Return of the City State?

An Assessment of International Relations between Cities.

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1. Abstract

Cities have ever been part of the international relations system but have not been adequately examined by international relations theory as a subnational actor that can act independently of the nation-state. It has allowed for the creation of sister city partnerships, regional bodies and global networks. This paper will specifically look at the extensive policies created through these networks. These organisations allow for successful cooperation and collaboration within the international system between member cities despite the high levels of competition that exist for investment and human resources. The case studies of Cape Town and Tokyo are important to understand the various stages of these cities and how Cape Town punches above its weight internationally while Tokyo is finding its feet despite their respective disparities. This is vital to understand the role that cities play in the world and will continue to play.

2. Introduction

With the onset of urbanisation cities have been important political actors around the world. From Athens and Sparta in Antiquity to Venice during the Renaissance, urban regions have been the centres of international trade, culture and politics and regularly sent ambassadors to other cities. Great cities of the ages regularly traded goods across land and sea and were serviced by vast hinterlands that provided their sustenance and labour through continued urbanisation. This contradicts the notion that during the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia and the 1815 Congress of Vienna, which regularised nation-state diplomatic connections, was the origin of modern diplomacy. Political theory in the past has focused extensively on International Relations (IR) from the perspective of the nation-state. Today, theory on the subject has expanded to include large non-state actors in the form of large corporations and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) as well as supranational entities such as the European Union and associations of states such as the G20. A key actor that has largely been ignored and only recently been gaining prominence in IR theory is once again the City. It is especially startling that it has long been ignored considering that humanity has become an urban species whereby for the first time more individuals live in urban areas than those who do not and this trend continues to accelerate. Large metropolitan areas across the globe have extensive relations with other urban areas, as well as collaborating in large international city to city organisations that have been formed to solve challenges and share best practice. Many of these interactions and relations have had wide reaching focal points such as economic trade

and investment, security, culture, governance and more recently, climate change. The scope of this paper is not to consign the nation-state to any lesser position, but to review the existing IR between cities as well as to review the state and extent of these relations which are usually seen as the preserve of the nation-state. It will further elaborate on the notion of competition and cooperation between cities as a central theme within these organisations and networks. Further, it will put forward the idea of cities as a family in varying capacities. It will do this by analysing various organisations that consist of cities such as the United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), C40 Cities, the World Energy Cities Partnership (WECP) and others. This paper will also be focusing on specific cities that have well established IR strategies and networks, such as the City of Cape Town and Tokyo. These two cities have extensive relations and actively pursue strategies that set them apart from their nation-states to a large degree but through different legacies.

3. Current International Relations Theory: Current Still?

Since globalisation became the dominant strand of human thinking after World War 2 (van der Pluijm & Melissen, 2007:7), there has been an increasing analysis of non-state actors and their impact on the diplomatic process, which was the preserve of central governments and their diplomatic missions. Yet at the same time, another state actor has seemingly been operating under the radar in the form of local governments. With globalisation, cities have been able to increasingly connect with other regions, which has led to extensive networks. While the advances in technology has led to an increasingly smaller world, this smaller world has been facing increasingly complex problems. The responsibility for solving these problems have also become more and more blurred. (van der Pluijm & Melissen, 2007:8) With the advent of global issues such as climate change, nuclear weapons control and international legal jurisdictions such as oceans and the Arctic, there has been an increasing shift to supranational and international entities. Through the combination of technology and global politics, the monopoly of IR for the nation-state has dissipated and has opened more opportunities for cities and other actors in the international system. (Milani & Ribeiro, 2011:23)

While cities are generally viewed as organised urban networks, they have become more and more integral to the upliftment of the population of a country. Some see this mandate as requiring international collaboration to achieve these various goals. (City of Cape Town,

2015:3) This context must be understood to illustrate the underlying motives for many IR strategies for cities. It is first and foremost about the development of the region. At the same time, however, cities have understood that there are global problems that they are well suited to combat as the centres of economic activity and international collaboration but also the centre of many of the globes challenges such as poverty and pollution. (Kargas, 2017:534) Cities, thus, use their various international networks to ensure that they are able to act more independently from the nation-state to ensure that their localised interests are realised. (Milani & Ribeiro, 2011:23)

4. Peer to Peer and Networking: The Power of Collaboration

A key facet of modern city diplomacy is the power of collaboration through various global networks. Each organisation has different objectives, but these organisations are formed with the same underlying principle of coordination and collaboration between cities and local governments around the world to achieve those goals. These can range from the smaller Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP) which collaborates on eliminating hunger to the larger United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) network which has thousands of members whose goal is to improve policy collaboration and gaining increasing international recognition by lobbying for a seat on the United Nations. (UCLG, 2017:363)

These global networks have evolved over time from the comprehensive sister city partnerships and twinning agreements to current multilateral global organisations. Even many sister city partnerships are represented by SisterCities International (SCI) that attempts the same comprehensive agreements on a multilateral level. (SCI, 2017:11) These multilateral partnerships have also culminated in the creation of regional bodies such as EuroCities, which brings together almost 200 European cities, and Mercocities which represents many cities in South America. These regional bodies have become vital to ensure cooperation and avoidance of conflict (Zelinsky, 1991:6)

City to City diplomacy and IR have thus evolved through various iterations. From humble individual partnerships, to regional bodies and global networks. This has also led to replications on a local government level within a nation whereby cities form networks to share institutional practice within a nation such as the South African Cities Network (SACN) which even includes a peer to peer review mechanism. (SACN, 2016:199) While networks within a nation is beyond

the scope of this essay, it is important to understand how these networks can cooperate, as it is a template used in international networks as well.

4.1. Sister Cities: Choosing One's Family

After World War 2 many local government administrations around the world deemed that citizen to citizen diplomacy was of paramount importance to avoid a repeat of such a catastrophe through municipal reforms. (Saunier, 2001:382) Today, many local and regional governments have discovered the benefits of these relationships to learn from other cities on the best way to make use of their existing resources. (SCI 2017:5) SCI was created with the intention to promote peace through mutual respect, understanding and cooperation. (SCI, 2017:9) It thus serves as a hub for institutional knowledge and actively seeks to expand sister city relationships around the world. It has 2000 cities across 137 countries as members. The ability to choose one's own family has thus been important in matching the goals and challenges within each partnership.

One of the cornerstones of such a programme is sharing arts and cultural programmes between two cities. (Ramasamy & Cremer, 1998:450) As cities are generally the cultural and artistic hubs of nations, and the source of their soft power, one of the key ways in which this soft power can be spread is through cultural exchanges between cities and regions. The ability for culture and art to connect people on a fundamental level is vital as it provides an insight into the history and the thinking of their partners. Thus, festivals and other forms of exchanges are becoming more and more common.

In the current tension between the United States and Russia, there is still room for exchange. Seattle in the US and Tashkent in Uzbekistan were the first US-Soviet sister cities who signed an agreement in 1973. In Seattle, a dilapidated park was rededicated and restored, named Tashkent Park as a symbol of friendship and goodwill. (SCI, 2017:6) Another cultural exchange was conducted by Muscatine, Iowa and Zhengding, China. Muscatine Symphony Orchestra and the China Windows Group collaborated to provide a performance free to the public. (SCI, 2017:6) This experience provided an opportunity for students to gain exposure to internationally renowned musicians and a cultural exchange between two nations and cities through music. It does not just have to be music or art, as sport exchanges have become important as well. Tuscaloosa, Alabama and Narashino, Japan were able to host the Inaugural Sister Cities International Bowl as an American football competition to promote sport

exchanges between their schools and universities. (SCI, 2014:6) While there may be linguistic or cultural barriers, the ability of sport, art, and music is akin to a universal language to transcend these barriers.

Business has also been able benefit immensely from these agreements. Besides the obvious trade delegations and tourism spin offs that exist, there is also a form of trust that can develop between municipal officials and businesses. Thus, the sister city programme enables access to more connections and resources within a city. It can also be critical to an even more physical connection. A key idea behind such programmes leads to the creation of direct flights between these cities as well as port to port forums to allow for easier trading. An example of where a city has realised the importance behind such connection is the City of Cape Town and its Cape Town Air Access strategy (Wesgro, 2015:53) which will be discussed later.

Atlanta, Georgia and Toulouse, France are two cities that exemplify business collaboration. The France-Atlanta Organisation has led to forums on cybersecurity, mental health and art. The two cities have now, as well, agreed upon a start-up exchange which involves taking start-ups from their respective cities and then sending them to the other, allowing for the opportunity to gain access to new markets and engage new investors. (SCI, 2017:7) This is similar to the Digital Nomad Initiative which is currently being held between London and Cape Town whereby London digital entrepreneurs head to Cape Town for two weeks to experience the different ecosystems. Another key example is the agreement between Virginia Beach, Virginia and Olongapo, Philippines. It has led to a port to port agreement, which has led to collaboration on ensuring trade between the two cities and has led to newly established businesses and shared best practice (SCI, 2017:7)

Another vital cog in the system is that of community development and municipal organisation. This involves sharing of best practice between elected officials and allows for better service provision. It also involves raising funds for projects with regards to community development and disaster relief. An example of this is Atlanta, Georgia and Montego Bay, Jamaica regarding a healthcare exchange. With healthcare in Montego Bay being expensive, Atlanta's administration has provided doctors and nurses every year for the last two decades to provide free healthcare to their citizens. (SCI, 2015:9)

An award-winning programme sponsored in this regard by SCI is the Sino-Africa Initiative. This two-year programme was funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which had the goal of spurring collaboration between Chinese, African and US cities on economic

development and urban poverty. This programme facilitated public diplomacy, municipalities and businesses to create strategies to tackle developmental challenges and to achieve poverty alleviation. (SCI, 2015:1) This led to the 2013 conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, where trilateral projects were agreed upon and concluded by 2014. A key finding of this initiative was that success of the project hinged on strong pre-existing relationships between the participating cities. (SCI, 2015:2) These international connections allowed for the project to be far more successful.

These partnerships all highlight that city to city partnerships deal with many pertinent and local issues that require attention. Cities are best placed to be able to understand local realities, which make international cooperation all the more vital to solve local problems with global solutions. What was once the preserve of the nation-state in the form of cooperation internationally and representative delegations have diversified.

4.2. Continental Bodies: The Extended Family.

With the advent of extensive sister city partnerships, municipal and regional governments came to see the potential of international collaboration. In Europe and South America, these initiatives became realised through various bodies, most notably the EuroCities and Mercocities organisations. These two bodies have hundreds of members that all take part in its various forums and programmes. These include everything from economic growth, science and technology, climate change, smart city programmes and so forth. (EuroCities, 2014:2) City leaders have thus realised that while they are in competition with other regions for resources in the global economic system they need to cooperate with their counterparts to achieve their various goals. This has led to collaborative bodies such as EuroCities to speak as one effective voice in various arenas such as within the European Union (Griffiths, 1995:217) while Merco-Cities does the same in Mercosur. Through such extended families, these bodies have been able to be influential in their respective national, supranational and association of states organisations.

4.2.1. EuroCities: Family Negotiations

EuroCities' formation was due to the desire by leading city administrations to promote urban policy formulation within the European Union (EU). This is especially vital as urban regions account for 80% of the European population. It is thus the centre of its economy and its culture,

but also its poverty and unemployment. Another key aim of the body is to promote international cooperation between various cities in Europe on a more practical level such as sharing best practice. (Griffiths, 1995:218) It has grown from 6 founding members in 1986 to the current 137 major cities and 47 partner cities, which represents 130 million individuals, more than many nations in the world. (EuroCities, 2017:4) This network has become even more important during the current uncertainty brought about by Brexit. This has allowed for continued extensive relations between British and European cities while the national governments of their respective nations wrangle over exit negotiations. It has also succeeded in creating the Urban Agenda in 2016 within the EU itself which illustrates the effectiveness of cities collaborating to put across their interests. This has been achieved through EuroCities effectively becoming institutionalised within the EU through gaining a voice in Brussels. (Payre, 2010:265)

Three important realms that EuroCities has had a large impact on, that used to be the preserve of the nation-state or supranational entities, is that of economic trade deals, immigration practices and climate change. With the launch of the European Agenda on Jobs and Growth under President Juncker, its success depends on the ability for cities to achieve their potential. This was the clarion call during a EuroCities delegation meeting with EU Commissioners that led to the formulation of the Declaration on Work. This declaration focused on capitalising on the potential of the youth segment of the population and providing employment and opportunities to young people. (EuroCities, 2017:9) Further, along with the attempt to provide work, it was decided at a conference in September 2016 in Rotterdam that skills development is of vital importance to achieve employment and economic growth targets. Thus, with cities having knowledge on localised skill gaps, EuroCities has been able to provide the EU and national governments on the right types of skills to provide to the labour markets. (EuroCities, 2014:3) With the twin strands of jobs and skills being taken care of, EuroCities turned its attention to EU trade deals with other countries. Cities have realised the impact that these trade deals have on their local constituencies and have pushed for monitoring and participation in negotiations of these trade deals. This has led to delegations meeting with the European Commissioner responsible for negotiations on trade deals such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) to ensure their voices are heard. (EuroCities, 2017:11)

With immigration becoming a divisive topic in the West, with the advent of Trump and Brexit especially and the rise of the right in Europe, it has become a policy hurdle fraught with challenges on balancing issues of morality, economics and integration. With urban regions and cities well established as transit hubs, points of arrival and ultimately the end destination it has

become the centre of action regarding how cities are to respond to immigration and asylum seekers. (EuroCities, 2014:3) EU and national governments have been paralysed on policy initiatives and on how to share the immigration and asylum seeker burden across the EU. With this being the case at national level the EuroCities body decided on a course of action. A network within the body, known as SolidarityCities, was created to share best practice and initiatives on how to receive and integrate refugees in a sustainable manner. (EuroCities, 2016:3)

SolidarityCities, whose formulation was initiated by Athens, has been founded to solve a problem that has been generally dealt with at a national level. While borders are still the preserve of the nation-state, cities are usually where many individuals cross into a country. With this being the case, city governments have successfully responded to these realities while coordinating amongst one another and their respective civil societies even in the absence of national action. This interaction between city and civil society has been a driving force behind the internationalisation of cities. (Vion, 2002:626) It has even reached the point where cities are creating reception areas for refugees and asylum seekers, which is usually the preserve of national government. (EuroCities, 2016:5) This level of cooperation and collaboration has been vital to ensure effective management of international migration.

This is especially the case with regard to transit hubs. Many cities have become transit hubs in the peripheral countries of the EU whereby asylum seekers arrive and move further into the EU. Many of these cities, such as Athens, have been acting without national support, and have relied on city to city networks such as SolidarityCities to effectively coordinate these activities (EuroCities, 2016:7) This idea was especially pushed by the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, who called for 'Cities of Refuge', which argued that while nation-states granted asylum, it was the city that provided refuge. (EuroCities, 2016:7) Thus, EuroCities has become a vital network to ensure that the policy paralysis at a national and supranational level does not leave cities without any room to respond to their local realities. This level of bottom-up Europeanisation has not been widely discussed, as IR has generally focused on the top-down approach of the EU. (Vion, 2002:631)

While there are many bodies that deal with climate change on a global level, some of which will be discussed later, it is important to note the importance of regional multilateral city organisations such as EuroCities. Cities are the centre of both economic activity and pollution. With the Paris Agreement locking in many nations to climate targets, EuroCities understands

that the centre of pollution reduction will be in the city, similar to the United States where despite Trump announcing that the US will leave, many cities are saying that they will stay as they understand the importance of reducing their respective carbon footprints. (EuroCities, 2017:18) EuroCities themselves as a body held the Climate Chance summit for subnational actors (EuroCities, 2017:18) where the participants endorsed the Nantes Declaration on Climate Change. This declaration was further advocated by the EuroCities representatives on another global city network, the Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy Initiative (CMCEI), whereby exchanges were organised between the cities to allow officials to learn from one another as well as take part in a global climate adaption and mitigation initiative. (EuroCities, 2017:18) Further, EuroCities as a body has pushed for a new policy position on how to accelerate the clean energy transition being experienced in Europe through the involvement of the local governments (EuroCities, 2017:56)

These three pillars of human society have generally been the preserve of nation-states and more recently in the cases of intergovernmental organisations such as the UN or the supranational entities of the EU. Now, cities have more and more organised amongst themselves both locally and internationally to find solutions to these issues, as cities have become the most prominent location where change is taking place and needs to take place. This is contrary to the notion that cities are completely competitive against one another, and seems to display the high levels of cooperation evident on a local and international level between cities. (Heeg & et al, 2003:144) This has been further entrenched through the recognition that these relations are formed by many different actors in the form of business stakeholders, citizens and cities on a cultural and economic level. (Baycan-Levent et al, 2010:1191)

4.2.2. Mercocities: Family Security

The decentralisation inherent within many South American nations has led to extensive paradiplomacy within South American cities and municipalities. This is especially the case in Brazil, where there is a constitutional gap with regards to the powers of international affairs as it does not explicitly deny nor promote city to city international relations. Mercocities is attempting to push for a constitutional amendment to promote these relations which would allow easier coordination between the three spheres of municipal, state and federal government with regards to financing international initiatives. (Milani and Ribeiro, 2011:21) This poses an

interesting question for future city networks; can city networks successfully transfer public policy horizontally amongst themselves with more institutional support? (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017:570)

In the case of Mercocities there are extensive thematic policy arenas in which the organisation operates in aiding other cities. One of the key policy arenas that this paper will be focusing on is specifically its citizen security policy. Local governments are rarely responsible for the security apparatus as this is usually the preserve of the nation-state or a provincial body. There has, however, been a definite trend in involving cities in local security issues. (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017:570) What has come to the fore at the same time is that city networks, and specifically Mercocities, has realised that it will require international cooperation amongst cities to truly combat crime through not just policy transfers but coordinated responses to cross border crime through the localisation of security policy.

Security has generally been understood in the IR field as that of a nation-state defending its territory from external armed forces or internal threats and maintaining the security of the world. This has usually been discussed through a state-centred approach in IR theory (UNTFHS, 2009:5) but has been shifting to human security. This comprehensive policy of human security is vital in the context of prevention as it is more sustainable to manage and is multi-sectoral in approach. (UNTFHS, 2009:6) With the repression experienced in the 1960s and 1980s Latin America, the wave of democratisation of the 1980s onwards led to a different ideal of security, moving away from state security to citizen security. (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017:572)

With this change, has also come large challenges. Latin America has experienced a huge swell in policies advocating a human rights approach but has been beset with violence related to organised crime, drug trafficking and has also further stunted development across the region. (Rodrigues & Mattioli, 2017:572) With national security forces having a tradition of violent responses, it has prompted many local cities and their respective mayors to coordinate security responses across the Mercocities network to allow for horizontal policy exchanges. (Milani & Ribeiro, 2011:21) These exchanges have successfully allowed for policy transfer to deal with numerous challenges in the realms of domestic violence, drug trafficking and citizen involvement.

Thus, cities have managed to achieve in both the EuroCities and Mercocities networks new roles for themselves in the international and local arena. This extensive network of paradiplomacy has successfully allowed for policy transfer as well as unity of purpose in

lobbying for respective national and supranational bodies in the international system to accept their growing strength when it comes to solving challenges through local solutions. It has led to improvements for human security across many metrics, such as physical security from the violence of others and economic security through integration

4.3. Global Networks: The Family Raises the Village

Within the IR framework there are many city networks that focus on issues at a global level. It ranges from ending global hunger to achieving a voice on the highest international forums of the United Nations. These networks have been formed with many intentions such as catapulting the City into the IR system, to be heard when putting forth its agenda or solving international challenges amongst their own number. This is all achieved through the confines of collaboration and cooperation. Thus, it can be argued that many of these networks and families of cities are achieving remarkable goals in improving life in the global village.

4.3.1. The UCLG: The Family Tree

The UCLG is the most influential global city network due to its unique position within various international institutions. Its main aim is to amplify the voice of local and regional governments around the world within the international system. (UCLG, 2016:2) For global policy making and agreements to take into account local governments and their place in the system, the UCLG pushes for their place in the international policymaking needs to change. To do this, the UCLG promotes that local government must be part of a structured system whereby cities are recognised as a constituency in the global system instead of continuously being involved in ad hoc processes. (UCLG, 2015:75)

It has been able to achieve this through various means such as its Strategic Partnership with the EU, which is the first of its kind with an association of local governments and the supranational entity of the EU. The UCLG has thus been of vital importance recently when it came to provide a voice of local governments around the world through its Global Taskforce of Local and Regional Governments during global agreements such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Paris Climate Agreement and the adoption of the Habitat III's New Urban Agenda. It also led to the Bogotá Commitment which was adopted by the memberships' global "parliament", the World Assembly of Local and Regional Governments. This proactive

commitment has led to the localisation of the global sustainable development agenda. (UCLG, 2017:4) This has extensively benefitted the local and regional organised networks within the Taskforce and the UCLG when it comes to sharing best practice and sustainable development suited to local realities. It has led to numerous successes such as the inclusion of SDG 11 on Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements and pushing for cities to be recognised for their role and mandates within each of the 17 SDGs. (UCLG, 2017:12)

These relations are important to nurture, as the UCLG still has its main goal to gain recognition in the United Nations to ensure that local governments at the highest level are heard and party to global discussions and debates that affect them. Thus, the UCLG branches out all over the world to these governments to unify their voice and provide the impetus necessary.

4.3.2. 100ResilientCities, C40 Cities and the World Cities Energy Partnership: The People, Environment and Energy.

One of the greatest challenges of our time on a global level continues to be responding to climate change in an effective manner that does not compromise either the global economy nor the global environment. This is where cities are exceptionally vital as they are both the engine room of the global economy and the source of a large part of global pollution. Thus, many international networks are geared towards solving climate change.

The 100ResilientCities (100RC) initiative has been founded with financing from the Rockefeller Foundation. It has been able to provide financing to 100 cities around the world, providing them with access to network, technical and policy experts, as well as the salary for a few years of a chief resilience officer, who will oversee policy making and ensuring resilience is factored into in all decision making of the city. Finally, the end goal of the network is for the city to have an overarching resilience strategy in place to overcome its most intractable challenges. This network has achieved numerous successes in cities around the world through its extensive partnerships whereby cities and civil society groups are brought together. One of the major international problems that this network is attempting to tackle is that of international migration.

An important summit that took place in Athens is that of the "100RC Network Exchange: Cities and the Global Migration Crisis". The summit involved 8 cities from the network, including the host city of Athens. As was discussed earlier, Athens has experience dealing with international migratory crises through the SanctuaryCities initiative within EuroCities. The

summit was designed to discuss ways within which cities can absorb and be resilient against pressures associated with international migration by turning it into an opportunity. It illustrates how cities in numerous networks can allow for cross network dissemination of ideas. This was to be done while national government and various international bodies such as the EU were either too remote or were too removed from the situation. (100RC, 2016:6) It further discussed how the impact of climate change will continue to drive people to migrate from various locations to different cities. Even today the 60 million people who have moved due to conflict is dwarfed by the international migratory population which peaked at 244 million in 2015. (United Nations, 2016:5) This is a challenge that cities will have to plan for to ensure their resilience. This was further highlighted by the Lead for Change resolution that cities must coordinate amongst themselves and to engage regional, national and international policymakers to ensure that policy processes take into account the realities of migratory integration. (100RC, 2016:90) This must be done in the face of inadequate resources and the obstruction caused by national legislation. This is where city networks are vital to advocate for better support and policy changes. Where there is no national framework, these networks become even more important as the policy breathing room of cities allows for international cooperation to solve many of the challenges through collaboration on policy initiatives.

There were many projects shared at the summit that were successful in their endeavours. One of the key international initiatives created by the Municipality of Thessaloniki was the "URBACTs Arrival Cities Network" to aid in the reception and integration of migrants. (100RC, 2016:90) This network of 8 European cities was created with the goal of fostering a sense of social inclusion with their migrant and local populations. It was also created with the intention of allowing the cities to share data on the migration patterns and strategies to follow with regard to integrating the migrants into their local economies and social systems. (100RC, 2016:90)

The 100RC initiative has many strategies relating to climate change resilience, but a key international body at present that is part of climate change leadership is the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group. These 91 megacities govern over 650 million people and generate 25% of the world's GDP. This is an enormously influential organisation that seeks to provide leadership in the arena of climate action and to mitigate the impact of climate change. This has led to various initiatives, such as sharing data networks and best practice through its 17 sub-networks. It does this by facilitating dialogue amongst various city officials and builds relationships between them. (C40 Cities, 2017:2) It also has an active City Diplomacy Strategy

that ensures cities are able to coordinate amongst themselves to lobby national governments and organise during international meetings such as the Conference of Parties (COP21) which led to the Paris Climate Agreement. (CDP, 2016:8) The C40 Cities have made two recent contributions to combating climate change in recent years of importance significance to international relations. The first is the US cities involved in the C40 Cities programme have led an effort to galvanise American cities to sign and continue abiding by the Paris Climate Agreement while their federal government under Trump has decided to withdraw. The second major contribution has been in conjunction with many other bodies such as the ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability, the UCLG and the UN Habitat to form the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy.

The C40 Cities in the US are already climate leaders, taking extensive action compared to the rest of the world. (C40 Cities, 2017:5) This is vital to their continued economic growth and resilience within the changing economic order. The national average of CO_2 production per capita in the US is 21 tons. The US C40 Cities on the other hand have managed to achieve 10 tons per capita. (C40 Cities, 2017:5) These initiatives also underscore the importance of taking part in global networks to be able to set goals and aid one another in achieving them. All of these C40 initiatives are an important microcosm in their parent body. 7477 cities represent 685 million people and almost 10% of the global population who have all committed to the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy. This global body has been vital in ensuring that climate action is coordinated and taken around the world. It allows for cities to independently support global climate goals irrespective of national and international conflict.

The World Energy Cities Partnership (WECP) is an organisation consisting of 18 cities around the world that are recognised as international energy capitals. It is a primarily economic partnership through business to business interaction and energy related activities. (WECP, 2016:2) These cities are by and large oil and gas powers that are shifting to cleaner energy systems and cities that have already been pushing hard for renewable energy production such as Houston and Cape Town. It also provides a network of industry support and trade missions between host cities. It further expresses interest in other fields of development such as tourism, education and medicine. Some of the key measures within the WECP has been the establishment of a sustainability office after signing the Calgary Climate Change Accord. It has led to green energy grids, electric car fleets and large manufacturing sectors. It also has many research connections. Universities are the centre of research and where the creation of

future workers take place, thus the various higher educational institutions within the WECP cities are connected through facilitation of the WECP. (WECP, 2017:3)

Thus, the vital importance of migration, energy and resilience is taken into account by these various international networks to ensure that they are able to prepare for the future. These various initiatives allow for the cities to share institutional best practice that ensures that they will be able to overcome the various challenges that they may face as cities.

4.4. Social Networks: The Caring Family

Not all city networks are geared towards the modern disruptions of climate change, international migration and global governance structures. Some are geared towards solving challenges that have existed since urbanisation had begun. These are the social issues that beset people around the world in the forms of poor health, hunger and violence. The networks that will be discussed in this section that represent health and hunger are the Partnership for Healthy Cities (PHC) and the Hungry Cities Network (HCN). Those that represent the prevention of violence within cities and across the world are the Strong Cities Network (SCN) and the International Cities of Peace (ICP).

There are many social issues that persist around the world, especially in urban areas where uncontrolled urbanisation has taken place where cities cannot keep up with the continuously keep up with the demand. There are, however, many other considerations when it comes to service delivery through general trends. Around the world, Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs) constitute 80% of all deaths worldwide at 44 Million deaths. These include hypertension and diabetes. It also occurs predominantly in low and middle-income countries. Yet, it receives only 1% of total development assistance for health when it comes to treatment (Bloomberg, 2017:1) despite it being easily preventable if solutions are put in place. The rest goes towards communicable diseases. Thus, the PHC was formed by 40 cities with financing from the Bloomberg Philanthropies. 10 evidence based policy interventions have been formulated and will be implemented in the various cities to determine their efficacy in the network and to provide further learning opportunities among them. (Bloomberg, 2017:5)

The HCP was formed due to the ever-increasing rate of urbanisation in the global South with a similarly rapid rise in food insecurity and poverty. The HCP was created in 2015 with three sustainable development goals in mind; no poverty, no hunger and to create sustainable cities and communities. (Crush, 2016:5) This network focuses on addressing food insecurity and

poverty in urban settings within the global South. Its objectives are to analyse the availability, access, utilisation and stability of food systems in each city. It also researches and coordinates with higher education institutions in the membership regions to determine inclusive growth strategies in the food economy. It thus attempts to build a policy-orientated knowledge platform to create a powerful network of cities that are able to reach their development agendas in urbanisation, food security and poverty alleviation. (Crush, 2016:6)

Two networks that are interested in peace and security are SCN and the ICP. The SCN was created to facilitate knowledge sharing and expertise on building cohesive and resilience communities which would enable cities to prevent violent extremism on an international basis through various regional and international conferences. This can also be done by directly developing strategic frameworks and capabilities to build resilience within their various communities. The network further provides grants to various cities to experiment with various projects and systems and allow them to be shared within the network. This is thus an important global platform that allows one voice to inform the international system that the growth in violent extremism must be addressed.

The ICP is an organisation that has been founded by various cities and regions by officially designating themselves as Cities of Peace. It is founded on the right that communities have a legacy of peace. It is not an argument that all are peaceful, but that these cities have chosen a path to become more peaceful both domestically and internationally. These cities and this organisation have a deep history in that many are sites where peace treaties were signed, they house international institutions that are important for peace, such as The Hague, and have been rebuilt after wars. Thus, having known what can happen, many of these nations promote ideas such as a warning against the use and existence of nuclear weapons, reconciliation and tolerance and multicultural living.

5. The City of Cape Town: The Mother City.

The City of Cape Town, affectionately known as the Mother City, will be the first case study analysed as an emerging international city that is building its standing through its networks. It is a city with an International Relations Strategy as a policy document, as well as proactively marketing itself overseas for investment. It is thus an emerging city that is very quickly gaining a reputation in international forums to the point that it is a member in almost every organisation discussed within this paper. It is a city that has always been important historically as an

international city due to its initial role as a waystation between East and West, where today its port is still vitally important for trade between Latin America, Europe, America and Asia. It is also extensively connected by air due to its incredible tourism offering.

The goal of the city administration is to make it a world class city that can take part in partnerships and initiatives that create real value for the city. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:115) This is to be done through promoting the city, taking part in international initiatives and how best to learn from other cities. It takes it from the perspective that while issues such as creating resilience and dealing with climate change requires collaboration, the city also recognises the healthy competition that cities are involved in for human resources and investment. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:116) This required a shift from what most understand local government to be; a government that focuses on purely local issues to one that knows that local issues are a problem globally that can be defeated through international collaboration. For the City of Cape Town specifically, it also required a change of its branding. While many around the world recognise Cape Town immediately as a sought-after tourism destination, the City wanted to build on that reputation but to further brand the City as a world class, future focused business city. (City of Cape Town, 2015:3)

By 2012, the City was mainly party to various sister city agreements and international conferences yet lacked a clearly defined target as to what its goals and priorities should be. Many of the policies on external relations that were codified dealt with how to conduct international business, yet not the motivation of why Cape Town needed to be connected on an international basis. The administration decided upon using the American model of city relations whereby the mayor is the primary ambassador of the city and that the world is full of extensive competition and opportunity. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:118) This extensive competition requires proactivity, not reactivity, to fully benefit from the opportunities that exist. Thus, the policy shifted away from focusing exclusively on cultural exchanges, it still supports it, and shifted to proactive marketing and economic relationships and best practice sharing. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:119)

It also required figuring out the regulatory balance between the local, provincial and national government within the South African context. Cape Town has its International Relations Strategy, as does the Western Cape, its host province, and the national government itself. Foreign relations are more complex affairs than readily admitted. While there are embassies, protocols and treaties, these are very formal diplomatic systems that are adept at their duties

when it comes to handling war and peace. This is well suited to the constitutional obligation of the state but does not handle many of the new actors in the system well. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:124) This does not take into account private international relations between businesses and NGOs, not to mention other government actors such as provinces and cities. Thus, this is where the City's strategy becomes effective due to it being able to tailor make such relations on a local level and to be able to aid in their development. Two key investment promotion initiatives that Cape Town has been driving internationally is its potential as a creative and ideas hub of Africa (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:127) and that it is a springboard into the rest of the continent for global businesses. (Wesgro, 2017:39)

With Cape Town being the World Design Capital of 2014 and having many creative sector businesses, the City had become a powerful cultural and ideas hub. It also has been able to leverage its immense human talent, provided by its four major universities and many other institutions, to also be an innovative hub when it comes to start-ups and the technology sectors. This has been incredibly important in providing a unique niche market to convince other actors to invest in the city. This is further cemented by the City being well connected with the rest of the world by air, road, rail, sea, and fibre to ensure that businesses are able to operate within Cape Town and be connected to the rest of the world. It has thus been able to achieve notable successes such as being in the top 25 cities for FDI strategies (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:126) as well as having some of the lowest logistics cost in the world for global cities (Wesgro, 2017:26)

This is where one of its most important projects, the Cape Town Air Access Strategy plays a significant role. The City, Province, Wesgro, Cape Town Tourism, Airports Company South Africa and South African Tourism have a steering committee that has marketed the City and its airport internationally in an attempt to improve direct flight connections to the City to ensure that it is connected to the rest of the world. It has successfully achieved 10 new routes and 11 route expansions since it was first started in 2015. This has led to an increase capacity of almost 700 000 two-way seats, as well as direct flights to Europe, Asia and Africa to many other cities. (Wesgro, 2017:57) The current efforts of the City of Cape Town are geared towards gaining a direct flight to the United States of America. This has led to The Mayor of Cape Town and the two City and Province investment bodies, Invest Cape Town and Wesgro, to led missions to various US Cities. It has led to delegations to Atlanta, Miami and New York. While the Miami and Atlanta agreements have led to extensive relations between the cities, a key partnership agreement was recently signed with New York. New York and the City of Cape Town have

signed a first of its kind agreement between the two cities in the tourism sector. (Ephraim, 2017:1) This will lead to the two cities extensively marketing one another on their respective public transport facilities to ensure extensive exposure to potential tourists.

These actions with regards to tourism have been taken due to various issues the City has had with the South African national government. While it is understandable that tourism promotion by a nation should be balanced between various parts of the country and may suffer from resource shortages, it should not ignore very recognisable symbols. Many tourism delegations sent by national government did not even have images of Table Mountain, which is one of the most recognisable natural wonders in the world that makes it unique. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:121) This lapse is akin to marketing Paris and France without the Eiffel Tower. Thus, the city has decided to take the lead in formulating tourism promotion. It has also acted when it comes to marketing the city, such as a recent delegation along with 15 Cape companies led by the Mayor to Ethiopia. It resulted in R200 Million worth of export deals for the city and the province. (Wardle, 2017:1)

The City has also been able to benefit extensively from various partnerships around the world. By learning from New York, it has been able to formulate a digital city strategy that has enabled it to efficiently and effectively govern. It is a City that has a legacy of water, not just from the sea but reclaiming land from the sea as well as large water management systems, which has been extensively developed with aid from Dutch cities such as Rotterdam. It has ensured it is able to better formulate policy around provision of housing through working with the Chilean city of Santiago. It has also allowed for better public safety initiatives through partnerships with Chicago and learning best practice of data led governance from the city state of Singapore. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:129) Many of these achievements have been possible through its proactive policy and its ability to use these partnerships to aid it governing the city.

6. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government: International Legacy

In 2013, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) won the right to host the 2020 Olympics. The Olympics, as most sporting occasions, have had cities extensively competing against one another for the exclusive hosting rights. One of the largest challenges, however, has been to ensure that the legacy after such sporting fixtures are sustainable and does not go to waste. The TMG has decides to do something different. Besides focusing on how to use the infrastructure

afterwards, which is admittedly important, Tokyo has formulated its City to City Diplomacy and international relations strategy with the Olympics as a springboard. It plans to use the spectacle of the Olympics and its immense opportunity with regards to foreign connection with Tokyo, since the world descend on Tokyo for the competition, and using it as a basis for its global strategy to make Tokyo the best city in the world.

To ensure that Tokyo can achieve its goal of hosting a successful Olympics, the Governor of Tokyo has been visiting many cities that have formerly hosted the Olympics to learn from their successes and their failures. (Tokyo, 2014:5) It has also built relationships with many of these cities to improve its attractiveness as a tourism and art centre. This is especially important considering the ever-decreasing population of Japan and its need for increased spending power from tourists and its need to promote more and more niche markets. (Tokyo, 2014:5) This will further allow Tokyo to participate more meaningfully in various other forums over global issues. While Tokyo is traditionally acknowledged as a global city and a global financial centre, it has not availed itself of the influence that such a position affords the city. In comparison to the City of Cape Town, it is a city of 30 million individuals compared to the 4 million of Cape Town as well as a GDP of $1.6 trillion compared to around $60 billion of Cape Town. Yet despite these disparities, the City of Cape Town has extensive leadership positions globally and has leveraged its assets to market itself internationally. Tokyo on the other hand is only now realising the potential of international city relationships and has formulated its basic strategy regarding this in response to the Olympics and its aftermath. (Tokyo, 2014:3) It will endeavour to gain further tourists, foreign investment and international conferences through it being the host of embassies and consulates that are present in Japan which gives it an advantage over Cape Town, since most of the embassies in South Africa are found in Pretoria. This is also important to understand in the context of Tokyo being a large economic centre of Japan, as the economy is extensively built around Tokyo due to its historical legacy. (Glaeser, 2011:225)

The two cities also have differing perspectives on interests. The City of Cape Town concluded that national interests very much align to the local interests of Cape Town, the motivation for an IR strategy is that Cape Town is better positioned to realise those local interests for the betterment of not just the City but also the country. (De Lille & Kesson, 2017:120) Yet for Tokyo, there has been more of a disconnect. The TMG believes that national diplomacy is best suited for national interests, while Tokyo's exchange and cooperation network would be best suited to ensure that the local interests of Tokyo's residents are met. (Tokyo, 2014:6) This is important to understand in context, as well, considering the current divisions in the ruling

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) under Shinzo Abe and the current Governor of Tokyo, Yuriko Koike. It is also interesting to note that the TMG intends to involve its residents in their internationalisation efforts and why they are important. This level of education towards its citizenry is important. It allows for the citizenry to become active participants in working with foreign tourists and traveling to various cities as millions of ambassadors towards their efforts. (Tokyo, 2014:7)

One of the main organisations that Tokyo is involved in is the Asian Network of Major Cities 21 (ANMC21). It is a network that was founded with the intention of establishing relations between many of the large cities in Asia when it comes to best practice and economic relationships. (Tokyo, 2014:8) It is not without its challenges, however, as Beijing left the organisation due to the ANMC21's insistence that the regional conference be held in Taipei, Taiwan in 2006. The will hopefully be avoided in future through the modernisation of Tokyo's strategies. Tokyo, will similarly to American cities and Cape Town, use its leader, the Governor of Tokyo, as its ambassador. The Governor will be central to ensuring international relations remain smooth and fruitful. (Tokyo, 2014:10) This will be done through increased city to city diplomacy in the form of bilateral relations. It will also be reviewing its membership in the ANMC21 and to increase its viability due to few leaders currently attending plenaries.

The city of Tokyo is also aiming to bid for international conferences to connect ideas and innovation in Tokyo and the world. This is a similar strategy to the City of Cape Town which has since 2003 successfully been attracting global talent to its Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC). It has also successfully opened the expanded CTICC 2 in 2017. These are well established strategies to ensure continued international recognition and cooperation amongst cities. It is further, through this, interesting to note that both Cape Town and Tokyo are using legacies as an impetus for their various strategies. Cape Town is using its legacy as a meeting point of the world and a globally renowned tourism destination to ensure that its international relations are fruitful and benefit the city. Tokyo on the other hand wants to use the sporting legacy of the Olympics to allow the world to come to Tokyo so that it can take Tokyo back throughout the world. Through this, the TMG will be able to realise the international potential of the city.

7. Conclusion

Cities around the world have been forming partnerships locally, internationally and globally. It has allowed cities to reach ever higher potential and ensure ever greater heights in enabling an environment where people can live their lives. Through bilateral, multilateral and global organisations, cities have succeeded in ensuring that they can be resilient in the face of challenges and to turn their them into opportunities through extensive policy initiatives that are shared throughout the networks. It is through these international relations that cities have been able to make the urban agenda as important as any other agenda within the global order. This is where cities continue to charge the new frontier in diplomatic and economic exchange through the family that they themselves have built in this global village.

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