- Greene, V., Coleman, S., and Brewer, G. (2000). Measuring power and presence: bureaucratic representation in the American states. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **11**(3), 379–402.
- Grindle, M.S. (2012). *Jobs for the Boys*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Groeneveld, S. and Walle, S.V.D. (2010). A contingency approach to representative bureaucracy: power, equal opportunities and diversity. *International Review of Administrative Science*, **76**(2), 239–258.
- Gross J.S. (2007). Diversity and the democratic challenge: governing world cities. In R. Hambleton and J.S. Gross (eds), *Governing Cities in a Global Era. Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.
- Gruber, J. E. (1987). *Controlling Bureaucracies: Dilemmas in Democratic Governance*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Guajardo, S.A. (1996). Representative bureaucracy: an estimation of the reliability and validity of the Nachmias-Rosenbloom MV Index. *Public Administration Review*, **56**(5), 467–476.
- Guy, M.E., Newman, M.A., and Mastracci, S.H. (2008). *Emotional Labor: Putting the Service in Public Service*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Guyot, J.F. (1993). Argument and evidence in ethnic analysis. *Public Administration Review*, **53**(6), 567–569.
- Guyot, J.F. (1998). Representative bureaucracy recast. *Public Administration Review*, **58**(4), 376–377.
- Habyarimana, J., Humphreys, M., Posner, D., and Weinstein, J.M. (2009). *Coethnicity: Diversity and the Dilemmas of Collective Action*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hajer, M. and Wagenaar, H. (2003). *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Halfmann, J. (1998). Citizenship universalism, migration and the risks of exclusion. *The British Journal of Sociology*, **49**(4), 513–533.
- Hall, P. (1988). *Cities of Tomorrow*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

- Hambleton, R. (2007). New leadership for democratic urban space. In R. Hambleton and J.S. Gross, *Governing Cities in a Global Era. Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, pp. 163–176.
- Hambleton, R. (2009). Civic Leadership for Auckland. An International Perspective, Report of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance. Auckland: Royal Commission on Auckland Governance.
- Hambleton, R. and Gross, J. S. (2007). *Governing Cities in a Global Era. Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform*. Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave.
- Hambleton, R. and Howard, J. (2012). *Public Sector Innovation and Local Leadership in the UK and The Netherlands*. York, UK: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Hambleton, R. and Sweeting, D. (2004) US-style leadership for English local government? *Public Administration Review*, **64**(4), 474–488.
- Hambleton R., Howard J., Buser M., and Taylor M. (2009) International insights on civic leadership and public service innovation. Report for the Local Authority Research Council Initiative (LARCI). Swindon: LARCI.
- Hamilton, B. H., Nickerson, J.A., and Owan, H. (2004). Diversity and productivity in production teams. SSRN eLibrary. Available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=547963.
- Harriss, J. (2005). Political participation, representation and the urban poor findings from research in Delhi. *Economic and Political Weekly*, March (12), 1041–1054.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism*. Stockholm: Stockholm University
- Hecló, H. (1977). *A Government of Strangers*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution
- Heeg, S., Klagge, B., and Ossenbrügge, J. (2003). Metropolitan cooperation in Europe: theoretical issues and perspectives for urban networking. *European Planning Studies*, **11**(2), 139–153.
- Heinelt, H., Sweeting D., and Getimis P. (2006). *Legitimacy and Urban Governance*. London: Routledge.
- Heisler, M.O. (1974). The European polity model. In M.O. Heisler (ed.), *Politics in Western Europe*. New York: David McKay, pp. 26–56.
- Hellström, M. (2010). The impact of labour market administration on immigrant agency in Canada and Sweden. Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference, Concordia University, Montreal, 1–3 June, 2010.

- Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal institutions and comparative politics: a research agenda. *Perspectives on Politics*, **2**(4), 725–740.
- Henderson, L.J. (1979). *Administrative Advocacy: Black Administrators in Urban Bureaucracy*. Palo Alto, CA: R & E Research Associates.
- Henjak, A. (2010). Political cleavages and socio-economic context: how welfare regimes and historical divisions shape political cleavages. *West European Politics*, **33**, 474–504.
- Herbert, A.W. (1974). The minority administrator: problems, prospects, and challenges. *Public Administration Review*, **34**(6), 556–563.
- Herbert, I. (2007). Leicester to be first city where white people are minority. *The Independent*, September 11, 2007.
- Hero, R. (1986). The urban service delivery literature: some questions and considerations. *Polity*, **18**(4), 659–677.
- Herring, C. (2009). Does diversity pay? Race, gender, and the business case for diversity. *American Sociological Review*, **74**(2), (208–224).
- Herschel, T. (2000). Population shifts and local government: challenges to policy-making autonomy in eastern Germany. *GeoJournal*, **50**(2), 213–223.
- Herschel, T. (2009). Regionalisation, ‘virtual’ spaces and ‘real’ territories: a view from Europe and North America. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, **22**(3), 261–272.
- Herschel, T. and Newman, P. (2002). *Governance of Europe’s City Regions*. London: Routledge.
- Hickman, M., Crowley, H., and Mai, N. (2008). *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*. York, UK: Joseph Rowntree Trust
- Hill, M. and Hupe, P. (2002). *Implementing Public Policy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hindera, J.J. (1993). Representative bureaucracy: further evidence of active representation in the EEOC district offices. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **3**(4), 415–429.
- Hjern, B. and Porter, D.O. (1981). Implementation structures: a new unit of administrative analysis. *Organization Studies*, **3**(2), 211–227.
- HM Government (2010a). *The Coalition: Our Programme for Government*. London: Cabinet Office.
- HM Government (2010b). Decentralisation and the Localism Bill: an essential guide. December. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.
- HM Government (2011). Open Public Services White Paper. Cmnd 8145. July. London: HM Government.
- Hood, C. (2000). *The Art of the State: Culture, Rhetoric, and Public Management*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hood, C. (2002). Control, bargains, and cheating: the politics of public-service reform. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **12**(3), 309–332.
- Hooghe, M., Trappers, A., Meuleman, B., and Reeskens, T. (2008). Migration to European countries: a structural explanation of patterns, 1980–2004. *International Migration Review*, **42**(2), 476–504.
- Horowitz, D.L. (1993). Democracy in divided societies. *Journal of Democracy*, **4**(4), 18–38.
- Htun, M.N. and Jones, M.P. (2001). Engendering the right to participate in decision-making: electoral quotas and women's leadership in Latin America. In J. Craske and M. Molyneux (eds), *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 32–56.
- Huber, J.D. and Shipan, C.R. (2002). *Deliberate Discretion: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hueglin, T.O. and Fenna, A. (2005). *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press.
- Hughes, J. and Sasse, G. (2001). *Ethnicity and Territory in the Former Soviet Union: Regions in Conflict*. Sasse, 6. London: Frank Cass.
- Huth, S. (2006). Bürgerschaftliches Engagement von Migrantinnen und Migranten. In H. Voesgen (ed.), *Brückenschläge – Neue Partnerschaften zwischen institutioneller Erwachsenenbildung und bürgerschaftlichem Engagement*. Bielefeld: Bertelsmann, pp. 91–204.
- Imrie, K. and Raco, M. (1999). How new is the new local governance? Lessons from the United Kingdom. *Transactions: Institute of British Geographers*, **24**(1), 45–64.
- Jenson, J. (2005). La citoyenneté: ses frontières et ses lisières. Communication colloque: La citoyenneté dans tous ses états. Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, 23–25 March.
- Jones-Correa, M. (2008). Immigrant incorporation in suburbia: the role of bureaucratic norms in education. In D. Massey (ed.), *New Faces in New Places*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, pp. 308–34.
- Joppke, C. (1998). *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Judd, D.R. and Smith, J.M. (2007). The new ecology of urban governance: special purpose authorities and urban development. In R. Hambleton and J.S. Gross (eds), *Governing Cities in a Global Era*. Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave, pp. 150–161.
- Kahane, A. (2004). *Solving Tough Problems. An Open Way of Talking, Listening and Creating New Realities*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.

- Kanter, R.M. (1993). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kantor, P. (2008). Varieties of city regionalism and the quest for political cooperation: a comparative perspective. *Urban Research and Practice*, 1(2), 111–129.
- Kato, J. (1998). When the party breaks up: exit and voice among Japanese legislators. *American Political Science Review*, 92(4), 857–870.
- Katzenstein, P.J. (1985). *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Katzenstein, P.J. (1987a). *Policy and Politics in West Germany. The Growth of a Semisovereign State*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Katzenstein, P.J. (1987b). *Corporatism and Change: Austria, Switzerland and the Politics of Industry*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Katznelson, I. (2006). *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Kearns, A. and Paddison, R. (2000). New challenges for urban governance: introduction to the review issue. *Urban Studies*, 37(5), 845–850.
- Keating, M. (1998). *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Keiser, L.R., Wilkins, V.M., Meier, K.M. and Holland, C.A. (2002). Lipstick and logarithms: gender, institutional context, and representative bureaucracy. *American Political Science Review*, 96(3), 553–564.
- Kellough, J. E. (1998). Reliability, validity, and the MV index: toward the clarification of some fundamental issues. *Public Administration Review*, 58(2), 167–173.
- Kellough, J.E. (2006). *Understanding Affirmative Action: Politics, Discrimination, And the Search for Justice*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Kelly, E. and Dobbin, F. (1998). How affirmative action became diversity management: employer response to antidiscrimination law, 1961 to 1996. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41(7), 960–984.
- Kelsen, H. (1920). *The Essence and Value of Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kerner Report (1968). *Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Kestila, E. and Soderlund, P. (2007). Subnational political opportunity structures and the success of the radical right. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(4), 773–796.

- Kim, P.S. and Lewis, G. (1994). Asian Americans in the public service: success, diversity, and discrimination. *Public Administration Review*, **54**(3), 285–290.
- King, D. (1995). *Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the US Federal Government*. Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1944). *Representative Bureaucracy. An Interpretation of the British Civil Service*. Yellow Springs, OH: The Antioch Press.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1951). Migration from Europe: a report by the director-general [J. Donald Kingsley] to the General council of the International refugee organization on experience gained in the field of migration through the processing and transportation for resettlement of more than one million refugees and other migrants. Geneva: International Refugee Organization.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1956). Immigration and our foreign policy objectives. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, **21**(2), 299–310.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1957). The problems of tomorrow's city. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, **31**(1), 4–7.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1958). Staffing, organizational and training problems in the public service of the Western Region (unpublished report).
- Kingsley, J.D. (2003). Representative bureaucracy. In J. Dolan and R.H. Rosenbloom (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy: Classic Readings and Continuing Controversies*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 12–19.
- Kitschelt, H.P. (1986). Political opportunity structures and political protest: anti-nuclear movements in four democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, **16**, 57–86.
- Knight, J. (1992). *Institutions and Social Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Koopmans, R. (1999). Political. Opportunity. Structure. Some splitting to balance the lumping. *Sociological Forum*, **14**(1), 93–105.
- Koopmans, R. (2004). Migrant mobilisation and political opportunities: variation among German cities and a comparison with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, **30**(3), 449–470.
- Kramnick, I. and Sheerman, B. (1993). *Harold Laski: A Life on the Left*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Krislov, S. (1967). *The Negro in Federal Employment: The Quest for Equal Opportunity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Krislov, S. (1974). *Representative Bureaucracy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Krislov, S. and Rosenbloom, D.H. (1981). *Representative Bureaucracy and the American Political System*. New York: Praeger.

- Kübler, D. (2013) Representative Bureaucracy in Switzerland. In P. Von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Kuhn, T.S. (1970 [1962]). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf (eds), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 32–49.
- Lamb, P. (1999). Harold Laski (1893–1950): political theorist of a world in crisis. *Review of International Studies*, **25**(2), 329–342.
- Landis, D., Bennett, J. and Bennett, M. (2004). *Handbook of Intercultural Training*. London: Sage.
- LaPalombara, J. (1964). *Interest Groups in Italian Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- LaPorte, T. and Consolini, P. (1998). Working in practice but not in theory: theoretical challenges of high reliability organizations. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **1**(1), 19–48.
- LaPorte, T., Rochlin, G. and Roberts, K. (1989). *High-Reliability Organizations: The Research Challenge*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California.
- Laski, H.J. (1921). *The Foundations of Sovereignty, and Other Essays*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Laski, H.J. (1930). Aristocracy still the ruling class in England. *Current History*, **32**(4), 666–673.
- Laski, H.J. (1931). The danger of being a gentleman: reflections on the ruling class of England. *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, August, 367–375.
- Laski, H.J. (1935). *The State in Theory and Practice*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Laski, H.J. (1938). *Parliamentary Government in England*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Law, J. and Hassard, J. (1999). *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Lee, S. (2003). A review of language and other communication barriers in health care. Retrieved November 30, (2011, from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/pic/fullreports/06/711B-2.pdf>).
- Lehmbruch, G. (1967). *Proporzdemokratie*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck.
- Lehmbruch, G. (1977). Liberal corporatism and party government. *Comparative Political Studies*, **10**(1), 91–126.

- Leung, A., Maddux, W.W., Galinsky, A.D. and Chiu, C.-yue. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity: the when and how. *American Psychologist*, **63**(3), 169–181.
- Levin, J. and Rabrenovic, G. (2004). *Why We Hate*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Lewis, P.G. and Ramakrishnan, S.K. (2007). Police practices in immigrant-destination cities: Political control or bureaucratic professionalism? *Urban Affairs Review*, **42**(6), 874–900.
- Liebig, T. and Widmaier, S. (2009). *Children of Migrants in the Labour Market of EU and OECD Countries: An Overview*. Paris: OECD.
- Light, I. (2006). *Deflecting Immigration: Networks, Markets, and Regulation in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Light, P.C. (1995). *Thickening Government: Federal Hierarchy and the Diffusion of Responsibility*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Lijphart, A. (1976). *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*. 2. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lim, H. (2006). Representative bureaucracy: rethinking substantive effects and active representation. *Public Administration Review*, **66**(2), 193–204.
- Lindblom, C.E. (1979). Still muddling, not yet through. *Public Administration Review*, **39**(6), 517–526.
- Lindblom, C.E. (2002). *The Market System: What it is, How it Works, and What to Make of it*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lindblom, C.E. and Woodhouse, E.J. (1968 [1993]). *The Policy-Making Process*, 3rd edn. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Lineberry, R.L. (1977). *Equality and Public Policy: The Distribution of Municipal Public Services*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, MD: JHU Press.
- Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (eds) (1967). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press.
- Lipset, S. and Stein, R. (1967). Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction. In S. Lipset and S. Rokkan (eds), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 1–64.

- Long, N.E. (1952). Bureaucracy and constitutionalism. *American Political Science Review*, **46**(3), 808–818.
- Luton, L.S. (2003). Administrative State and society: a case study of the United States of America. In B. Guy Peters and J. Pierre (eds), *Handbook of Public Administration*. London: Sage, pp. 69–176.
- Lynch, F.R. (2005). *The Diversity Machine: The Drive to Change the “White Male Workplace”* New Brunswick, CT, and London: Transaction Publishers.
- MacLeod, G. (2002). From urban entrepreneurialism to a “revanchist city”? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow’s renaissance, *Antipode*, **34**(3), 602–624.
- MacMahon, A.W. (1946). *Representative Bureaucracy: An Interpretation of the British Civil Service* review. *The American Historical Review*, **52**(1), 129–132.
- Manin, B. (1997). *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mann, M. (1987). Ruling class strategies and citizenship. *Sociology*, **21**(3), 339–354.
- Mansbridge, J. (1999). Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent “yes”. *The Journal of Politics*, **61**(3), 628–657.
- Mansbridge, J. (2003). Rethinking representation. *American Political Science Review*, **97**(04), 515–528.
- Mansbridge, J. (2011). Clarifying the concept of representation. *American Political Science Review*, **105**(03), 621–630.
- Marshall, J. (1997). Michel Foucault: governmentality and liberal education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, **14**(1), 23–34.
- Martiniello, M. (2000). The residential concentration and political participation of immigrants in European cities. In M. Martiniello and S. Body-Gendrot (eds), *Minorities in European Cities. The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social Exclusion at the Neighbourhood Level*. Houndsmill, UK: Macmillan, pp. 119–128.
- Martiniello, M. (2005). Political participation, mobilisation and representation of immigrants and their offspring in Europe. Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, 1/05. Malmö: Malmö University. Available at: http://195.178.227.4/bitstream/handle/2043/1495/WB_1-05.pdf?sequence=1, accessed February 2011.
- Marx, K. (1968). *The Civil War in France: The Paris Commune*. New York: International Publishers.
- McCarney, P.L. and Stren, R.E. (2003). *Governance on the Ground. Innovations and Discontinuities in Cities of the Developing World*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- McLeod, P.L., Lobel, S.A., and Cox, T.H. (1996). Ethnic diversity and creativity in small groups. *Small Group Research*, **27**(2), 248–264.
- Meier, K.J. (1975). Representative bureaucracy: an empirical analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, **69**(2), 526–542.
- Meier, K.J. (1993a). Latinos and representative bureaucracy: testing the Thompson and Henderson hypotheses. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **3**(4), 393–414.
- Meier, K.J. (1993b). *Politics and the Bureaucracy: Policymaking in the Fourth Branch of Government*, 3rd edn. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Meier, K.J. (1993c). Representative bureaucracy: a theoretical and empirical exposition. In J.L. Perry (ed), *Research in Public Administration*, Volume 2. Greenwich, CT: Jai Press Inc, pp. 1–36.
- Meier, K.J. and Bohte, J. (2001). Structure and discretion: missing links in representative bureaucracy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **11**(4), 455–470.
- Meier, K.J. and Hawes D.P. (2009). Ethnic conflict in France. A case for representative bureaucracy? *American Review of Public Administration*, **39**(3), 269–285.
- Meier, K.J. and Nicholson-Crotty, J. (2006). Gender, representative bureaucracy, and law enforcement: the case of sexual assault. *Public Administration Review*, **66**(6), 850–860.
- Meier, K.J. and Nigro, L. (1976). Representative bureaucracy and policy preferences: a study in the attitudes of federal executives. *Public Administration Review*, **36**(4), 458–469.
- Meier, K.J. and O’Toole, L.J. (2006). Political control versus bureaucratic values: reframing the debate. *Public Administration Review*, **66**(2), 177–192.
- Meier, K.J. and Smith, K.B. (1994). Representative democracy and representative bureaucracy: examining the top down and the bottom up linkages. *Social Science Quarterly*, **75**(4), 790–803.
- Meier, K.J., and Stewart Jr., J. (1992). The impact of representative bureaucracies: educational systems and public policies. *The American Review of Public Administration*, **22**(3), 157–171.
- Meier, K.J., Eller, W., Wrinkle R., and Polinard, J.L.(2001). Zen and the art of policy analysis. *Journal of Politics*, **63**(2), 616–629.
- Meier, K.J., Pennington, M.S. and Eller, W.S. (2005). Race, sex, and Clarence Thomas: representation change in the EEOC. *Public Administration Review*, **65**(2), 171–179.
- Meier, K.J., Wrinkle, J.R., and Polinard, J.L. (1999). Representative bureaucracy and distributional equity: addressing the hard question. *Journal of Politics*, **61**(4), 1025–1039.

- Merton, R.K. (1957). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Meyer, M.K. and Nielsen, V.L. (2012). Street level bureaucracy. In Peters, B.G. and Pierre, J. (eds), *The Handbook of Public Administration*, 2nd edn. London: Sage, pp. 305–318.
- Miles, R. and Thränhardt, D. (1995). Introduction: European integration, migration and processes of inclusion and exclusion. In R Miles and D Thränhardt (eds), *Migration and European Integration: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. London: Pinter, pp. 1–12.
- Minton, A. (2009). *Ground Control. Fear and Happiness in the 21st Century City*. London: Penguin.
- Mokre, M. and Puntscher Riekmann, S. (2007). From good governance to democratic governance? A policy review of the first wave of European governance research. Series EU Research in Social Sciences and Humanities Policy Synthesis of Research Results, No. 2. Brussels: European Communities
- Morning, A. and Sabbagh, D. (2005). From sword to plowshare: using race for discrimination and antidiscrimination in the United States. *International Social Science Journal*, **57**(183), 57–73.
- Mosher, F.C. (1968). *Democracy and the Public Service*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moulin, L. (1971). La Politisation de l'Administration en Belgique et en France. *Res Publica*, **13**(2), 161–242.
- Nachmias, D. and Rosenbloom, D.H. (1973). Measuring bureaucratic representation and integration. *Public Administration Review*, **6**(6), 590–597.
- Nalbandian, J. (1991). *Professionalism in Local Government: Transformations in the Roles, Responsibilities and Values of City Managers*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Nalbandian, J. (2007). Professionals and the conflicting forces of administrative modernization and civic engagement. In R. Hambleton and J.S. Gross (eds), *Governing Cities in a Global Era*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, pp. 189–198.
- Newman, M. (1991 [2009]). *Harold Laski: A Political Biography*. Pontypool, Wales: The Merlin Press.
- Niskanen, W.A. (1971). *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Norman, J. (2010). *The Big Society: The Anatomy of the New Politics*. Buckingham, UK: University of Buckingham Press.
- Obama, B. (2008). A more perfect union. Speech at the National Constitution Centre, Philadelphia.

- Oberti, M. (2000). Diversity and complexity in local forms of urban anti-poverty strategies in Europe. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **24**(3), 536–553.
- Odalm, P. (2004). Civil Society, Migrant organisations and political parties: theoretical linkages and applications to the Swedish context. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, **30**(3), 471–489.
- Olsen, J.P. (2010). *Governing through Institution Building: Institutional Theory and Recent European Experiments in Democratic Organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OSI (Open Society Institute) (2010a). *Muslims in Leicester. At Home in Europe Project*. London: Open Society Institute.
- OSI (Open Society Institute) (2010b). *Muslims in Europe. A Report on 11 EU Cities. At Home in Europe Project*. London: Open Society Institute
- Ouseley Report (2001). *Community Pride not Prejudice*. Bradford City Council: Bradford.
- Özmal, L. (2008). Kommunikation und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement am Beispiel des Projekts „Begegnungsstätte in der Moschee“ in Duisburg-Marxloh. In A. Häusler (ed.), *Rechtspopulismus als Bürgerbewegung*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Painter, M. and Peters, B.G. (2010). *Tradition and Public Administration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pardo, M. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in Mexico. In P. von Maravić, B.G. Peters, and E. Schröter (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action*. Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing, pp. 48–66.
- Parekh, B. (2006). *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 2nd edn. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Parkinson, M (1991). The rise of the entrepreneurial European city: strategic responses to economic changes in the 1980s. *Ekistics*, **350**(1), 299–307.
- Pelled, L.H., Eisenhardt, K.M., and Xin, K.R. (1999). Exploring the black box: an analysis of work group diversity, conflict, and performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, **44**(1), 1–28.
- Perrow, C. (1984). *Normal Accidents: Living with High Reliability Technologies*. New York: Basic Books.
- Peters, B.G. (1987). Politicians and bureaucrats in the politics of policy-making. In J.E. Lane (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Public Choice*. New York: Sage, pp. 256–282.
- Peters, B.G. (1989). *The Politics of Bureaucracy*. New York and London: Longman.
- Peters, B.G. (2011). Steering, rowing, drifting or sinking? Changing patterns of governance. *Urban Research and Practice*, **4**(1), 5–12.

- Peters, B.G. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in the United States. In P. von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 21–34.
- Peters, B.G. and Pierre, J. (2004). Politicization of the civil service. Concepts, causes, consequences. In B.G. Peters and J. Pierre (eds), *The Politicization of the Civil Service in Comparative Perspective: A Quest for Control*. London: Routledge Chapman & Hall, pp. 1–13.
- Peterson, P.E. (1981). *City Limits*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Pierre, J. (1999). Models of urban governance: the institutional dimension of urban politics. *Urban Affairs Review*, **34**(3), 372–396.
- Pitkin, H.F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Pitts, D.W. (2005). Diversity, representation, and performance: evidence about race and ethnicity in public organizations. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **15**(4), 615–631.
- Pitts, D.W. (2006). Modeling the impact of diversity management. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, **26**(3), 245–268.
- Pitts, D.W. (2009). Diversity management, job satisfaction, and performance: evidence from US federal agencies. *Public Administration Review*, **69**(2), 328–338.
- Pitts, D.W. and Jarry, E.M. (2007). Ethnic diversity and organizational performance: assessing diversity effects at the managerial and street levels. *International Public Management Journal*, **10**(2), 233–254.
- Pitts, D.W. and Jarry, E.M. (2009). Getting to know you: ethnic diversity, time, and performance in public organizations. *Public Administration*, **87**(3), 503–518.
- Pitts, D.W. and Wise, L.R. (2010). Workforce diversity in the new millennium: prospects for research. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, **30**(1), 44–69.
- Pitts, D.W., Hicklin, A.K., Hawes, D.P., and Melton, E. (2010). What drives the implementation of diversity management programs? Evidence from public organizations. *Journal of Public Administration Research Theory*, **20**(4), 867–886.
- Pollitt, C. and Bouckaert, G. (2004). *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Porter, M. (2000). Location, competition, and economic development: local clusters in a global economy. *Economic Development Quarterly*, **14**(1), 15–34.
- Posner, D.N. (2006). *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Price, D.H. (2004). *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists*. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press.
- Provan, K.G. and Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of network governance: structure, management, and effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **18**(2), 229–252.
- Putnam R.D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Putnam R.D. (2007) E pluribus unum: diversity and community in the 21st century. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, **30**(2), 137–174.
- Quinnipiac University (2000). Little support for giving kids more time in bad schools, New Yorkers tell Quinnipiac University poll; Increase in immigration is good for the city. Available at: <http://www.quinnipiac.edu/x1302.xml?ReleaseID=635>, accessed November 30, 2011.
- Quinnipiac University (2006). New Yorkers tell NJ government to stay out of ground zero, Quinnipiac University poll finds; Most approve memorial and oppose admission charge. Available at: <http://www.quinnipiac.edu/x1302.xml?ReleaseID=901>, accessed November 30, 2011.
- Quirk, P.J. (1980). Food and Drug Administration. In J.Q. Wilson (ed.), *The Politics of Regulation*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 217–218.
- Raco, M. (1999). Competition, collaboration and the new industrial districts: examining the institutional turn in local economic development. *Urban Studies*, **36**(5), 951–968.
- Ramakrishnan, K.S. and Wong, T. (2010). Partisanship, not Spanish: explaining municipal ordinances affecting undocumented immigrants. In M.W. Varsanyi (ed.), *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in US Cities and States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 73–93.
- Ramirez, F.O., Soysal, Y. and Shanahan, S. (1997). The changing logic of political citizenship: cross-national acquisition of women's suffrage rights, 1890 to 1990. *American Sociological Review*, **62**(5): 735–745.
- Ranney D. (2003). *Global Decisions, Local Collisions*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Reh fuss, J.A. (1986). A representative bureaucracy? Women and minority executives in the California Career Service. *Public Administration Review*, **46**(5), 454–460.
- Rhys, A., Boyne, G.A., Meier, K.J., O'Toole Jr., L., and Walker, R.M. (2005). Representative bureaucracy, organizational strategy and public service performance: an empirical analysis of english local government. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **15**(4), 489–504.

- Riccucci, N.M. (1987). Black employment in municipal work forces. *Public Administration Quarterly*, **11**(1), 76–89.
- Riggs, F.W. (2002). Globalization, ethnic diversity, and nationalism: the challenge for democracies. *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, Special Issue, 35–47.
- Roberts, N. (2004) Public deliberation in an age of direct citizen participation. *American Review of Public Administration*, **34**(4), 315–353.
- Roch, C.H., Pitts, D.W., and Navarro, I. (2010). Representative bureaucracy and policy tools: Ethnicity, student discipline, and representation in public schools. *Administration & Society*, **42**(1), 38–65.
- Roe, E. and Schulman, P. R. (2008). *High Reliability Management: Operating on the Edge*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press
- Roeder, P.G. (1999). Peoples and States after 1989: The Political Costs of Incomplete National Revolutions. *Slavic Review*, **58** (Winter): 854–882.
- Rogers, A. and Tillie, J. (2001). *Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate
- Rohr, J.A. (1995). *Founding republics in France and America*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
- Romzek, B.S. and Hendricks, J.S. (1982). Organizational involvement and representative bureaucracy: can we have it both ways? *The American Political Science Review*, **76**(1), 75–82.
- Rose, R. (1984). *Understanding Big Government: The Programme Approach*. London: Sage.
- Rose, R. (1985). *Public Employment in Western Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, W.H. and Chia T.P. (1978). The impact of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 on black employment in the federal service: a preliminary analysis. *Public Administration Review*, **38**(3), 245–251.
- Rossi, P. (1987). *Vom Historismus zur historischen Sozialwissenschaft. Heidelberger Max Weber- Vorlesungen 1985*. 1. Aufl. Suhrkamp.
- Roth, G. (1968). Personal rulership, patrimonialism, and empire-building in the new states. *World Politics*, **20**(2), 194–206.
- Rourke, F.E. (1984). *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy*. Boston, MA: Little Brown.
- Rucker, A. and Kingsley, J.D. (1961). Staffing and development of the public service of Nigeria. Unpublished report. Kaduna, Nigeria.
- Sabatini, J. (2006). City vows to fix translations. *San Francisco Examiner*, September 8.
- Sabbagh, D. (2003). Judicial uses of subterfuge: affirmative action reconsidered. *Political Science Quarterly*, **118**(3), 411–436.

- Sabbagh, D. (2007). *Equality and Transparency: A Strategic Perspective on Affirmative Action in American Law*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Saidel, J.R. and Loscocco, K. (2005). Agency leaders, gendered institutions, and representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration Review*, **65**(2), 158–170.
- Saltzstein, G.H. (1979). Representative bureaucracy and bureaucratic responsibility. *Administration and Society*, **10**(4), 465.
- Saltzstein, G.H. (1986). Female mayors and women in municipal jobs. *American Journal of Political Science*, **30**(1), 140–164.
- San Francisco (2006a). Report concerning the status of San Francisco's equal access to services ordinance. Immigrant Rights Commission, City and County of San Francisco.
- San Francisco (2006b). Cultural competency task force report. Office of the Mayor, City and County of San Francisco.
- Sapat, A. (2004). Devolution and innovation: the adoption of state environmental policy innovations by administrative agencies. *Public Administration Review*, **64**(2), 141–151.
- Sartori, G. (1973). *Democratic Theory*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Saunders, D. (2010). *Arrival City*. London: William Heineman.
- Savitch, H.V. and Kantor, P. (2002). *Cities in the International Marketplace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Scarman Report (1981). The Brixton Disorders, 10–12 April (1981: Report of an Inquiry by Lord Scarman. London: HMSO.
- Schattschneider, E. E. (1960). *The Semi-sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Schmidt, V.A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: explaining change through discursive institutionalism and the fourth 'New Institutionalism'. *European Political Science Review*, **2**, 1–25.
- Schmitt, C. (1928). *Constitutional Theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Schmitter, P.C. (1974). Still the century of corporatism? *The Review of Politics*, **36**(1), 85–131.
- Schmitter, P.C. (2009). The nature and future of comparative politics. *European Political Science Review*, **1**(1), 33–61.
- Schrecker, E.W. (1986). *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schultze, C. (2003). Cities and EU governance: policy-takers or policy-makers? *Regional and Federal Studies*, **13**(1), 121–147.
- Schwartz, S. (2001). Immigrant access to food stamps: overcoming barriers to participation. *Journal of Poverty Law and Policy*, **5**, 260–275.

- Selden, S.C. (1997). Representative bureaucracy. examining the linkage between passive and active representation in the Farmers Home Administration. *American Review of Public Administration*, **27**(1), 22–42.
- Selden, S.C. (1998). *The Promise of Representative Bureaucracy: Diversity and Responsiveness in a Government Agency*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Selden, S.C. and Selden, F. (2001). Rethinking diversity in public organizations for the 21st century. *Administration and Society*, **33**(2), 303–329.
- Selden, S.C., Brudney J.L., and Kellough, J.E. (1998). Bureaucracy as a representative institution: toward reconciliation of bureaucratic government and democratic theory. *American Journal of Political Science*, **42**(3), 719–744.
- Self, P. (1993). *Government by the Market? The Politics of Public Choice*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Self, P. (2000). *Rolling Back the Market: Economic Dogma and Political Choice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shah, S., Rahman, I., and Khashu, A. (2007). *Overcoming Language Barriers: Solutions for Law Enforcement*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.
- Shepsle, K. (1979). Institutional arrangements and equilibrium in multi-dimensional voting models. *American Journal of Political Science*, **23**(1), 27–59.
- Silberman, B.S. (1993). *Cages of Reason: The Rise of the Rational State in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain*. 1. Aufl. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.
- Simon, H.A. (1947). *The Administrative State*. New York: The Free Press.
- Simons, T., Pelled, L.H., and Smith, K.A. (1999). Making use of difference: diversity, debate, and decision comprehensiveness in top management teams. *The Academy of Management Journal*, **42**(6), 662–673.
- Singer, A. (2004). *The rise of new immigrant gateways*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Sisneros, A. (1993). Hispanics in the public service in the late twentieth century. *Public Administration Review*, **53**(1), 1–7.
- Skocpol, T. (1976). France, Russia, China: a structural analysis of social revolutions. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, **18**(2), 175–210.
- Skrentny, J.D. (1996). *The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Skrentny, J.D. (2002). *The Minority Rights Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Smith, C.R. and Fernandez, S. (2010). Equity in federal contracting: examining the link between minority representation and federal procurement decisions. *Public Administration Review*, **70**(1), 87–96.
- Smith, R.L. (1980). Representative bureaucracy: a research note on demographic representation in state bureaucracies. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, **1**(1), 1–14.
- Sowa, J.E. and Selden, S.C. (2003). Administrative discretion and active representation: an expansion of the theory of representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration Review*, **63**(6), 700–710.
- Sowell, T. (2004). *Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Stiglitz, J. (2006). *Making Globalization Work*. London: Allen Lane.
- Stillman, R.J. (1991). *A Preface to Public Administration*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Stillman, R.J. (2003). Twenty-first century United States governance: statecraft as reform craft and the peculiar governing paradox it perpetuates. *Public Administration*, **81**(1), 19–40.
- Stoker, G. (2000). Urban political science and the challenge of urban governance. In J. Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 91–109.
- Stone, C. (1989). *Regime Politics. Governing Atlanta, 1946–1988*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas.
- Stubager, R. (2010) The development of the education cleavage: Denmark as a critical case. *West European Politics*, **33**, 505–33.
- Subramaniam, V. (1967). Representative bureaucracy: a reassessment. *The American Political Science Review*, **61**(4), 1010–1019.
- Suleiman, E.N. (1974). *Politics, Power, and Bureaucracy in France: The Administrative Elite*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Suleiman, E.N. (1984). From right to left: bureaucracy and politics in France. In E.N. Suleiman (ed.), *Bureaucrats and Policy-Making*. New York: Holmes & Meier, pp. 107–135.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2004). Globalisation or “glocalisation”? Networks, territories and rescaling. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, **17**(1), 25–48.
- Tarrow, S. (1988). National politics and collective action: recent theory and research in Western Europe and the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, **14**, 421–440.
- Taylor, C. and Gutman, A. (eds). (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, M. (2003). *Public Policy in the Community*. Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave.

- Taylor, M. (2007) Community participation in the real world: opportunities and pitfalls in new governance spaces. *Urban Studies*, **44**(2), 297–317.
- Teodoro, M.P. (2010). Contingent professionalism: bureaucratic mobility and the adoption of water conservation rates. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **20**(2), 437–459.
- Theobald, N.A. (2007). Muestreme el dinero: assessing the linkage between Latino school superintendents and English language learner program resources. In R. Espino, D.L. Leal and K.J. Meier (eds), *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization and Representation*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, pp. 249–264.
- Thielemann, G.S. and Stewart Jr., J. (1996). A demand-side perspective on the importance of representative bureaucracy: AIDS, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. *Public Administration Review*, **56**(2), 168–173.
- Thomas, D.A. and Ely, R.J. (1996). Making differences matter: a new paradigm for diversity management. *Harvard Business Review*, **74**(5), 79–90.
- Thompson, F.J. (1976). Minority groups in public bureaucracies: are passive and active representation linked? *Administration and Society*, **8**(2), 201–226.
- Tidd, J., Bessant J., and Pavitt K. (2005). *Managing Innovation*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Son.
- Trogen, P.C. (2001). Devolution or dissolution? Decentralization in the Former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the Russian Federation. In A. Farazmand (ed.), *Handbook of Comparative and Development Public Administration*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, pp. 366–391.
- Tuddenham, R. (ed.) (2010). *The “Big Society”: Next Practice and Public Service Futures*. SOLACE Foundation Imprint. London: Society of Local Authority Chief Executives.
- Turgeon, L. and Gagnon, A.G. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in Canada. In P. von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 35–47.
- Turney, K. and Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: are immigrant parents disadvantaged? *Journal of Educational Research*, **102**(4), 257–271.
- Uitermark, J., Rossi, U., and Van Houtum, H. (2005). Reinventing multiculturalism: urban citizenship and the negotiation of ethnic diversity in Amsterdam. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **29**(3), 622–640.

- Urbinati, N. (2002). *Mill on Democracy: From the Athenian polis to Representative Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- US Census Bureau (2005). 2005 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates; table S0501 (selected characteristics of the native and foreign-born populations) for New York City and San Francisco. Available at: <http://factfinder2.census.gov>.
- US Census Bureau (2009). 2009 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates and 2005-2009 American Community Survey, 5-year estimates; table S0501 (selected characteristics of the native and foreign-born populations) for the United States, New York City, and San Francisco. Available at: <http://factfinder2.census.gov>.
- van de Walle, S., Groeneveld, S. and Vandenbussche, L. (2013). Representative bureaucracy in Belgium: power sharing or diversity. In P. von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, pp. 69–86.
- van der Meer, F.M. and Roborgh, R.L.J. (1996). Civil Servants and Representativeness. In H.A.G. Beeke (ed.), *Civil Service Systems in Comparative Perspective*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, pp. 119–136.
- Van Derbeken, J. (2001). Death in a cell: how sick man spent final hours in S.F. jail. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26.
- van Gool, B. and de Zwart, F. (2013). Politics of representative bureaucracy in India. In P. von Maravić, E. Schröter, and B.G. Peters (eds), *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*, pp. 188–203.
- Van Riper, P.P. (1958). *History of the United States Civil Service*. Evanston, IL, and White Plains, New York: Row, Peterson and Company.
- Vega, C.M. (2008). City making clear illegals can obtain services here. *San Francisco Chronicle*, B-1, April 3.
- Vertovec, S. (1996). Multiculturalism, culturalism and public incorporation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, **19**(1), 49–69.
- Vertovec, S. (2006). Emergence of Superdiversity in Britain. WP 25, University of Oxford, COMPAS.
- Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. (2010). Introduction: assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe. In S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf (eds), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 1–31.
- Viitanen, T.K. (2005). *Informal Elderly Care and Women's Labour Force Participation Across Europe*. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labour.

- von Bergen, C.W., Soper, B., and Foster, T. (2002). Unintended negative effects of diversity management. *Public Personnel Management*, **31**(2), 239–251.
- von Maravić, P., Schröter, E., and Peters, B.G., eds. (2013). *Representative Bureaucracy in Action: Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe, Africa and Asia*. Cheltenham, UK, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Wainwright H. (2003). *Reclaim the State. Experiments in Popular Democracy*. London and New York: Verso.
- Warner, C. M. (1997). Political parties and the opportunity costs of patronage. *Party Politics*, **3**(4), 533–548.
- Warner, C.M. (2001). Mass parties and clientelism in France and Italy. In S. Piattoni (ed.), *Clientelism, Interests and Democratic Representation: The European Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Warren, M.E. (2009). Governance driven democratization. *Critical Policy Studies*, **3**, 3–13.
- Webber, M.M. (1968). The urban place and the non-place urban realm. In M. Webber, J.W. Dyckman, D. Foley, A.Z. Guttenberg, W.L.C. Wheaton, and C.B. Wurster (eds), *Explorations in Urban Structure*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 79–153.
- Weber, M. (1922). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Die Wirtschaft und die gesellschaftlichen Ordnungen und Nachlässe. Nachlaß*. Bd. Teilband 4: Herrschaft. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Weber, Max. (2002). *Economy and Society*. [Nachdr.]. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wilkins, V.M. and Keiser, L.R. (2004). Linking passive and active representation by gender: the case of child support agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **16**(1), 87–102.
- Williams, A.M. (2009). International migration, uneven regional development and polarisation: an introduction. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, **16**(3), 309–322.
- Wilson, W. (1887). The study of administration. *Political Science Quarterly*, **2**(2), 197–222.
- Wimmer, A. (1997). Who owns the State? Understanding ethnic conflict in post-colonial societies. *Nations and Nationalism*, **3**(4), 631–665.
- Wolffe, R. (2009). *Renegade. The Making of Barack Obama*. London: Random Books.
- Wood, P. and Landry, C. (2008). *The Intercultural City*. London: Earthscan.
- Wrench, J. (2005). Diversity management can be bad for you. *Race and Class*, **46**(3), 73–84.

- Yates, D. (1982). *Bureaucratic Democracy: The Search for Democracy and Efficiency in American Government*. Cambridge, UK: Harvard University Press.
- Yeoh, B.S.A. and Huang, S. (1999). Spaces at the margins: migrant domestic workers and the development of civil society in Singapore. *Environment and Planning A*, **31**(7), 1149–1167.
- Young, C. (1976). *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Zachary, G.P. (2000). *The Global Me. New Cosmopolitans and the Competitive Edge*. New York: Perseus Books.

