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Introduction

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The post-1960s global cities are the locus of political and economic power, and their preeminent position turns them into magnets that have attracted global migrants. These multicultural, multiracial cities like Miami, Haifa, Brussels, Amsterdam, Montreal, and Toronto now become the sites of struggle over issues of rights, citizenship, the allocation of resources, and political representation. In their relatively confined spaces these cities among many others have come to represent sites of intersection where the forces of localization are challenged by the forces of globalization; where colonial arguments of assimilation confront postcolonial challenges of multiple identities; where notions of formal political participation and citizenship are confronted by more substantive notions of political participation and citizenship

The contributions in this special edition of JIMI, which focus on the cities mentioned above, all point to the importance of studying cities as sites of sociopolitical and economic exclusion on the one hand, and as sites of sociocultural and political redefinition on the other. As a description of a state of affairs, exclusion from political participation corresponds to diminished states of citizenship (broadly conceived), diminished states of political participation, and diminished access to valued political goods (representation, access to policy-makers, etc.). The contributors reflect on the processes that intentionally or unintentionally restrict people's participation in the political life and in the political activities of society. They focus on the relationship between democratic citizenship and substantive political participation; issues of political representation; the challenges of measuring representation, acculturation, and integration; residential concentration and segregation; voting patterns; the relationship between formal and nonformal forms of political participation; identifying the systemic barriers to political participation

by members of racialized and newcomer communities; and the factors that contribute to the differential rates of formal and nonformal rates of political participation by newcomer communities in various cities around the world.

Global migration from the developing world in the post-1960s period has produced many cities in the developed world that in the current conjuncture are distinguished by their multicultural, multiracial, diverse identities. Newcomers from varied racial and national origins bring to these cities a tremendous amount of vitality; they also contribute to the economic growth and sociopolitical well-being of these cities. However, the exceptionally positive contributions made by immigrants are being questioned in a number of quarters. The multicultural, multiracial city is a source of multiple identities that has displaced the homogeneity and social cohesion of the 1960s. The expressions of new immigrant struggles to forge identities and develop group cohesion, to understand their changed conditions of existence, and to define and influence their conditions of belonging, and to find a place and a space for themselves are, as the various authors in this volume point out, shaping cities around the world.

In his article "Residential Concentration and Participation in Local Politics: The Case of Immigrants of the Former Soviet Union in Israel", Gustavo Mesch seeks to identify the factors related to political participation of new immigrants in local issues, and he alerts us to the importance of avoiding generalizations from earlier studies. Mesch found that for immigrants from the former Soviet Union there was a strong co-relation between their residential concentration and high levels of education on the one hand, and their high rates of political participation on the other hand. Anja van Heelsum, in her article "The Relationship between Political Participation and Civic Community of Migrants in the Netherlands," builds on the work of Fennema and Tillie (1999) and reflects on the relationship between various forms of political participation and civic participation in organizations of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Van Heelsum rank-ordered voter turnout, number of councillors per ethnic group, number of organizations per ethnic group, and the percentage of isolated organizations, and found that at the national level as well as in the city of Amsterdam there was a strong positive co-relationship between civic participation and political participation. The high voter turnout of members of the Turkish community and the high number of Turkish councillors corresponds with a high density of organizations and a strong network between organizations in the Turkish community. Jacobs, Martiniello, and Rea, in their article "Changing Patterns of Political

Participation of Citizens of Immigrant Origin in the Brussels Capital Region: The October 2000 Elections," conclude that the October 2000 election represented a landmark for the political participation of immigrant-origin citizens.

There was a considerable increase in the number of elected Belgian politicians of non-EU—mainly Moroccan and to a lesser extent Turkish—origin. They attribute this success in large measure to the practice of "preferential voting" both by sympathetic "white" Belgians and by Belgians of immigrant origin. Unlike the situation in the Netherlands, however, they found that the strength of Turkish civic organizations did not translate into major electoral gains for Belgians of Turkish origin as compared with Belgians of Moroccan descent. Acknowledging that more research must be conducted on why this is the case, they nonetheless speculate on the importance of language proficiency as an important variable that explains the differential success rates of Moroccans and Turks. The former, they conclude, are more proficient in French, the dominant political language in Brussels, than the latter.

In her article "Miami in the 1990s: 'City of the Future' or 'City on the Edge?'" Sheila Croucher suggests that Miami is the city in the United States that has been most profoundly affected by immigration. Politics in Miami is the result of a complex mix of ethnicity, race, and immigration among the city's Hispanics, Blacks and Anglos. In less than two decades (from the late 1970s to the 1990s) the political preeminence of Miami's Hispanic community was established. The swiftness with which Cuban immigrants came to exert substantial, if not predominant, influence on the politics, economics, and culture of Miami and the forms of ethnoracial politics defies conventional wisdom. Croucher explores alternate explanatory models, and like Jacobs, Martiniello, and Rea she concludes that "ethnic bloc voting" is the defining variable that characterized the election of Dade County's first executive mayor in 1996. Siemiatycki and Saloojee, in their article "Ethnoracial Political Representation in Toronto: Patterns and Problems," examine both the statistical and substantive dimensions of ethnoracial electoral representation in a city they argue is one of the world's great immigrant, multicultural, and multiracial cities. They find there is both substantial and significant underrepresentation of ethnoracial minorities among elected officials in the city. Using an inclusion/exclusion framework, they explore the reasons for the underrepresentation and offer an alternate more inclusive model of local governance.

Carolle Simard, in her article "La représentation des groupes ethnoculturels dans la région montréalaise : vers une participation politique accrue ?" analyses issues related to the representation of ethnoracial minority groups and women in 11 city councils located in

the Montreal metropolitan area. À travers son étude, Simard présente certaines des caractéristiques des élus au niveau municipal : elle observe notamment que les élus ethniques affichent à ce niveau un taux de présence significatif, en dépit de variations entre les différentes villes. Par ailleurs, selon l'auteur, la forte sous-représentation des élus des minorités visibles montre que la structure des opportunités politiques au niveau municipal est loin de favoriser la participation politique des personnes provenant de ces communautés. En conclusion, Simard discute des avenues à explorer pour rendre les conseils municipaux plus représentatifs de la population.

As the articles in this special edition demonstrate, identity formation and social cohesion of immigrant groups in ostensibly multicultural, multiracial cities are complex responses to many factors including discrimination, prejudice, exclusion, and marginalization. The multicultural city is now the site of ethnoracial communities struggling to have their identities recognized alongside the dominant culture. And as diverse immigrant groups occupying both physical and social space seek to forge their identities in the Diaspora, they challenge the dominant society to redefine itself. The struggle for legitimacy and "place claiming" is the dawn of a new type of urban politics. Place and space in the urban environment reflect power relations extant in society. The struggle by ethnoracial communities for the redistribution of power and resources is about a form of democracy that places issues of inclusivity and social justice at the heart of the urban question.

The city in the era of globalization is the locus of economic, political, and administrative power. It is also the locus of citizenship, and it is essential to recognize that the very definition of the public sphere and citizenship in the urban environment is contested by marginalized groups. There is no single public sphere, no single acceptable notion of citizenship, and no single notion of social cohesion. There are instead multiple spheres in which marginalized groups develop their own sense of cohesion to contest oppression, discrimination and exclusion. These sites of struggle are continually changing in the multicultural multiracial city. They are an integral part of the new social landscape. Through political struggle immigrant groups are challenging the dominant discourse and accentuating a politics that puts issues of inclusion, equality, and social justice at the heart of the urban question. For it is precisely in our cities that marginalized groups contest notions of rights and conceptions of citizenship. It is in housing and employment; it is service delivery and in political and administrative representation that these issues are hotly contested. Asserting rights and challenging the institutions of governance to be more inclusive and representative of diversity are all part of the complex interface between the

sociocultural and the sociopolitical that now characterize the urban landscape. Political inclusion is precisely about the democratization of democracy. Representation and participation in political institutions, political processes, and civic life are critical indicators of political inclusion. By developing a new way of approaching old problems, by positing a radically different conception of citizenship and community, by arguing for new measures of accountability, by providing the impetus for the emergence of new modes of evaluating public policies, by arguing for increased representation and participation by marginalized groups, and above all by encouraging the development and utilization of skills, talents, and capacities of all, a commitment to realizing political inclusion will democratize democracy.

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