Return of the City State?

An Assessment of City International Relations
Eduard Francois Beukman

International relations theory has failed to adequately assess the role of cities in foreign affairs. As subnational actors, cities often have the capacity to act independently from the state system. This phenomenon has contributed to the development of sister city partnerships, regional bodies and global networks. These organisations provide a forum for member city cooperation despite the high levels of competition that exist for investment and human resources. Cape Town and Tokyo serve as powerful models for the initiation of and impediments to city interaction at the international level. Understanding the disparities between Cape Town and Tokyo is vital to predicting the future role of cities in international relations.

Introduction

With the onset of urbanization, cities become increasingly important international political actors. From Athens and Sparta in the Antiquity era to Venice during the Renaissance, urban centers have long served as hubs of international trade, culture, and politics, regularly sending ambassadors on engagement trips to other cities. Great cities of the ages regularly traded goods across land and sea and were serviced by vast hinterlands that provided sustenance and labour through continued urbanization. Past political theory has focused extensively on international relations from the perspective of the nation-state. Today, theory on the subject has expanded to include large non-state actors in the form of corporations, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), supranational entities such as the European Union, and associations of states such as the G20. One key actor that has, until recently, largely been ignored by IR theory is the city. Large metropolitan areas across the globe have developed extensive relations and increasingly collaborate in large international city-to-city organizations that serve to solve challenges and share best practices. Many of these interactions have had broad focal points including economic trade and investment, security, culture, governance, and climate change. The scope of this paper is to review the existing relationships between cities as well as to assess the perception that these city associations serve primarily to preserve the nation-state. Additionally, this research will elaborate on the notion of competition and cooperation between cities

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as a central theme within these networks. Finally, this research will assess various city organizations such as the United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), C40 Cities, the World Energy Cities Partnership (WECP), and others. This paper will analyze Cape Town and Tokyo as case studies to demonstrate their proactive and unique strategies that render them independent actors in the IR system.

Existing Paradigms: Reassessment Needed?

There has been an increased focus on non-state actors and their impact on diplomacy since the proliferation of globalization theory after World War II, namely their capacity to further the interests of central government. Due largely in part to globalization, cities have been able to develop extensive interstate networks. With the increasing size and complexity of global issues such as climate change, nuclear weapons control, and international legal jurisdictions such as oceans and the Arctic, there has been an shift towards supranational and international entities. Through the combination of technological advancements and global politics, the dominance of nation-states in IR discourse has reduced, offering more opportunities for cities to engage in the international system.[1]

While the primary role of cities is development, many large urban populations have come to understand their potential in combating global problems such as poverty and pollution, namely due to their position as hubs of economic activity and their acute firsthand experiences with many of these problems. Thus, cities use their various international networks to increase their capacities independent from the state and ensure that their local interests are realized.[2]

Peer to Peer and Networking: The Power of Collaboration

A key facet of modern city diplomacy is the power of collaboration through global networks. Each organization has different objectives but most of these entities are formed under a similar principle of goal-achievement through coordination and collaboration. The mandates of these organizations can range from the smaller Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP), which collaborates on eliminating hunger, to the larger United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) network, whose thousands of members share the goal

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1   Milani, Carlos Roberto Sanchez & Ribeiro, Maria Clotilde Meirelles. "International relations and the paradiplomacy of Brazilian cities: crafting the concept of local international management." BAR - Brazilian Administration Review, 8, no. 1 (2011):21-36.

2   Ibid.

of improving policy collaboration and recently lobbied for a seat in the United Nations.[3] (UCLG, 2017:363)

These global networks have evolved over time from comprehensive sister city partnerships and twinning agreements to multilateral global organizations. Many sister city partnerships are now represented by SisterCities International (SCI) which attempts the same comprehensive agreements on a multilateral level.[4] 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 mechanisms of conflict prevention.[5]

City-to-city diplomacy has thus evolved from individual partnerships to regional and global networks. This has also created internal replications whereby cities form peer-to-peer networks to share institutional practices within a nation such as the South African Cities Network (SACN).[6] Understanding the functionality of these intrastate networks may help to demonstrate collaboration potential on a multilateral scale.

Sister Cities

After World War II, many local governments around the world initiated municipal reforms to encourage citizen-to-citizen diplomacy and contribute to conflict prevention.[7] Today, many local and regional governments have discovered the benefits of the ensuing relationships, including best practices for resource use.[8] SisterCities International (SCI) was created with the intention to promote peace through mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation.[9] It thus serves as a hub for institutional knowledge and actively seeks to expand sister city relationships around the world. SCI's membership includes 2000 cities across 137 countries.

Shared arts and cultural programs are a cornerstone of these city partnerships.[10] As cities are generally the cultural and artistic hubs of nations and a primary source of state soft power, cultural exchanges serve as major state soft power tools. The ability for

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3   United Cities and Local Government. *2016 Annual Report.* Barcelona: UCLG. (2017).

4   SisterCities International. *2017 Annual Report & Membership Directory.* Washington: SCI. (2017).

5   Zelinsky, Wilbur. *The Twinning of the World: Sister Cities in Geographic and Historical Perspective.* Annals of the Associations of American Geographies, 8, no. 1 (1991):1-31

6   South African Cities Network. *State of South African Cities Report 2016.* Johannesburg: SACN. (2016).

7   Saunier, Pierre-Yves. "Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910-50: Voluntary Associations, International Institutions and US Philanthropic Foundations." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 25, no. 2 (2001):380-403.

8   SisterCities International, *2017 Annual Report.*

9   Ibid.

10   Ramasamy, Bala & Cremer, Rolf D. "Cities, commerce and culture: The economic role of international sister-city relationships between New Zealand and Asia." Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy, 3, no. 3 (1998):446-461.

culture and art to connect individuals is vital to encouraging mutual understanding and common values. Thus, festivals and other forms of exchange are becoming increasingly common.

For example, despite tension between the United States and Russia, there has still been room for exchange. In 1973, Seattle, Washington and Tashkent, Uzbekistan signed the first U.S.-Soviet sister cities agreement. In Seattle, a dilapidated park was restored and rededicated as Tashkent Park as a symbol of friendship and goodwill.[11] Another cultural exchange was conducted by Muscatine, Iowa and Zhengding, China in which the Muscatine Symphony Orchestra and the China Windows Group collaborated to provide a free public performance. This collaboration exposed students to new artists and encouraged both musical and personal engagement. Sports exchanges have also proliferated. Tuscaloosa, Alabama and Narashino, Japan hosted the Inaugural Sister Cities International Bowl, an American football competition, to promote university sports exchanges.[12] While there may be linguistic or cultural barriers, the capacity for sports, art, and music to transcend national barriers renders cultural exchanges powerful tools for international engagement. Business has also benefitted immensely from these networks. Besides improvements in trade and tourism, these exchanges also encourage the development of trust between municipal officials and businesses, enabling stronger connectivity and more efficient resource access within a city. It can also improve transportation capacities through the creation of direct flights between cities as well as port-to-port forums that improve trade capacities. An example of these improvements can be seen in Cape Town's Air Access strategy, which will be discussed in a later section.

Atlanta, Georgia and Toulouse, France exemplify business collaboration. The France-Atlanta Organisation has led to forums on cybersecurity, mental health, and art. The two cities have also agreed upon a start-up exchange which involves outsourcing start-ups from their respective cities for access to new markets and investors.[13] This is similar to the Digital Nomad Initiative between London and Cape Town whereby London digital entrepreneurs work in Cape Town for two weeks. Another example is the port-to-port agreement between Virginia Beach, Virginia and Olongapo, Philippines, which has led to trade assurances, newly established businesses, and shared best practice.[14]

Other vital cogs in the system are community development and municipal organization. This involves the sharing of best practices between elected officials and raising funds for community development and disaster relief programs in order to encourage better service provision. An example of this is the healthcare exchange between Atlanta,

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11   SisterCities International, *2017 Annual Report.*
12   SisterCities International. *Sino-African Initiative 2012-2014.* Washington: SCI. (2015).
13   SisterCities International, *2017 Annual Report.*
14   Ibid.

Georgia and Montego Bay, Jamaica in which Atlanta has helped to provide free healthcare to Montego Bay citizens through doctor and nurse exchanges.[15]

      An award winning program sponsored by SCI is the Sino-Africa Initiative. This two-year program was funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation with the intention of stimulating collaboration between Chinese, African, and American cities on economic development and urban poverty. This program brought together public diplomacy organizations, municipalities, and businesses to create strategies to tackle developmental challenges and alleviate poverty.[16] This led to the 2013 conference in Nairobi, Kenya, where trilateral projects were developed to be completed in 2014. A key finding of this initiative was that success of the project hinged on strong pre-existing relationships between the participating cities.[17]

      These partnerships highlight the potential that city-to-city partnerships have to address many pertinent and local issues due to their acute understanding of local realities. The international role of the city, once the preserve of the nation-state, has diversified.

Continental Bodies

      With the proliferation of extensive sister city partnerships, municipal and regional governments began to realize the potential of international collaboration. In Europe and South America, this opportunity was pursued through various bodies, most notably the EuroCities and Mercocities organizations. These two bodies have hundreds of members that participate in its various forums on subjects, including but not limited to economic growth, science and technology, climate change, and smart city programs.[18] City leaders have discovered that cooperation is both possible and beneficial despite resource competition in the global market. This has led to collaborative bodies such as EuroCities and Mercocities to speak as one effective voice in their various arenas, such as the European Union and Mercosur respectively.

Eurocities

      EuroCities was formed under the desire of leading city administrations to promote urban policy formulation within the European Union (EU). As 80% of the European population live in urban centers, cities serve as hubs of the European economy. A key aim of the body is to promote international cooperation between various cities in Europe

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15   SisterCities International, *Sino-African Initiative*.

16   Ibid.

17   Ibid.

18   EuroCities. *EuroCities Strategic Framework 2014-2020*. Brussels: EuroCities. (2014).

on a more practical level through sharing best practices.[19] It has grown from six founding members in 1986 to the current 137 major cities and 47 partner cities, representing 130 million individuals.[20] This network has become even more important due to current post-Brexit uncertainty. EuroCities has allowed for continued close relationships between British and European cities while the national governments of their respective nations struggle with exit negotiations. The organization also succeeded in creating the EU's Urban Agenda in 2016, effectively solidifying its voice in Brussels.[21]

EuroCities has had a large impact on economic trade deals, immigration practices, and environmental policy, arenas typically reserved to the state or supranational entities. With the launch of the European Agenda on Jobs and Growth under President Juncker and the Declaration on Work, EuroCities effectively influenced the EU agenda to prioritize improving youth employment and opportunities.[22] The importance of youth skills development was soon added to the agenda in September 2016, capitalizing on cities' acute understandings of local skill gaps in an attempt to provide detailed recommendations for effective skills development policies. Recently, EuroCities has turned its attention to EU trade deals with non-members. Cities have realised the impact that these trade deals have on their local constituencies and have pushed for monitoring and participation in negoations. EuroCities delegations have met with the European Commissioner responsible for negotiations on trade deals such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) to ensure the coalition's voice is heard.[23]

With immigration high on the Western agenda, coupled with the rise of right-wing populism in both Europe and the United States, immigration has become a major policy hurdle fraught with moral, economic, and logistical challenges. With cities well established as transit hubs and points of arrival, much of the discourse on immigration centers on how cities are to respond to immigrants and asylum seekers.[24] The EU and national governments have been paralyzed on policy initiatives and burden-sharing, leaving EuroCities with a unique opportunity for collaboration and policymaking. A network within the body, known as SolidarityCities, was created to share best practices on how to receive and integrate refugees in a sustainable manner.[25]

SolidarityCities was proposed initially by Athens to coordinate a collective immigration response. While borders are still the preserve of the nation-state, cities serve as

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19   Griffiths, Ron. *Eurocities*. Planning Practice & Research, 10, no. 2 (1995):215-222.

20   EuroCities. *EuroCities Annual Report 2016-2017*. Brussels: EuroCities. (2017).

21   Payre, Renaud. "The Importance of Being Connected, City Networks and Urban Government: Lyon and Eurocities (1990-2005)." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 34, no. 2 (2010):260-280.

22   EuroCities, *Annual Report 2016-2017*.

23   Ibid.

24   EuroCities, *Strategic Framework*.

25   EuroCities. *Refugee Reception and Integration in Cities*. Brussels: EuroCities. (2016).

primary entry ports for most immigrants and asylum seekers. In the absence of national action, city governments in EuroCities have initiated coordination with each other and their respective civil societies, the driving force behind the internationalization of cities.[26] This initiative has seen some major successes: member cities have begun creating reception areas for refugees and asylum seekers.[27] This 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.[28] This idea was strongly supported by the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, who called for 'Cities of Refuge.'[29] Thus, EuroCities has become a vital network to ensure that the policy paralysis at a national and supranational level does not leave cities incapacitated to respond to local realities. This level of bottom-up Europeanization has not been widely discussed before in IR theory.[30]

While there are many institutions that deal with climate change on a global level, the importance of regional multilateral city organizations such as EuroCities cannot be overstated. Cities are often the focal point of both economic activity and pollution. The situation in the United States reflects the power of cities to commit to climate change prevention policy, when mayors across the country responded to President Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement by reaffirming their respective cities' commitments to the accord.[31] In 2016, EuroCities held its first Climate Chance Summit Summit for subnational actors where participants endorsed the Nantes Declaration on Climate Change.[32] This declaration was further advocated by EuroCities representatives in another global city network, the Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy Initiative (CMCEI), through which exchanges were organized to allow officials to share information and take part in a global climate adaption and mitigation initiative.[33] Further, EuroCities as a body has pushed for including local governments in decision making processes in order to accelerate the European clean energy transition.[34]

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26   Vion, Antoine. 2002. *Europe from the Bottom Up: Town Twinning in France during the Cold War.* Contemporary European History, 11(4):623-640.

27   Eurocities, *Refugee Reception.*

28   Ibid.

29   Ibid.

30   Vion, *Europe from the Bottom Up.*

31   EuroCities, *Annual Report 2016-2017.*

32   Ibid.

33   Ibid.

34   Ibid.

Economics, immigration, and climate change have traditionally fallen under the jurisdiction of the state or more recently intergovernmental organizations and supranational entities. Cities, as frequent breeding grounds for these issues, have initiated collaboration with business stakeholders, civil society, and sister cities to develop viable solutions. This directly contradicts a perceived competitive nature between cities.

Mercocities

The decentralization inherent within many South American nations has led to extensive paradiplomacy between South American cities. This is especially the case in Brazil, where vague constitutional rules have left the jurisdiction of cities in international affairs unresolved. Mercocities is attempting to push for a constitutional amendment to promote easier coordination between the three spheres of municipal, state and federal government with regards to financing international initiatives.[35]

Mercocities has focused extensively on increasing city involvement in citizen security policy. Local governments are rarely responsible for the security apparatus as this is usually the preserve of the state or a provincial body, but involvement in the process has increased.[36] City networks, specifically Mercocities, emphasize the need for international cooperation amongst cities to combat crime through policy transfers and coordinated responses to cross border crime by localizing security policy.

Security has traditionally been assessed in international relations discourse as that of a nation-state defending its territory from external or internal threats. This is reflective of a state-centreered approach in IR theory, but in the past several decades, discourse has reflected a shift to a more human security-centered approach.[37] A comprehensive human security ideology is vital in the context of prevention as it is more sustainable to manage and is multi-sectoral in approach.[38] After the repression experienced in 1960s-1980s Latin America, the subsequent wave of democratization led to a new security ideology, moving away from state security towards citizen security.[39]

With this change, has also come large challenges. Latin America has experienced a huge swell in policies advocating for a human rights approach but has been beset with violence related to organized crime and drug trafficking.[40] In response to these concerns

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35   Milani, "International Relations."

36   Rodrigues, Gilberto Marcos Antonio & Mattioli, Thiago. "Paradiplomacy, Security Policies and City Networks: The Case of the Mercocities Citizen Security Thematic Unit." Contexto Internacional, 39, no. 3 (2017):569-587.

37   United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. *Human Security in Theory and Practice. An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security.* New York City: United Nations Human Security Unit. (2009).

38   Ibid.

39   Rodrigues, "Paradiplomacy."

40   Ibid.

and fears of violent retaliation from national security forces, local cities and their respective mayors have begun to coordinate security responses across the Mercocities network, leading to improvements for human security across many metrics.[41]

In sum, both EuroCities and Merocities have taken on prominent roles in both the national and international arenas. This extensive network of paradiplomacy has successfully allowed for policy transfer as well as unity of purpose. These networks and other like them will continue to lobby their respective national and supranational bodies for increased resources and a seat at the negotiations table in order to solve national and global challenges through local efforts.

Global Networks

Cities have become increasingly engaged in the global policymaking arena through global city networks. As these networks continue to proliferate, many organizations have contended for official recognition from international institutions, namely the United Nations. As these organizations continue to put forth their localized solutions, it can be argued that local cities are achieving remarkable strides in improving life in the global community.

The United Cities and Local Government (UCLG)

The United Cities and Local Government (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 at the international level.[42] To do this, the UCLG suggests that local governments must be integrated as a constituency in the global system instead of being restricted to ad hoc processes.[43]

The UCLG has achieved several successes under this agenda, namely the Strategic Partnership with the EU, which is the first of its kind. The UCLG has thus been of vital importance recently for its Global Taskforce of Local and Regional Governments' involvement 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 contributed to the Bogotá Commitment which was adopted by the members' global "parliament," the World Assembly of Local and Regional Governments. This proactive commitment has led to the localization of the global sustainable development agenda. This has

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41   Milani, "International Relations."

42   United Cities and Local Government (ed). *Gold IV 2016 Fourth Global Report on Decentralization and Local Democracy. Co-Creating the Urban Future. The Agenda of Metropolises, Cities and Territories.* Barcelona: UCLG. (2016).

43   United Cities and Local Government. *UCLG Strategic Priorities 2016-2022.* Barcelona: UCLG. (2015).

extensively benefitted the local and regional organized networks within the Taskforce and the UCLG when it comes to sharing best practices and sustainable development suited to local realities. Furthermore, the UCLG contributed to 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.[44]

These relationships are important to nurture, as the UCLG still has yet to gain recognition in the United Nations. Thus, the UCLG has branched out all over the world to local governments to unify their voice and provide the necessary impetus for action.

100ResilientCities, C40 Cities and the World Cities Energy Partnership

One of our primary modern global challenges remains the coordination of an effective response to climate change that does not compromise the global economy or environment. Cities can prove extremely useful in coordinating responses as primary foci of the global economy and major contributors to pollution. Thus, many international city networks are geared towards solving climate change.

The 100ResilientCities (100RC) initiative was founded with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. The 100RC has given funding to 100 cities around the world, providing them with access to network, technical, and policy experts, as well as the temporary salary needs for a chief resilience officer, who will oversee policy making and ensure resilience is factored into in all decision making procedures of the city. The primary goal of the network is to encourage city development of a resilience strategy to overcome its most intractable challenges. This network has achieved numerous successes in cities around the world through its extensive partnerships engaging both government and civil society. One of the major international problems that this network is attempting to tackle is international migration.

The "100RC Network Exchange: Cities and the Global Migration Crisis" summit in Athens eight cities from the network, including the host city of Athens. As was perviously mentioned, Athens has experience dealing with international migratory crises through the SanctuaryCities initiative within EuroCities. The summit was designed to discuss ways in which cities can absorb and generate opportunity from international migration pressures in response to limited national action. This illustrates how cities in numerous networks can foster cross-network dissemination of ideas. Members at the summit further discussed how the impact of climate change will continue to drive migration. The international migratory population peaked at 244 million in 2015, posing an unprecedented challenge for cities.[45] This was further highlighted by the Lead for Change

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44   United Cities and Local Government, *2016 Annual Report.*

45   United Nations. *International Migration Report 2015.* New York City: United Nations. (2016).

resolution that cities must coordinate amongst themselves and engage regional, national, and international policymakers to ensure that policy processes take into account the realities of migratory integration.[46] 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.

Many successful projects arose from the summit. 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.[47] This network of eight European cities was created with the goal of fostering a sense of social inclusion within their migrant and local populations. It was also created with the intention of allowing the cities to share data on migration patterns.[48]

The 100RC initiative has many strategies relating to climate change resilience, but a key international body at present 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 organization 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 practices through its seventeen sub-networks by facilitating dialogue and relationship building amongst various city officials.[49] The organization also has an active City Diplomacy Strategy that ensures cities are able to coordinate to lobby national governments and organize during international meetings such as the Conference of Parties (COP21) which led to the Paris Climate Agreement.[50] The C40 Cities have made two recent contributions to combating climate change in recent years. First, U.S. cities involved in the C40 Cities program have led an effort to galvanise American cities to reaffirm commitment to the Paris Climate Agreement despite federal withdrawal. Second, the UCLG and the UN Habitat formed the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy in conjunction with many other bodies such as the ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability.

The C40 Cities in the U.S. are already climate leaders. This is vital to their continued economic growth and resilience. The national average of CO2 production per capita in the U.S. is 21 tons. The U.S. C40 Cities on the other hand have managed to achieve 10 ten tons per capita.[51] These initiatives also underscore the importance of taking part in

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46   100ResilientCities. *Global Migration. Resilient Cities at the Forefront. Strategic actions to adapt and transform our cities in an age of migration.* New York City: 100ResilientCities. (2016).

47   Ibid.

48   Ibid.

49   C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group. *How U.S. Cities Will Get the Job Done.* New York City: C40 Cities. (2017).

50   Ibid.

51   Ibid.

global networks to be able to set goals and aid one another in achieving them. 7,477 cities representing 685 million people and almost 10% of the global population have all committed to the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy. This body enables cities to support global climate goals irrespective of national and international conflict.

 The World Energy Cities Partnership (WECP) is an organization consisting of eighteen cities around the world that are recognized as international energy capitals. The primary tool of this organization is economic partnership through business-to-business interaction and energy related activities.[52] These cities are mostly 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 as initiated by the Calgary Climate Change Accord have been the establishment of a sustainability office. It has led to the development of green energy grids, electric car fleets, and large manufacturing sectors and improves research connectivity. Universities are centers of research and skills development and are thus critical tools in securing efficient future policy.[53]

Social Networks

 Not all city networks are geared towards climate change, international migration, and global governance structures. Some are geared toward resolving the pressing social issues that beset people around the world including poor health, hunger, and violence. The networks that will be discussed in this section are the Partnership for Healthy Cities (PHC) and the Hungry Cities Network (HCN) with respect to health and hunger policy, and the Strong Cities Network (SCN) and the International Cities of Peace (ICP) with respect to violence prevention.

 There are many social issues that persist around the world, especially in urban areas where cities cannot keep up with massive resource demand. Around the world, Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs), such as hypertension and diabetes, constitute 80% of all deaths worldwide. NCDs predominantly effect low and middle income countries, but they receive only 1% of total development assistance for treatment despite its preventability.[54] The rest go towards communicable diseases. Ten evidence-based policy interventions will be implemented in the various cities to determine their efficacy in the network and to

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52 World Energy Cities Partnership. *WECP Green Economy Best Practice.* Houston: WECP. (2016).

53 World Energy Cities Partnership. *Research Centers and Programs.* Houston: WECP. (2017).

54 Bloomberg Philanthropies. *Annual Report May 2017.* New York City: Bloomberg Philanthropies. (2017).

provide further learning opportunities.[55]

The Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP) was formed in 2015 in response to respective rises in urbanization, food insecurity, and poverty in the Global South. The HCP was created with three sustainable development goals in mind; allievate poverty, allievate hunger, and create sustainable cities and communities.[56] Its objectives are to analyze the availability, access, utilization, and stability of food systems in each city. The HCP also researches and coordinates with higher education institutions to determine inclusive growth strategies in the food economy. It thus attempts to build a policy-orientated knowledge platform and create a powerful city network.[57]

Two networks that are interested in peace and security are SCN and the ICP SisterCities Network . The SCN was created to facilitate knowledge sharing and resilience expertise in order to enable cities to combat violent extremism through various regional and international conferences. The organization also capitalizes on the potential to directly develop strategic frameworks and capabilities to build resilience within their respective communities. The network further provides grants to various cities to experiment with various strategies and facilitate network sharing.

The International Cities of Peace (ICP) is an organization founded by the "Cities of Peace." The cities in this organization share a deep history of peace. Many are sites where peace treaties were signed, while others house international peace institutions such as The Hague or have been rebuilt after wars. Thus, having acute awareness of the consequences of conflict, this organization promotes deterrence, reconciliation, and multicultural living.

Cape Town

Cape Town, self-branded as the Mother City, will be the first case study analyzed as an emerging city that is strengthening its international standing through the development of city networks. Cape Town is rapidly gaining a reputation as a cooperative member in international forums and has secured membership to many of the aforementioned organizations, largely due to its internationally oriented development strategy and efforts to make it an attractive destination for investment. The city has long boasted international significance as a waystation between East and West; its port is still vitally important for trade between Latin America, Europe, America and Asia and the city has a thriving air travel industry.

The goal of local administration is to generate partnerships and initiatives that

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55   Bloomberg, Annual Report.

56   Crush, Jonathan. *Hungry Cities of the Global South. Hungry Cities Partnership Reports. (2016).* Accessed 10 September 2017.

57   Ibid.

create real value for the city.[58] This is to be done through city promotion and participation in learning opportunities with other cities. The city administration recognizes healthy competition for human resources and investment but emphasizes the need for intercity cooperation and resilience building in order to address global challenges like climate change.[59] This demonstrates Cape Town's understanding that local issues reflect global problems and can be combatted through international collaboration. For Cape Town specifically, this new ideology required a branding shift. While many around the world recognize Cape Town as a tourism destination, the local administration wanted to build on this to promote Cape Town as a world class, future-focused business city.[60]

By 2012, Cape Town was party to various sister city agreements and international conferences but lacked a clearly defined agenda. Many of the policies dealt with how to conduct international business but did not address the underlying motivations for improved connectivity. The administration relied on the American model of city relations whereby the mayor is the primary ambassador and city engagements oscillated between competition and opportunity. This extensive competition requires proactivity, not reactivity, to fully benefit from the opportunities that exist. Thus, the policy shifted away from cultural exchanges towards proactive marketing, economic relationships, and best practice sharing.[61]

It also required figuring out the regulatory balance between the local, provincial, and national government within the South African context. The city of Cape Town, its host province the Western Cape, and the South African national government each have its own international relations strategy. Foreign affairs require a comprehensive strategy: while there are embassies, protocols, and treaties, these are very formal diplomatic system well suited to the constitutional obligation of the state but inept at incorporating new actors in the system such as businesses, NGOs, and other government actors such as provinces and cities.[62] The city's strategy is therefore more effective in its capacity to tailor to local actors and aid in their development. Two key investment promotion initiatives that Cape Town has been driving internationally are its potential to serve as a creative hub in Africa and as a springboard for business development.[63,64]

With Cape Town being the World Design Capital of 2014 and having many cre-

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58   De Lille, Patricia. & Kesson, Craig. *View From City Hall, Reflections On Governing Cape Town*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers. (2017).

59   De Lille, *View From City Hall.*

60   City of Cape Town. *Strategic International Relations (Policy Number 12187) [Replaces Previous Policy known as Strategic External Relations)*. (2015). Accessed 12 September 2017.

61   De Lille, *View From City Hall.*

62   Ibid.

63   Ibid.

64   Wesgro. *The Western Cape: Africa's Trade and Investment Springboard.* Cape Town: Wesgro. (2017).

ative sector businesses, the city had become a powerful culture and innovation hub. It has been able to leverage its immense human talent, provided by its four major universities and many other institutions, to foster start-ups and encourage growth in the technology sector. This has been incredibly important in providing a unique market to incentivize investment. This is assisted by Cape Town's advanced air, road, rail, and sea travel industries. Cape Town has been named one of the top 25 cities for FDI strategies and has some of the lowest logistics cost in the world.[65,66]

This is where one of its most important projects, the Cape Town Air Access Strategy, plays a significant role. Local and provincial officials, Wesgro (the city's official tourism, trade & investment promotion agency), Cape Town Tourism, Airports Company South Africa, and South African Tourism serve as a steering committee that has marketed the city and its airport in an attempt to increase direct flight connections. It has successfully achieved ten new routes and eleven route expansions since it was first started in 2015. This has led to an increased capacity of almost 700,000 round trip tickets, as well as direct flights to Europe, Asia, and Africa.[67] The current efforts of Cape Town are geared towards gaining a direct flight to the U.S. This has led to the Mayor of Cape Town and the two city and province investment bodies, Invest Cape Town and Wesgro, to lead missions to various U.S. cities such as Atlanta, Miami, and New York. The Miami and Atlanta agreements have led to extensive relations between the cities and a key partnership agreement was recently signed with New York. New York and Cape Town have signed an unprecedented tourism agreement in which the two cities will extensively marketing one another on their respective public transport facilities to increase exposure to potential tourists.[68]

These tourism initiatives have been taken in response to various issues between Cape Town and the South African national government over the state's promotion of Cape Town. Many tourism delegations sent by national government failed to promote Cape Town's most recognizable symbols, such as Table Mountain. In response, the city has initiated independent tourism promotion and capitalized on opportunities for marketing such as a recent delegation to Ethiopia of fifteen Cape Town companies led by the Mayor. It resulted in R200 Million worth of export deals for the city and province.[69]

The city has benefitted extensively from various global partnerships. Through engagement with New York, it has been able to formulate a more effective digital city strategy. Cape Town has similarly improved land reclamation and water management systems

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65   De Lille, *View From City Hall.*

66   Wesgro, *5 Year Strategic Plan.*

67   Ibid.

68   Ephraim, Adrian. "Cape Town and New York sign historic tourism deal." Independent Online, 24 August 2017, accessed 11 September 2017

69   Wardle, Colin. *Wesgro helps boost Western Cape economy.* Independent Online, 12 September 2017, Accessed 13 September 2017.

with aid from Dutch cities such as Rotterdam, housing provision strategies with aid from Santiago, Chile, public safety initiatives through partnerships with Chicago, and data best practice strategies from Singapore.[70]

Tokyo

In 2013, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) won the right to host the 2020 Olympics. Tokyo has formulated its city-to-city diplomacy and international relations strategy with the Olympics as a springboard, intending to use the spectacle of the Olympics to improve Tokyo's international standing. As previously mentioned, Cape Town is using its legacy as a via point to realize its international potential; Tokyo will use the legacy of the Olympics to do the same.

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.[71] It has subsequently built relationships with many of these cities to improve its attractiveness as a tourism and art hub. Japan's need to promote tourism and niche markets to generate spending power is especially important considering its aging population.[72] This will enable 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 center, it has failed to capitalize on this potential to project its influence. Tokyo is a city of 30 million individuals and $1.6 trillion GDP compared to Cape Town's almost 4 million person population and $60 billion GDP. Yet despite these disparities, Cape Town has extensive global leadership positions and has leveraged its assets to market itself internationally. Tokyo is only now realizing the potential of international city relationships and is using the Olympics as a springboard for this new paradigm. Moreover, Tokyo will benefit from its position as an embassy and consulate hub and its historical legacy as the center of Japan's economy.[73]

The two cities also have differing perspectives on interest convergence. Cape Town has concluded that national interests align closely to the city's local interests, and therefore benefits realized for the nation improve city interests as well.[74] Tokyo suffers from greater ideological 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. This is impor-

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70   De Lille, *View From City Hall.*

71   Tokyo Metropolitan Government. *The Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Basic Strategy for City Diplomacy.* Tokyo: Government Publisher. (2014).

72   Ibid.

73   Glaeser, Edward. *Triumph Of The City*. London: Macmillan. (2011).

74   De Lille, *View From City Hall.*

tant to understand in context, 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 TMG intends to engage its local constituency and encourage active participary in promotion.[75]

One of the main organizations in which Tokyo is involved is the Asian Network of Major Cities 21 (ANMC21), a network that was founded with the intention of establishing best practice sharing and economic relationships between many of the large cities in Asia.[76] It is not without its challenges: Beijing left the organization due to the ANMC21's insistence that the regional conference be held in Taipei, Taiwan in 2006.

The Governor of Tokyo, as its ambassador, will be central to ensuring international relations remain fruitful.[77] This will be done through increased city-to-city diplomacy and reviewed ANMC21 membership requirements to increase its viability and improve plenary attendance. Tokyo will also bid for international conferences. A similar strategy has been pursued by Cape Town which has successfully attracted global talent to its Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC) since 2003 and the expanded CTICC 2 in 2017.

Conclusion

By means of policy collaboration in bilateral and global organizations, cities have succeeded in prioritizing urban interests at the international level. Cape Town and Tokyo are powerful examples of cities' potential to play a large role in the global political system. City-to-city networks like sister city partnerships and regional bodies provide a forum for action when national actors fail to create sufficient policy and a medium through which to mitigate the consequences of pressing global challenges ranging from migration to climate change. These networks will continue to develop in importance as cities demand a bigger seat at the international table.

75   Tokyo, *Basic Strategy.*

76   Ibid.

77   Ibid.

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