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Metrodiplomacy:
The Nexus of Foreign Policy and Cities

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Metrodiplomacy: The Nexus of Foreign Policy and Cities

“The 19th century was the century of empires, the 20th was the century of nation states, and the 21st is the century of cities and mayors.” — Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London¹

As the international system is splintering, so too is the traditional understanding of the role of cities in foreign affairs. In the face of rapid urbanization, global political fragmentation, and shifting geopolitical spheres of influence, cities are becoming a focal point of analysis in the modern era.² Traditional international relations (IR) theory has long equated states and their central governments as the main actors in diplomacy and foreign policy.³ However, as the role of municipal foreign policy involvement has expanded into mainstream political discourse, some scholars have modified this orthodox view of subnational entities as mere pawns in international affairs.⁴ Cities—and more importantly the urban network they have developed—are beginning to shape policy not only at the local level but also in the international arena.⁵ While this behavior on the part of cities is largely under-analyzed, misunderstood, and in many instances unwelcome by realists and national governments, this analysis will provide a description and assessment of such activities and the motivating factors of the cities that are engaging in it.⁶ It will furthermore explore the often contentious relationship between municipal governments and their growing role in the state-centric realm of diplomacy.

¹ “Politico 28: Sadiq Khan,” Politico, accessed January 7, 2019, <https://www.politico.eu/list/politico-28-class-of-2017-ranking/sadiq-khan/>.

² Benjamin Leffel and Michele Acuto, “City Diplomacy in the Age of Brexit and Trump,” *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, Summer/Fall 2017, 9-11.

³ Philip M. Seib, *The Future of Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 4-5.

⁴ Rodrigo Tavares, *Paradiplomacy: Cities and States as Global Players* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7.

⁵ Michele Acuto, with Hugo Decramer, Juliana Kerr, Ian Klaus, Sam Tabory, and Noah Toly, *Toward City Diplomacy: Assessing capacity in select global cities* (Chicago: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2018).

⁶ Michele Acuto and Steve Rayner, “Time to take city diplomacy seriously,” *Cities Today*, September 25, 2016, <https://cities-today.com/time-take-city-diplomacy-seriously/>.

With the rising standing of cities as actors on the global stage comes rising criticism.⁷ Questions surrounding the motives of mayors, municipal councils, and their so-called “international affairs offices,”⁸ have led some to believe that cities should stay out of the affairs of the state.⁹ However, for many mayors, urban residents, and political theorists, this is no longer an option.¹⁰ Globalization has changed the definition of what is international and what is local. The “pure zero-sum days of great power relations”¹¹ amongst nationalistic states are no longer feasible in foreign affairs.¹² Cities and the communities within them are forging new relationships, promoting collaboration across borders and facilitating international partnership, inclusion and progress.¹³ As the late Rutgers political scientist Benjamin R. Barber noted, “Participation and pride in community rather than to institutionalize[d] blind patriotism”¹⁴ is the key to urban success in the future. Barber—an acclaimed American political theorist and author—addresses many of the complexities of urban life and politics in his book *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*. He discerns that if cities wish to thrive in the future, they must continue to strive to be pragmatic, cooperative, network oriented, and open to innovation. Barber writes, “Come hell or high water, war or siege, [cities] have to worry about

⁷ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 238-240.

⁸ “Leading the Foreign Affairs Conversation in NYC & LA,” Pacific Council on International Policy, accessed January 23, 2019, <https://www.pacificcouncil.org/newsroom/cities-nyc-and-la-lead-foreign-affairs-conversation>.

⁹ “Forget Nations: Cities Will Transform the Way We Conduct Foreign Affairs,” United Nations University, accessed February 2, 2019, <https://unu.edu/publications/articles/forget-the-nation-state-cities-will-transform-the-way-we-conduct-foreign-affairs.html>.

¹⁰ Benjamin R. Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 12-13.

¹¹ Mona Sutphen and Nina Hachigian, *The Next American Century: How the U.S. Can Thrive as Other Powers Rise* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 10.

¹² Alexander L. George, Gordon Alexander Craig, and Paul Lauren, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 116-117.

¹³ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 12-13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

plowing the streets and providing parking, and yes, always and everywhere picking up the garbage.”¹⁵

Cooperation and congeniality ultimately lead to pragmatism—and nowhere but in the city are these conditions more readily suited.¹⁶ The urban environment creates residents who are adaptive and innovative, a necessity in today's world.¹⁷ Richard Florida, senior editor at *The Atlantic* and Professor at the University of Toronto,¹⁸ addresses this necessity in an editorial piece published in *Business Insider*, “the real key to unleashing our creativity lies in humanity's greatest invention—the city. Cities are veritable magnetrons for creativity.”¹⁹ Florida asserts, “Great thinkers, artists, and entrepreneurs—the Creative Class writ large—have always clustered and concentrated in cities.”²⁰ The “creative class” to Florida, who first championed the term, saw it as a representation of a modern post-industrial classification of the new types of commerce, business, and behaviors associated with the contemporary urban resident. While “creative” might first conjure up ideas of artists, musicians, or actors, Florida’s representation of the term is far more encompassing.²¹ To Florida, society at large has a “creative ethos [which] is increasingly dominant.”²² He states in the overview to his book *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent*, “Millions of us are beginning to work and live much as creative types like artists and scientists always have. Our values and tastes, our personal relationships, our

¹⁵ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

¹⁷ Richard Florida, “Richard Florida: It's Up To The Cities To Bring America Back,” *Business Insider*, February 2, 2012, <https://www.businessinsider.com/richard-florida-its-up-to-the-cities-to-bring-america-back-2012-2>.

¹⁸ “Richard Florida,” City Lab, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://www.citylab.com/authors/richard-florida/>.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ “Richard Florida: Books,” Creative Class Group, accessed January 25, 2019, http://www.creativeclass.com/richard_florida/books/the_rise_of_the_creative_class.

²² *Ibid.*

choices of where to live, and even our sense and use of time are changing.”²³ It is ultimately this creative and inventive post-modern lifestyle which leads urban residents, industries, and municipal governments to drive commerce, culture, capital, and even democratic practices in the city.²⁴ This guiding force which cities hold is what has led some political theorists to go as far as to regard modern cities as the “engines of democracy.”²⁵ The legislation and diplomacy of cities is now more metropolitan than ever. Barber explains that “[u]rban life entails common living; common living means common willing and common law making, and these define the essence of political democracy.”²⁶ Democracy is defined by how power is shared among all—moving away from injustices and inequality—and realized in the governance practices of a community.²⁷ The institutions that have historically manifested this process, whether it be a state, city, or even a nongovernmental organization (NGO), are constant in a state of flux. The city, on the other hand, remains an institution steadfast in its evolutionary development.²⁸ Barber writes, “cities are where people live and renew themselves under ever-changing circumstances and even under changing sovereignties ... they have a better chance to sustain local liberty and endure over centuries, even millennia.”²⁹ What this is alluding to is the fact that cities, unlike other political institutions or the state, have shown the capability to sustain *so-called* democratic global governance, in many cases indefinitely throughout millennia.³⁰ However, it is how this

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Dan Koon-hong Chan, “City diplomacy and “glocal” governance: revitalizing cosmopolitan democracy,” *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 29, no. 2 (March 2016): 134-136.

²⁵ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Ricky Burdett, “Cities in numbers: how patterns of urban growth change the world,” *The Guardian*, November 23, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/nov/23/cities-in-numbers-how-patterns-of-urban-growth-change-the-world>

²⁹ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 222.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

governance is incubated, whether through multilateral diplomacy and partnership or through unilateral self interest—centered largely around economic interests—which will largely determine this trend in the future.

Undoubtedly, if one is to view the city through such a lens in which the city is capable of addressing and possibly solving many of the complex international issues which plague our modern world, it is also essential to address its relationship to the state.³¹ While it is clear that cities acting alone are not capable of resolving many of the multifaceted global challenges that currently impact our global community, the important aspect of their power comes in their sheer scope.³² With “68% of the world's population projected to live in urban areas by 2050” according to the United Nations (UN), the ways in which cities tackle challenges can have a substantial impact in the international community.³³ If states won't act, say, on climate change, migration policy or economic development, then the city must. Cities are now providing a framework for states, which are often either apprehensive, or simply slow to tackle large-scale and systemic global challenges.³⁴ Cities are on the front lines, feeling the effects of such global dilemmas much more directly. Urban areas have historically struggled to deal with and are often forced to hastily pass legislation that addresses concerns as diverse as rapid growth, rising sea levels, economic stagnation, inequality, mass migration, and splintering foreign affairs, amongst other urban challenges.³⁵

³¹ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 14.

³² Michael J. Coren, “The world has decided bottom-up is the way it’s going to stop climate change,” *Quartz*, September 16, 2018, <https://qz.com/1390670/the-world-has-decided-bottom-up-is-the-way-its-going-to-stop-climate-change/>.

³³ “68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN,” United Nations, assessed March 1, 2019, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html>.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ United Nations Human Settlement Programme, *World Cities Report 2016* (Nairobi: United Nations, 2016), 2-4.

Ultimately, what has happened sequentially throughout the past few decades is that globalization has shifted the policy process by which transnational areas of concern are addressed.³⁶ Globalization has altered the once formalized political structures that existed in the international system, shifting reliance away from the state—which since the Treaty of Westphalia has been the archetypal entity of governance in the international order³⁷—and thus shifting reliance towards subnational governance, increasingly municipalities.³⁸ Yet on the global stage there still remains a pressure; the actors (cities and states) do not always agree with what lead the other should play and who the lead should be.³⁹ While this tension remains, this begs the question in what policy areas do we see states engaging in the conventionally state-dominated diplomatic and foreign affairs realm?⁴⁰ As well as, to what extent does the modern cities' rising role in diplomacy and foreign policy undermine or supersede the foreign policy of the state? Is this activity subversive as some research might have us believe or is it a complementary activity which benefits both the city and its respective state? These are all fiercely debated aspects which many cities are now being confronted with as they have pushed their boundaries and looked past their traditional jurisdictions.⁴¹

Through this analysis, the distinctive relationship between cities and their international affairs will be explored while concurrently analyzing the patterns—both externally with their respective state and within the halls of city government—that are emerging as municipal governments across the globe find themselves filling the void in the policy and international

³⁶ “Impact of Globalization on Various Areas of World Discussed by Heads of UN Regional Commissions,” Press Release, United Nations, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2000/20000214.tad1908.doc.html>.

³⁷ George, Craig, and Lauren, *Force and Statecraft*, 10-12.

³⁸ Thomas G. Weiss, *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 183-184.

³⁹ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 238-240.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

decision-making process.⁴² This paper will go further to introduce the term “metrodiplomacy,” and provide a comprehensive case study analysis to present sound examples to many of the more abstract ideas introduced in this paper. Cities, it has been said, are “capable of generating and nurturing hope, innovation, and a sense of possibility and hence of breaking the vicious circle in which segregation, poverty, and inequality feed off one another.”⁴³ This has been an aspect in which the modern state has not yet been able to do in a world fraught with injustice and insecurity.⁴⁴ For the first time since the emergence of modern nation-states, it seems that the state itself might not be the most effective institution to deal with systemic challenges.⁴⁵ In such a case it would seem that in the future, greater integration on the part of the city should be a cause to be championed, not debated.

METRODIPLOMACY: INTRODUCING A CONCEPT

The traditional world order, characterized as being largely state-centric dating back to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, has in the past decade begun to witness a shift.⁴⁶ The three “levels of analysis”—first characterized in 1959 by Kenneth Waltz in *Man, the State, and War*⁴⁷—no longer hold entirely true as cities independently have begun to be viewed as a unit of analysis in the political science and foreign policy community.⁴⁸ The levels of analysis through which IR can be studied—often heuristic devices rather than practical tools—have been, however, one of

⁴² “Filling the Void: U.S. States, Cities to Lead on Climate,” Pacific Council on International Policy, assessed January 5, 2019, <https://www.pacificcouncil.org/newsroom/filling-void-us-states-cities-lead-climate>.

⁴³ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 224.

⁴⁴ Chris Huhne, “Nation states are too small to fix global problems,” *The Guardian*, June 23, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/23/nation-states-too-small-for-global-problems>.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ George, Craig, and Lauren, *Force and Statecraft*, 24.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), Foreword.

⁴⁸ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 238.

the greatest challenges surrounding the understanding of cities' involvement in the diplomatic realm.⁴⁹ Waltz's work while some of the most respected in the field—and responsible for the establishment of neorealism as an international relations theory—has lost the weight that it once held as a dominant theory of international relations.⁵⁰ This is due in part to the state-centric nature of realist theory.⁵¹ However, realism is not the only dominant state-centric theory, liberalism, constructivism, and most mainstream IR theories are state-centric at their core.⁵² This has translated into international organizations also having a level of being state-centric in their approach to global challenges and diplomatic engagement. The greatest challenge in this entire understanding, however, is that statism has made the analysis of international relations often rigid and inward-looking, leaving little room for subnational actors, and even non-state actors.⁵³

Waltz's 1979 work titled, *Theory of International Politics*, explicitly outlines retreat from more classical realist theory like that of Thomas Hobbes or more contemporary practitioner Hans Morgenthau.⁵⁴ Waltz's "images of analysis,"⁵⁵ describe the key actors in international relations which for over three decades have generally been held as being the main actors in IR theory. The three levels he laid out including, individuals, states, and the international system, all share the fact that they describe a state-centric world order. However, as the Local Government Declaration to the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 declares, "we live in an increasingly interconnected, interdependent world. The local and the global are

⁴⁹ Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy: Complex Interactions, Competing Interests* (Plymouth, Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 2014), 11.

⁵⁰ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1979), 2-4.

⁵¹ Robert E. Williams, professor of political science at Pepperdine University, interviewed by author.

⁵² Robert E. Williams, professor of political science at Pepperdine University, interviewed by author.

⁵³ Robert E. Williams, professor of political science at Pepperdine University, interviewed by author.

⁵⁴ Keith Topper, "The Theory of International Politics? An Analysis of Neorealist Theory," *Human Studies* 21, no. 2 (April 1998): 157-186.

⁵⁵ Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, 4-8.

intertwined. Local government cannot afford to be insular and inward-looking.”⁵⁶ Intertwining is a key area of exploration in this paper. What is ultimately being explored is whether this intertwining is undermining or superseding the state. In order to better establish what “this activity” is, the term metrodiplomacy will be introduced.

The lack of a generally accepted term to describe diplomatic involvement at the municipal level reflects the very real reality of how new the phenomenon of municipal diplomatic involvement is. The first attempt to create a term can be traced to Ivo Duchacek and Panayotis Soldatos—who in 1980 coined the term “paradiplomacy,” short for “parallel diplomacy”—in the hope to describe a subnational actor and its involvement in foreign affairs.⁵⁷ This is one of the earliest examples of a term being introduced in academia to describe such activities. It has guided much of the analysis and literature to date. However, the term itself has limitations in that it dismisses diplomatic subnational activity as complementary to the state. Dr. Rodrigo Tavares—author of *Paradiplomacy: Cities and States as Global Players*, and former Head of the Office of Foreign Affairs of São Paulo’s State Government—breaks down the etymology of the term stating that “para-” originally from Greek describes an activity which is “subsidiary, alongside, beside, or assistant.”⁵⁸ Tavares points to the criticism in this, stating that “the foreign affairs of subnational governments have their own nature and personality and shall not be regarded simply as complements to mainstream national diplomatic activities.”⁵⁹ Diplomacy of subnational entities in many cases is not a mere complement to their respective state’s foreign policy, nor is it merely a *parallel* activity as Duchacek might argue. While

⁵⁶ *Local Government Declaration to the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development* (New York: United Nations, 2002).

⁵⁷ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 7-8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Tavares finds flaws in the term, he utilizes it for the purpose of his book - finding that it is “the most commonly used term by policymakers and therefore justified in its selection for the title.”⁶⁰

However, relying on a term because it is the most commonly used is dangerous, as it can misrepresent what is being examined. While the term paradiplomacy—in addition to being too narrow when describing the activity of the city— is also in many ways too encompassing in regards to other units of analysis. From this it does not accurately describe a city centered analysis. Paradiplomacy has been used to describe subnational entities as broad as, “cantons, counties, departments, districts, *krajs*, *länder*, *oblasts*, *okrugs*, prefectures, provinces, regions, republics, territories or zones.”⁶¹ While larger subnational territories—often in federal countries—have their own “paradiplomacy,” this does not generally reflect the same difficulties that metropolitan governments often face. Larger federal territories face far less opposition, push-backs, and hurdles than cities do when engaging in foreign affairs. Take for example, Belgium which has no national or international policy on education, culture, business or even environment policy. In such a case, it is up to Wallonia and Flanders—the two main subnational governments— to regulate and steer these policies.⁶² The Belgian sub-national regions hold considerable powers which arguably would never be devolved to a municipality. This highlights the flaw in the term paradiplomacy equating such subnational activities as “compliments of mainstream diplomatic activities.”⁶³ It is for this reason that most civil servants and technocrats in Belgium’s two main regions see paradiplomacy as a derogatory term when describing their duties.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

The general trend towards devolution—as has been the case in the Belgium example—has been a general trend since the end of World War II, and the rise of self-governing nation-states in the Global South. This shift is often rooted in nationalistic movements, as was the case in the United Kingdom or being championed by right-wing politics as a solution to shying away from “big government,” as has been the case in the United States.⁶⁵ However, as distinguished professor of Political Science Dan Caldwell inserts, “it seems to me that what is going on in the world today is akin to someone driving a car with one foot on the brake and the other on the accelerator.”⁶⁶ What Caldwell is addressing is that global leaders are increasingly split on either being insular and isolationist, or being globally minded with multilateral ambitions. It was former U.S. President Richard Nixon’s “new federalism” model which originally led Duchacek and Soldatos to introduce the term *paradiplomacy* in academic literature. In the “new federalism” model, Nixon planned to devolve significant powers and control of federal programs and funding to state and local governments.⁶⁷ A similar trend was witnessed in the late 1990’s across Brazilian *estados* (states). The Brazilian government which is a federal system utilized the term “federative diplomacy” to describe the activities of the *estados*.⁶⁸ Unlike the United States, however, Brazilian sub-national states were encouraged—often by necessity when the federal government chose not to act—to engage beyond their jurisdictions in foreign affairs. The Brazilian government official recognized the term “federative diplomacy” in the official government lexicon around the year 1995 when it began appearing in various internal

⁶⁵ “Nixon’s New Federalism 45 Years Later,” *The Avenue*, Brookings Institution, accessed February 3, 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2014/08/11/nixons-new-federalism-45-years-later/>.

⁶⁶ Dan Caldwell, Distinguished professor of political science at Pepperdine University, interviewed by author.

⁶⁷ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 8.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

government documents and manuals. Also in 1995, then Minister of External Relations stated in a release that:

It is also a policy of President Fernando Henrique that in addition to this aspect of public diplomacy, diplomacy of interaction, one should add another equally fundamental angle according to our political system, which is federative diplomacy. States and even municipalities have increasing international agenda that should be added to the external agenda of the Union, which is ultimately responsible for the foreign relations of the country.⁶⁹

The term was used almost exclusively in Brazil when describing such activities until recently when the Ministry began to favor the term “decentralized international cooperation” as an alternative, seeing that it was in many ways more palatable due to the dropping of the term “diplomacy.”⁷⁰

The term “decentralized international cooperation,” has been a favoured term within many states and international bodies. The European Union—which at the time of first usage was still the European Economic Community—utilized it when drafting agreements with countries in the Global South at the Fourth Lomé Convention. Other non-state bodies which currently favour this term include the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)⁷¹ and the Euro African Partnership for Decentralised Governance—which is a “cooperation between the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN/DESA) and Tuscany Region ... sponsored by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.”⁷² However, even within these international bodies a diverse array of words are currently being utilized. As Rodrigo Tavares notes, the coining of such activity has been called everything from: micro-diplomacy, substate diplomacy,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² “Euro-African Partnership for Decentralised Governance,” Region of Tuscany, accessed January 12, 2019, <http://www.euroafricanpartnership.org/old/>.

multilayered diplomacy, subnational foreign policy, subnational foreign affairs, constituent diplomacy, local diplomacy, pos-diplomacy, and as Tavares also notes this all is part of a greater coined phenomenon known as “foreign policy localization.”⁷³

Where these terms all fall short is their specialized attention in regard to describing the actions of the modern city. If the search for the right word is imperative in understanding this phenomenon then perhaps introducing a term such as metrodiplomacy might more accurately define the role of urban foreign policy. Metrodiplomacy, while similar to *city diplomacy*—an existing term which also sought to fill the gap in literature—is an entirely new term seeking some clarity on the subject.⁷⁴ City diplomacy which can be traced to mainstream academic debate from the year 2007 when it was introduced in the book, *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics*, by Jan Melissen and Rogier van der Pluijm.⁷⁵ Since then it has taken off and is now one of the most often favored terms utilized by municipal offices and foreign affairs professionals⁷⁶ Ambassador (ret.) Nina Hachigian who currently heads the Los Angeles Mayor's Office for International Affairs stated in a private interview that most individuals at the L.A. Office of International Affairs use the term city diplomacy when describing their job functions. When asked about other terms that currently exist, Hachigian said, “Paradiplomacy we don’t really use ... we sometimes use subnational diplomacy.”⁷⁷ Hachigan who arguably holds one of the most senior positions of any municipal foreign affairs official in the United States underscores in her utilization of terms the diverse array that currently exist.

⁷³ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 9.

⁷⁴ Rogier van der Pluijm and Jan Melissen, *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics* (The Hague, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2007), 5-7.

⁷⁵ See *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics*.

⁷⁶ Ian Klaus, “When Mayors Spoke Up,” *City Lab*, December 29, 2017, <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2017/12/when-mayors-spoke-up/549356/>.

⁷⁷ Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian interviewed by author.

Hachigian, however, complicates this study further inserting that, “diplomacy isn’t itself entirely descriptive of what we do; we do host foreign visitors, especially we have had [many] heads of state visit here since I have come onboard, but that is only part of what we do.”⁷⁸ Hachigian has ultimately underscored the idea that many have expressed concerning the term “diplomacy” and its lack of applicability when used in the context of municipal governance. Can you really call what cities and mayors are doing diplomacy? To this point, it can be argued that diplomacy itself is more encompassing than just the international political relationships of the nation-state. The *Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, compiled by Graham Evans and Richard Newnham states, “The word [diplomacy] is often used, incorrectly, as a synonym for foreign policy. Whereas the latter can be described as the substance, aims and attitudes of a state’s relations with others.”⁷⁹ Evans and Newnham rather define diplomacy as, “the instruments employed to put these into effect.” Diplomacy is about the processes of dialogue, partnership, and negotiation between bodies. Distinguishing between diplomacy and foreign policy has not been done by any existing terms that are currently utilized when describing urban international activities. In such a case, metrodiplomacy is simply describing the relationship between a city and any extraterritorial body with which it chooses to engage through the mechanism of diplomacy. Rather, the introduction of new terms such as public and citizen diplomacy also underscore the trend away from this traditional understanding. This new frontier for diplomacy has sprung from programs like the U.S. Department of State’s International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) or the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ “Japan House” cultural

⁷⁸ Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian interviewed by author.

⁷⁹ Graham Evans and Richard Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations* (London: Penguin Group, 1998), 129-130.

centers—both of which promote the concept of international understanding and cultural exchanges at the citizen level.⁸⁰

METRODIPLOMACY IN PRACTICE: CASE STUDIES

As far back as the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote that, “cities are just alike ... Paris and London seem to me the same town.”⁸¹ Hundreds of years later, Barber explains the same phenomenon that Rousseau first noticed:

The cross-border civil society we envision is simply the global network of partnerships and associations already sharing common civic values, of communities organized around the struggle for universal human rights, of religious associations with ecumenical outlook, of international societies of artists and social networks of friends real and virtual alike spiraling outward to encompass strangers. Such a network is not waiting to be born but is already half-grown, waiting rather to be recognized, exploited, and formalized.⁸²

Rousseau was witnessing one of the earliest examples of cosmopolitan society developing in cities so interconnected—be it in commerce, culture or politics—that they began to resemble one another. This early example of cosmopolitanism might have led some scholars to agree that Paris and London were some of the first *global cities*. While a newer term in political science, sociology and urban studies, global city has come to represent so much of what modern metropolises resemble in the globalized world.⁸³ First introduced by Saskia Sassen a Dutch-American sociologist in her 1991 work, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, provide a basic approach to center the conceptual framework of cities and their international

⁸⁰ “About Us: The Global Japan House Project,” Japan House, accessed March 10, 2019, <https://www.japanhouse.jp/losangeles/aboutus/index.html>.

⁸¹ See *The Collected Works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* translated by Barbara Foxley, G.D.H. Cole, Samuel William Orson.

⁸² Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, 7.

⁸³ Saskia Sassen, “The Global City: Introducing a Concept,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2005): 27-31.

functions.⁸⁴ Diverse, wealthy, innovative and strategic, these cities form a complex network of power and prestige. For the purpose of this research and to aid in the understanding of how global cities utilize metrodiplomacy for their benefits, four global cities have been selected and will be included in a case study analysis. The following research will specifically examine the cities of Buenos Aires, Guangzhou, Los Angeles, and Paris. These cities were chosen for their reliance and leadership in solving international issues through global cooperation and policy leadership on issues of transnational importance.⁸⁵ Furthermore, these cities all boast populations in the millions, rapidly growing GDPs' and have dealt with complex social challenges in their historic pasts.⁸⁶

These cities, while far from perfect, all represent applicable solutions for solving issues plaguing cities in both the Global North and South. An analysis of the methods through which cities solve transnational issues and how they implement policies in broad areas such as sustainability, economic policy, security policy, and cultural policy will be explored. The research for this paper will involve a cumulative case study, meaning it will examine, "aggregate information from several sites collected at different times. The idea behind these studies is the collection of past studies will allow for greater generalization without additional cost or time being expended on new, possibly repetitive studies."⁸⁷ The hope is that, through a case study, many of the more abstract ideas presented in this paper will have greater tangibility. Through a

⁸⁴ Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 3-5.

⁸⁵ Rodrigo Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 91.

⁸⁶ Cara Parks, "The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025," *Foreign Policy*, August 7, 2012, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/08/07/the-most-dynamic-cities-of-2025/>.

⁸⁷ "Types of Case Studies," The writing Studio, Colorado State University, last modified April 14, 2016, <https://writing.colostate.edu/guides/page.cfm?pageid=1290&guideid=60>.

general overview of the cities being surveyed, data will be organized, and categorized, into a matrix.

THE WEST AS A GUIDING FORCE IN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

In order to best introduce the first two cities of this case study, a clear picture of urban development in the Global South. While the earliest forms of governance originated in the city, it is important to refrain from examining the development of early civic organization through a solely Eurocentric lens as is often the case in academic circles.⁸⁸ The move towards urbanization was a global phenomenon in which development occurred independently regarding urban communities in areas such as the Nile and Indus valleys, the Yellow River in China, the dense forests of Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico, and the highlands of Peru. What this signifies is that urbanization was not only a precursor to Western culture or an extension of said culture as some scholars have claimed.⁸⁹ The conditions which led to the rise of urbanization and urban society were suitable across the entire globe during this period.⁹⁰ Simply regarding the democratic traditions which developed in the ancient *polis* of the Greeks or the rise of independent Italian city-states in the aftermath of the fall of the Roman Empire as the sole precursors to the development of global civilization or democratic urban traditions is a flawed understanding of history.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Susan Parnell and Sophie Oldfield, *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 37-40.

⁸⁹ Jonathan F. P. Rose, *The Well-Tempered City* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2016), 56-57.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

It must be cautioned to refrain from an exclusively Western analysis of urbanization, the lasting effects of European colonialism and expansion which has taken place throughout the world cannot be dismissed. Both Guangzhou and Buenos Aires have been directly impacted and shaped by colonial powers. As far back as the post-neolithic period, cities have developed independently of one another—largely insulated from foreign contact, trade, or communications apart from their regional networks—but the European mercantile search for trade passages to Asia and the establishment of more structured maritime trade with the New World brought into contact large portions of the world's population. For the first time in human history, diverse peoples were introduced to one another through trade and exploration.⁹² It was during this time that trading posts were established and that Europeans worked in close liaison with local leaders to grow trade and promote economic activities in the newly explored regions. This Old Imperialism period, characterized as such due to its lack of institutionalized and bureaucratic control of overseas territories, is often associated with the phrase, “gold, God, and glory.”⁹³ It was a time in which new technologies, advanced shipbuilding, and increased funding towards exploration that pushed Europeans to the far edges of the *known world*.⁹⁴ However, it was from this Old Imperialism method which gave rise to the New Imperialism period that developed from the 1870s onward. This period is marred by aggressive European control of foreign territory, slave trafficking and the establishment of modern colonial governance structures which were constructed to favor white Europeans and subjugated native populations.⁹⁵ Between 1492 until

⁹² Stephen W. Silliman, “Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America,” *American Antiquity* 70, no.1 (January 2005): 55-60.

⁹³ Ali A. Mazrui, “The Re-Invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and beyond,” *Research in African Literatures* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2005): 68-82.

⁹⁴ William H. McNeill, *A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 283-287.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

1914, Europe, which only represents about 8 percent of the world's landmass, managed to colonize over 80 percent of the entire planet.⁹⁶ It was a scramble for territory led by the dominant European actors of the time. With over 80 percent of the world's landmass falling under European control, the colonial countries and cities that Europeans established, and have since abandoned, shaped what we recognize in much of the world today—particularly in the Global South.⁹⁷

Through securing these extensive colonial outposts in the world, European powers were able to establish grand cities in their colonial territories often on the backs of the very populations they oppressed.⁹⁸ Modern civilization, they believed, was lacking in the colonies. It was only through Western intervention that “foreign” populations could be “civilized.”⁹⁹ However, civilized was often synonymous with urbanized during this period.¹⁰⁰ This can be seen manifested in a 1902 graphic from *Puck* magazine, whose title reads:

From the Cape to Cairo

*Though the Process Be Costly, The Road of Progress Must Be Cut*¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ “Why Did Western Europe Dominate the Globe?,” News, California Institute of Technology, accessed January 7, 2019, <https://www.caltech.edu/about/news/why-did-western-europe-dominate-globe-47696>.

⁹⁷ McNeill, *A World History*, 289-295.

⁹⁸ Rixt Woudstra, “Le Corbusier’s Vision for Fascist Addis Ababa,” *Failed Architecture*, October 9, 2014, <https://failedarchitecture.com/le-corbusiers-visions-for-fascist-addis-ababa/>.

⁹⁹ Mia Fuller, “Wherever You Go, There You Are: Fascist Plans for the Colonial City of Addis Ababa and the Colonizing Suburb of EUR '42,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 2 (April 1996): 397-418.

¹⁰⁰ Stephen A. Mrozowski, “Colonization and the Commodification of Nature,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (September 1999): 153–166.

¹⁰¹ “Civilization & Barbarism,” MIT Visualizing Cultures, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, accessed February 23, 2019, https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/civilization_and_barbarism/cb_essay01.html.



Graphic taken from 1902 Copy of Puck Magazine.

This phrase underscored the feelings of many at the time. In the graphic—which references the Boer War—the flag of “Civilization” marches British troops towards the “Barbarism”¹⁰² of Africa. Britannia, the female personification of Great Britain, is trailed by not only troops, but what looks to be a line of urban industrial workers in a pollutant haze of smoke.¹⁰³ The clear skies of Africa on the right are juxtaposed to this haze, which represents Great Britain and her industrial might engulfing the continent.¹⁰⁴

In the hope of bringing industrial development to the colonies, European nations commenced grand urban development plans for cities throughout their occupied territories.¹⁰⁵ It

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Fuller, “Le Corbusier’s Vision.”

was throughout this urbanization movement, however, in which Europeans began to experiment with and manipulate the built environment.¹⁰⁶ In Africa, for example, many cities were built in such a manner to reform the disorganization of existing cities in the hope of bringing a “phantasmagoria of brutality and order.”¹⁰⁷ Colonial cities were wholly constructed with the idea of isolating the privileged from the population, designating a sense of “European technocratic rationalism ... imprinted on African chaos.”¹⁰⁸ However, spatial isolation was not the only goal of colonial cities, as Richard Poplak—an acclaimed South African author and journalist—writes in *Politico*.¹⁰⁹ The development plans of Addis Ababa, were far more sinister. He writes:

In August 1936, the legendary architect Le Corbusier studied the existing maps of Addis Ababa, tore them up, and started from scratch. He had of course never visited the Ethiopian capital, which was at the time occupied by the forces of the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. Instead, he sketched a phantasmagoria of brutality and order, dominated by boulevards wide enough to land a squadron of Messerschmitts. It did not resemble a destination city, and nor was it meant to ... In a letter to Il Duce’s French ambassador, the architect promised “models so severe, that one might think the colony was a space without time, and therefore, without history, and without any particular geographical meaning.” Later in his mini-manifesto, he assured Mussolini that “the city is direct dominion; the city becomes the city of government, in which the Palace of the Governor must stand overall.”¹¹⁰

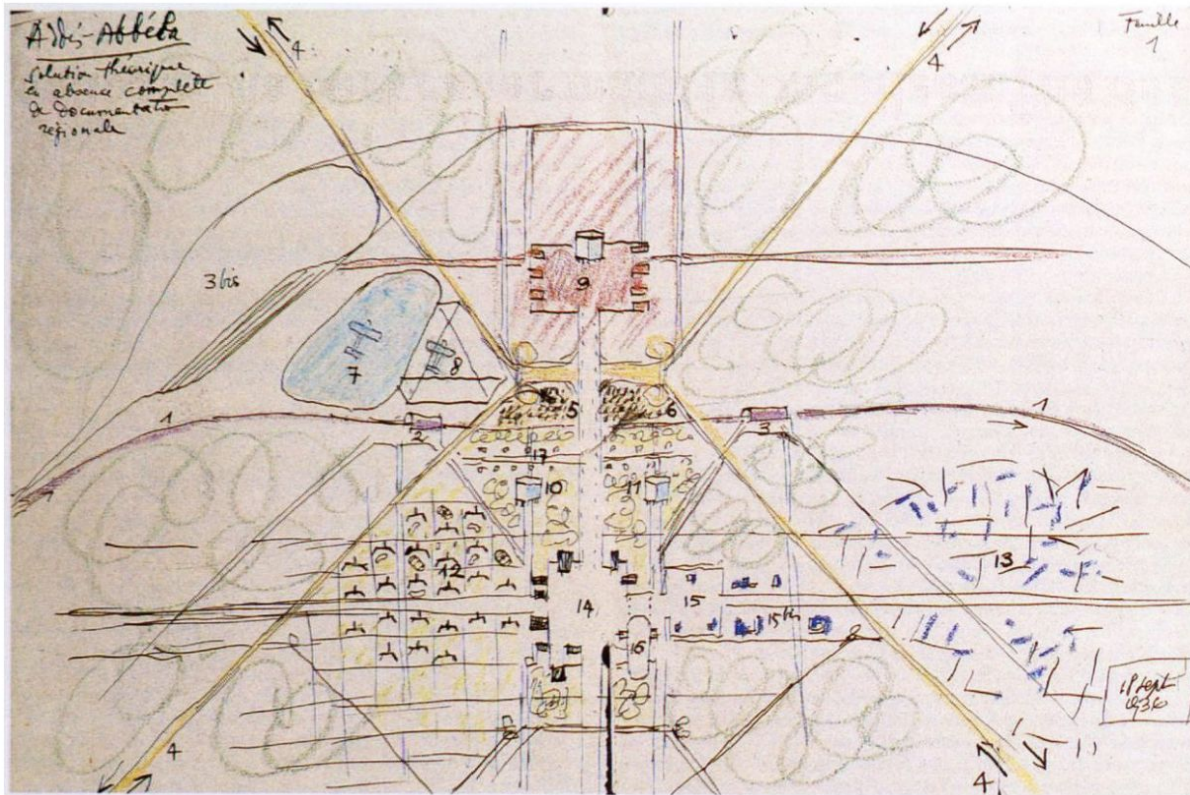
¹⁰⁶ Gwendolyn Wright, “Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930,” *The Journal of Modern History* 59, no. 2 (June 1987): 291-316.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Poplak, “Europe’s neo-colonial African urbanism,” *Politico*, December 26, 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/europe-neo-colonial-african-urbanism-startup-cities/>.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Woudstra, “Le Corbusier’s Vision for Fascist Addis Ababa.”



Le Corbusier's original sketch for the plan of the city of Addis Ababa.

In Le Corbusier's grand plan he envisioned the Ethiopian city as *tabula rasa*—a blank slate. While this colonial “fascist Ethiopian Disneyworld,”¹¹¹ which he imagined, remained only a concept on the planning table and was never constructed, many of the influences of his plan were still able to be introduced during the brief Italian occupation.¹¹² An affluent quarter, far segregated from the Eastern “natives,” the relocation of the city center westwards and the construction of an industrial zone in the Southwest still remain in their original locations in the modern city of Addis Ababa.¹¹³ In the original sketches that Le Corbusier drafted, the orderly west end of the city, with its perfect grid, is juxtaposed by the East end which pushes “natives” to

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Elena Givental, “Addis Ababa Urbanism: Indigenous Urban Legacies and Contemporary Challenges,” *Journal of Geography and Geology* 9, no.1 (February 2017): 25-36.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

the periphery of the city center, leaving the disorderly streets of the original “old city” in place.¹¹⁴ Segregation was, and continued to be at the heart of urban construction in much of the post-colonial world.¹¹⁵ Instead of the blatant segregatory policies of the past, slums and gated communities form a new modern challenge of inclusion and sustainability.¹¹⁶ Addis Ababa is the example given in this work, but similar urban ecologies can be seen in the development of post-colonial cities such as Manila, Johannesburg, Mumbai or even Cusco. While colonialism might be seen to have given way to these cities, the post-colonial identities they developed continue to be stained by European and now increasingly American neo-imperialism.¹¹⁷

In conjunction with these challenges, postcolonial cities also face the challenges associated with a global economy that extorts resources and remains unsustainable for local growth.¹¹⁸ The global capitalist economy which has since developed, preceded by the Industrial Revolution, continues to negatively reinforce a post-colonial world order with many of these cities feeling the most direct effect.¹¹⁹ The Industrial Revolution was the catalyst that originally propelled European states during the New Imperialism period to establish vast colonial empires located throughout North and South America, Africa, and Asia.¹²⁰ Colonizers were often propelled by a mixture of nationalism, Social Darwinism, religious zeal, and the search for new economic resources and markets; the Global South, by and large, was subjugated to wide scale

¹¹⁴ Woudstra, “Le Corbusier’s Vision for Fascist Addis Ababa.”

¹¹⁵ Livia Gershon, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation,” *JSTOR Daily*, May 21, 2018, <https://daily.jstor.org/how-global-colonialism-shaped-segregation/>.

¹¹⁶ Yasser Mahgoub and Fatma Khalfani, “Sustainability of Gated Communities in Developing Countries,” *Developing Country Studies* 2, no. 6 (2012).

¹¹⁷ Gershon, “How Global Colonialism Shaped Segregation.”

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Pierre-Philippe Rey, “Theories of Imperialism,” *International Journal of Sociology* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 87-120.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

economic restraint, a trend that withstands into modern post-colonial cities and countries.¹²¹ A term used as a post-cold war alternative to “Third World”, the Global South—has, in recent years, been employed to describe a “post-national sense to address spaces and peoples negatively impacted by contemporary capitalist globalization.”¹²² The term is a more accurate depiction of the global community as it moves away from the 20th century understanding of the word “Third World” which simply categorizes states in economic blocs, ignoring the systemic trends in the global system which forces a narrowly defined definition of the state on minority and underrepresented populations.¹²³ The Global South instead looks beyond the state at issues which directly impact disadvantaged populations in contemporary times.¹²⁴ Urban populations in the Global South remain often transient, as borders and the concept of the state are less important than in the West.¹²⁵ Food insecurity, transnational human trafficking, and refugee flows are not simply a domestic issue anymore, they transcend the idea of the state.¹²⁶ As the *World Cities Report 2016* released by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN Habitat) addresses, “Cities are currently operating in economic, social, and cultural ecologies that are radically different from the outmoded urban model of the 20th century. This raises an urgent need to revisit the urban agenda, and to reposition our collective approach to urban development.”¹²⁷ When examining the challenges laid out for urban communities, UN Habitat

¹²¹ “What/Where is the Global South?,” Global South Studies, University of Virginia, accessed January 29, 2019, <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/what-is-global-south>.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Daniel Owoko, *Forging a Path Beyond Borders: The Global South* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2018), ix-xi.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), *World Cities Report 2016: Abridged Edition* (Nairobi, UN-Habitat, 2016), 1.

categorizes issues as *persistent* and *emerging*.¹²⁸ “The former includes urban growth, changes in family patterns, growing numbers of urban residents living in slums and informal settlements, and the challenge of providing urban services in certain parts of the world.”¹²⁹ The latter includes “newer trends in the governance and finance of cities: emerging urban issues include climate change, exclusion and rising inequality, rising insecurity and [the] upsurge in international migration.”¹³⁰ The *World Cities Report 2016* was the first of its kind to identify these challenges, and pinpoint best practices to which urban areas should adhere. Just two years later the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division released the *2018 Revision of World Urbanization Prospects*, adding that “by 2030, the world is projected to have 43 megacities with more than 10 million inhabitants [each], most of them in developing regions.”¹³¹

The growth and influence of megacities is dwarfed, however, by the growth of smaller cities “with fewer than 1 million inhabitants, many of them located in Asia and Africa. While one in eight people live in 33 megacities worldwide, close to half of the world’s urban dwellers reside in much smaller settlements with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants.”¹³² The UN Population Division’s findings underscored the rapid rate at which urbanization was occurring in the Global South, and adding to the existing concerns for the areas already conveyed by UN Habitat. However, in all of the challenges that the rapid rise in urban living has created, the UN continues to stand steadfast in addressing the needs of urban residents—often placing them at the top of its agenda.¹³³ We see this manifested in the 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development Goals, with

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “68% of the world population.”

¹³² United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “68% of the world population.”

¹³³ See *World Cities Report 2016*.

number eleven being “Sustainable Cities and Communities.”¹³⁴ UN Habitat has stated in conjunction with this that:

Cities are the platforms for global and local change in the 21st century. Urban landscapes are the spaces of convergence of economies, cultures, political, and ecological systems. Demographic concentration is both an outcome and incentive for growth, migration, trade, and cultural production. Built environments and natural ecologies have become the infrastructure of today’s society, shaping encounters, assimilation, resistance, and innovation. Cities are where the economic and social futures of countries, regions, and the world are determined.¹³⁵

With this sense of optimism on the part of the United Nations, it would seem the time for cities in the Global South to act is now. The mechanisms are already largely in place for cities to ascend to their roles as leaders on the international stage, a phenomenon presently occurring.¹³⁶

Cities now have the power to break away from their colonial pasts, able to sustain internal growth and development in the face of Western neo-imperialism. Mitigating this will be essential if cities in the Global South are to leverage their influence in the foreign policy realm. Buenos Aires and Guangzhou will now be introduced as the first two Global South cities in this case study. Both were chosen because they represent post-colonial regions, yet one in Latin America and the other in Asia. Latin America is already one of the most urbanized areas on the planet, and Buenos Aires is one of the largest cities in the region. Guangzhou in mainland China is also mirroring what is happening across Asia as expansive urbanization is currently being witnessed. By exploring both Buenos Aires and Guangzhou the question of whether any differences in the patterns of metrodiplomacy utilization in the Global South versus the Global North—represented by Los Angeles and Paris—will be probed. After each study of the four

¹³⁴ “Sustainable Development Goals,” The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations, accessed January 3, 2019, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>.

¹³⁵ See *World Cities Report*, 36.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

cities listed above a table will be provided listing the classifications of policy areas in which the cities' either utilizes or does not utilize metro diplomacy. The options for classification are: relies on metrodiplomacy, neutral reliance on metrodiplomacy, no reliance on metrodiplomacy, or unclear.

BUENOS AIRES

Buenos Aires, the first city in this study and the capital of the Argentine Republic, constitutes the second largest city in South America with a population of roughly 13.1 million in 2010 and a projected population of 15.2 million by 2025. The Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (*Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires*) is one of the most strategic cities in Latin America. With a GDP of \$191.7 billion U.S. dollars in 2010 and a projected GDP of 384.3 billion dollars by the year 2025, the city plans to see a projected 100% GDP growth rate.¹³⁷

Figure 1: Population and Economic Data for Buenos Aires

City	Country	Population* 2010	Population 2025	GDP** 2010	GDP 2025	Total Growth	% GDP Growth
Buenos Aires	Argentina	13.1	15.2	191.7	384.3	192.6	100%

*Population represented in millions.

**GDP represented in billions of U.S. dollars.

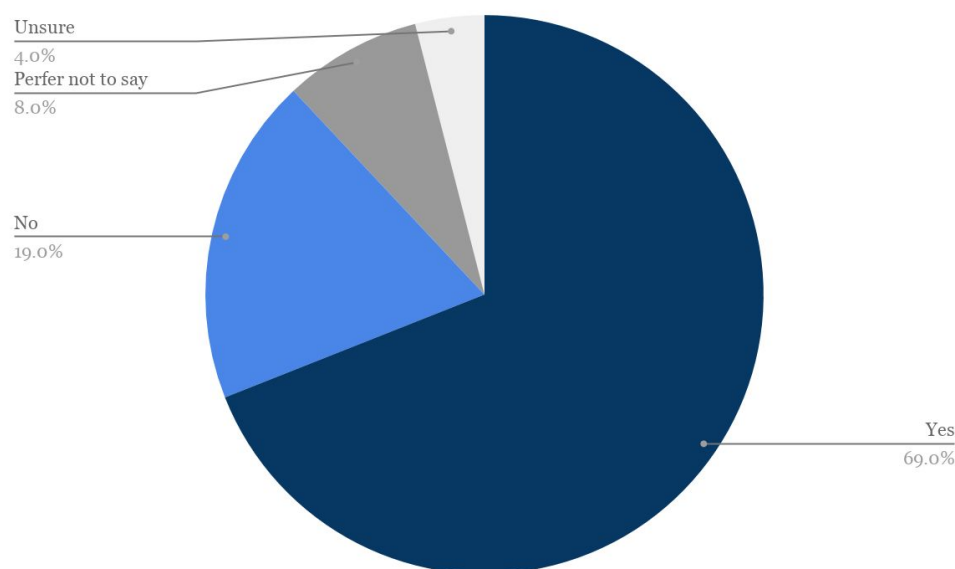
To put this growth into perspective, Buenos Aires is projected to grow its GDP to a level currently equal to that of the entire economy of the island of Jamaica—which sat at 15.4 billion USD in the year 2018.¹³⁸ This rapidly growing economy has leveraged the city into a position where harnessing international partnerships has become paramount to ensuring economic and political success. This has been a general trend witnessed in cities across the globe. A study

¹³⁷ Parks, “The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025.”

¹³⁸ Relies on data from the IMF 2018, rounded to a single decimal place.

conducted in 2018 by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in partnership with University College London's City Leadership Laboratory and the University of Melbourne found, after anonymously sampling twenty-seven global cities in reporting their international affairs capacities, that all except one city had a dedicated office of international affairs.¹³⁹ The study, which anonymously asked for funding structures, leadership functions, and dedicated training, as well as global network participation, additionally found that 69% of cities reported a specified international engagement plan. This means that all except one city had a proactive rather than reactive scheme in handling international affairs outreach and partnerships.

Figure 2: Cities reporting a dedicated international engagement plan?



In Buenos Aires, utilizing metrodiplomacy has been a proactive activity, as it was often seen as a necessary duty of cities following the decentralization initiative in the country from the late 80s onward, matching a similar trend in Brazil during this period. The 1994 amendment to the

¹³⁹ Acuto, Decramer, Kerr, Klaus, Tabory, and Toly, *Toward City Diplomacy: Assessing capacity in select global cities*.

Constitution of Argentina saw a wave of decentralization policy which was part of an even wider trend in the whole of Latin America.¹⁴⁰ During this era, Argentina withdrew sole government control of international affairs and implemented a plan through which Argentine provinces and municipalities gained jurisdiction in select foreign policy matters. The language in government documents, however, did stipulate that all activities ought be conducted in conjunction with the National Congress, and that all local legislation should be compatible with the foreign policy priorities of the state. Altogether, these devolution measures led the way for metrodiplomacy to become a normalized activity in Argentinian cities.¹⁴¹

In Buenos Aires, the work of the city's metrodiplomacy initiative centers around two main organs, the *Secretaría General* of the municipality and the Directorate General for International Relations and Cooperation—who serves beneath the Under-Secretary for International and Institutional Relations—both undertake the majority of the cities external international affairs work.¹⁴² The *Secretaría General* is the main body; part of the mayor's office and staffed by nearly 30 bureaucrats. However, when considering the amount of staffers across the government who work on international affairs matters, the number rises to close to 80 individuals.¹⁴³ Together, these individuals run the portfolio of a city that boasts the largest international partnerships and agreements in the world.¹⁴⁴ The city signed its first partnership, a sister-city partnership with Seville, Spain in 1974, and has subsequently entered more than 78 as of 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 66-67.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² "Secretaría General y Relaciones Internacionales," Jefe de Gobierno, Buenos Aires, accessed January 14, 2019, <https://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/jefedegobierno/secretariageneral>.

¹⁴³ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 158.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

The metrodiplomacy of Buenos Aires involves many thematic foreign policy areas; however, the city utilizes metrodiplomacy most frequently in matters of the environment and sustainability policy, economic development policy, and cultural policy (which includes international education, sport, and public diplomacy initiatives). The distinction in the metrodiplomacy of Buenos Aires is the thematic groupings of both geographical and policy focused objectives. This bilateral approach has shown to be beneficial for the city, especially in the area of sharing and developing best practices. For example, the city has a partnership with Japan called “Kids ISO 14000,” a program which teaches environmental literacy in Buenos Aires to the city’s sizeable youth population. The metrodiplomacy of the city’s Ministry of Education—which is jointly connected with the city’s international activities—has jointly run this program with Japan’s International Cooperation Agency (JICA) since 2011. Additionally, the city has programs in place with the Berlin Energy Agency and the Berlin Senate Chancellery to engage in a climate program. The program, which has been in place since 2012, has aspects of bringing German experts to the city in advisory roles, and acts as an educational and best-practices model for Buenos Aires households.¹⁴⁵

In the realm of cultural policy, Buenos Aires has programs such as Goal for Inclusion, a partnership between the city and the U.S. embassy that brings soccer programs to women who have been historically socially excluded. Though only one program out of many in which Buenos Aires is currently engaged, the city has acknowledged that these limited programs have shown to be greatly beneficial to the communities they most directly impact. The city has gone further to expand beyond bilateral metrodiplomatic involvements and has engaged heavily in the

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

realm of transnational municipal networks.¹⁴⁶ The city is currently heavily involved with United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), C40, Mercocities, Union of Ibero-American Capital Cities, UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Municipalities and Associations of Local Governments, Ibero-American Center for Strategic Development, the International Solar Cities Initiative, Local Governments for Sustainability, World Association of Major Metropolises, United Nations Advisory Committee on Local Authorities, World e-Governments Organization, and the Network on South American Cities. However, as an anonymous city official from the U.S. stated, “[cities] are a part of all these networks but we don’t engage in them all the same, or even equally. It is about what each city-network can do for us at the end of the day that determines how involved we are going to be.”¹⁴⁷ Echoing that sentiment, Rodrigo Tavares states, “[t]he weight that is put on each of them varies, however. UCCI and Mercocities are given strong preference as they enable Buenos Aires leadership to be recognized by its Latin American peers.”¹⁴⁸ Through these transnational municipal networks, the city is able to be further engaged in realms that it traditionally would not be able to manage. With this engagement, the development of areas such as economics and tourism—and to a lesser degree, security and sports—are able to be covered. The following chart has been provided to outline the areas in which the city is engaged through metrodiplomacy.

¹⁴⁶ “Secretaría General y Relaciones Internacionales.”

¹⁴⁷ This information relies on a confidential interview by the author.

¹⁴⁸ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 158.

Figure 3: Policy Areas Buenos Aires Utilizes Metrodiplomacy

Policy Area	Buenos Aires
Economic Development and Business Policy	+
Security Policy	0
Tourism Development Policy	+
Cultural Policy	+
Migration Policy	-
Environmental and Sustainability Policy	+
Sports Policy	0

+ Relies on metrodiplomacy
 0 neutral reliance
 - no reliance
 ? not clear

GUANGZHOU

Like Buenos Aires, Guangzhou faces many of the same unique challenges that other developing cities face. Situated on the banks of the Pearl River, Guangzhou is one of the largest cities in Southern China, with a total population of 11.1 million in 2010. As the capital of the province of Guangdong, Guangzhou is projected to soar to nearly 14.9 million inhabitants in the year 2025, in part due to its status as an essential node in global trade, and its large migrant population—which currently sits at 38.01 percent of its population.¹⁴⁹ These internal migrants, formally known as the “non-locally registered population” or “foreign temporary residents”, make Guangzhou one of the most diverse cities in the region, rivaled only by nearby Hong Kong.

¹⁴⁹ Parks, “The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025.”

The urban growth machine has led Guangzhou's development path to be international, diverse, and cosmopolitan, an image which it often leverages.¹⁵⁰

Figure 4: Population and Economic Data for Guangzhou

City	County	Population* 2010	Population 2025	GDP** 2010	GDP 2025	Total Growth	% GDP Growth
Guangzhou	China	11.1	14.9	146.1	573.0	426.9	292%

*Population represented in millions.

**GDP represented in billions of U.S. dollars.

Leveraging this international image has been the driving force behind the trade and business industries in the city's jurisdiction. With a GDP of roughly 146 billion U.S. dollars in 2010, the city is slated to exponentially increase that GDP by nearly 426.9 billion to become 573.0 by 2025, representing a 292% growth of GDP between those years.¹⁵¹ This kind of growth is unprecedented, as no city, and certainly no country as a whole, has ever seen such rapid urban expansion. To put Guangzhou's expected 2025 GDP into perspective, it will be comparable to the entire GDP of Sweden, which was roughly 554.7 billion USD in 2018.¹⁵² The sheer size of Guangzhou has leveraged the city into a position in which its foreign affairs influence is monumental, not only locally in the Pearl River Delta Region or nationally in China, but also regionally in all of East Asia.¹⁵³

In many ways, this growth in Guangzhou would not be possible without the city being the by-product of the state-led central planning of the developmentalist state of China.¹⁵⁴ In previous decades, the central government of China has invested billions into urban development programs

¹⁵⁰ "Guangzhou International," The People's Government of Guangzhou Municipality, accessed February 3, 2019, <http://english.gz.gov.cn>.

¹⁵¹ Parks, "The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025."

¹⁵² Relies on data from the IMF 2018, rounded to a single decimal place.

¹⁵³ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 177-178.

¹⁵⁴ John R. Logan, *Urban China in Transition* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 6-7.

throughout the country. China has paid special attention to reexamining the geospatial relationships of government offices and bureaucracies, national hospitals, cultural centers, industry, and universities away from the capital of Beijing and instead towards the other nine “National Central Cities.” The cities are outlined in the "National Urban System Plan," in coordination with the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development.¹⁵⁵ This pragmatic plan to focus and spread the development of China was paramount in the economic restructuring of China away from strict socialism to the quasi-capitalist economic system of today.¹⁵⁶ This economic opening of China’s economy has made politics and economics closely aligned in China’s urban centers. Guangzhou is no different, as the city is centered around business and industry. This has in turn shaped the metrodiplomacy of Guangzhou to be largely economically-focused. However, Guangzhou is no stranger to “economic diplomacy,” as the city has been a central node of the Silk Road and subsequent Western colonization for thousands of years.¹⁵⁷ In recent years, the city has begun to leverage international partnerships for economic development. The city's Foreign Affairs Office of the People’s Government of Guangzhou Municipality is the central government body to coordinate all international activities and external affairs for the city.¹⁵⁸ The office is currently engaged in more than 35 sister-city agreements. In China, these agreements are highly valued and respected partnerships, as opposed to the ceremonial connotation they hold in Europe and North America. In Guangzhou, these agreements are the largest number of any city in China. The agreements have more notoriety and

¹⁵⁵ Xu Hao Wang Hongru, “What are the national central cities or 12 inclusion criteria?,” *People’s Daily Online*, February 21, 2017, <http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0221/c1001-29095124.html>.

¹⁵⁶ Logan, *Urban China in Transition*, 10-12.

¹⁵⁷ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 177-178.

¹⁵⁸ “Foreign Affairs Office of the People's Government of Guangzhou Municipality,” Guangzhou International, accessed January 8, 2017, <http://english.gz.gov.cn/gzgoven/s3709/201008/787554.shtml>.

value in Chinese society due to the tangibility of the programs and partnerships often facilitated between Chinese cities and their overseas counterparts. For example, Guangzhou - which has had a sister city partnership with Los Angeles since 1981 and Auckland since 1989 - signed a partnership in 2014 to establish a “Tripartite Economic Alliance” between the three.¹⁵⁹ The economic development program promotes international trade, tourism, and entertainment. This tripartite was the first program of its kind, and has revealed a new manner in which city partnerships can and should reflect. Already the program has expanded trade missions in all three cities, as well as fostered business partnerships and pro-trade policies.¹⁶⁰

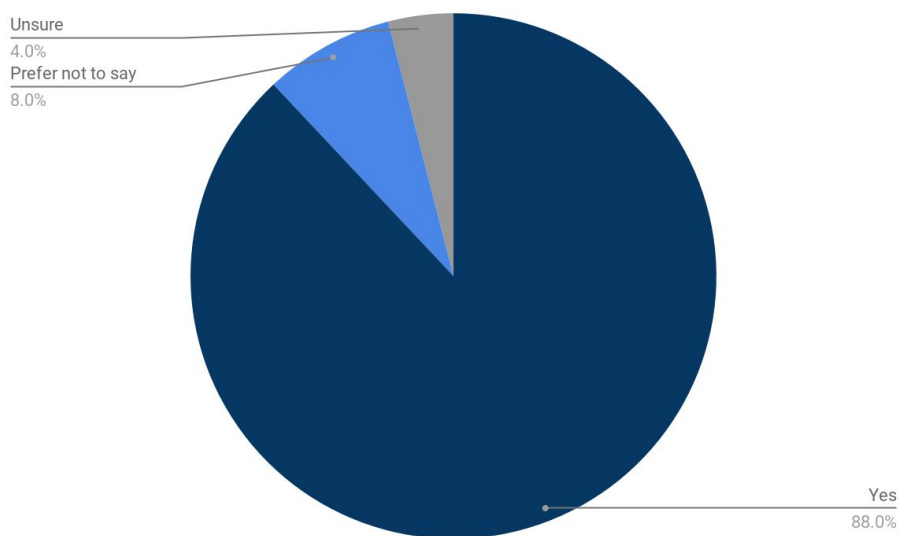
In the area of transnational municipal networks, Guangzhou participates in a smaller number than comparable cities. While it does not actively participate in a plethora of international city networks, the few that Guangzhou does participate in are quite engaging. In the same 2018 study conducted by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs in partnership with University College London’s City Leadership Laboratory and The University of Melbourne, these institutions found that, out of all the global cities anonymously polled in their study, 88 percent were currently engaged in international city partnerships. No single city responded “no” to the study; however, it should be noted that 12 percent were either unsure or preferred not to answer.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 177-178.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Acuto, Decramer, Kerr, Klaus, Tabory, and Toly, *Toward City Diplomacy: Assessing capacity in select global cities*.

Figure 5: City participation in international city networks?



Guangzhou, while publicly acknowledging its few international engagements, differs from the vast majority of other cities surveyed in that networks of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) as well as Metropolis were the key players with which the city engages. So much so in fact that Guangzhou was elected the co-president in both Metropolis and UCLG; in addition the city is the home of Metropolis' Asia Pacific Regional Office.¹⁶² Urban innovation and best practice sharing have been central reasons that many in the international community have given such levels of respect to Guangzhou. The city itself has set up awards such as the Guangzhou International Award for Urban Innovation and took the lead in 2014 to establish of the UCLG Community on Urban Innovation, an exchange and best-practice sharing on urban developments and innovations.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, 178.

¹⁶³ "Foreign Affairs Office of the People's Government of Guangzhou Municipality."

Apart from economics, Guangzhou's 150 international affairs professionals in offices as broad as the Bureau of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the Tourism Administration, and Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, work in areas as broad as tourism development, cultural policy, sustainability, and even migration. Specifically in the area of migration policy, which is rarely engaged in at the municipal level, the city is highly active. As the start of the Silk Road and a city with over 2,200 years of regional commercial dominance and various colonial dominions, the city is no stranger to either internal or external migration. In regard to Chinese citizens, the municipality has the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office¹⁶⁴, which works with Chinese citizens living and working abroad. With foreign residents living within Guangzhou, the Foreign Affairs Office of the People's Government of Guangzhou Municipality is in charge of actions, such as, "Taking charge of conferring upon foreign nationals such titles as "Honorary Resident of Guangzhou"; handling foreign-related law cases and the administration work concerning foreigners in Guangzhou, or assisting the related departments in handling the issues."¹⁶⁵ In addition to these findings, all other paradiplomacy policy areas have been inserted into the following matrix.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Figure 6: Policy Areas Guangzhou Utilizes Metrodiplomacy

Policy Area	Guangzhou
Economic Development and Business Policy	+
Security Policy	-
Tourism Development Policy	0
Cultural Policy	0
Migration Policy	+
Environmental and Sustainability Policy	+
Sports Policy	-

+ Relies on metrodiplomacy
0 neutral reliance
- no reliance
? not clear

LOS ANGELES

Transitioning to cities' in the Global North now, Los Angeles is the first of the two cities represented. It the second largest city in the United States, and a center for culture, arts, and commerce, Los Angeles represents an interesting unit of analysis in the study of the international activities of cities in North America. With a population of just under 13 million in 2010, the city metropolitan area is projected to rise to 15 million by 2025.¹⁶⁶ With a large amount of human capital, the city has a thriving economy, a youthful population, and a high propensity for growth—something not typically always true in many American cities. With a GDP of 731.8 billion U.S. dollars in 2010, the city is expected to see this number grow to 1,051 billion U.S.

¹⁶⁶ Parks, "The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025."

dollars by 2025. In comparison the entire Mexican economy currently amounts to 1,999.3 U.S. dollars.¹⁶⁷

Figure 7: Population and Economic Data for Los Angeles

City	Country	Population* 2010	Population 2025	GDP** 2010	GDP 2025	Total Growth	% GDP Growth
Los Angeles	United States	12.9	15.0	731.8	1,051.5	319.7	44%

*Population represented in millions.

**GDP represented in billions of U.S. dollars.

This economic clout ensures that the metrodiplomacy of Los Angeles is well funded and staffed. Unlike the other examples in this study, Los Angeles is however the newest actor engaging in metrodiplomacy of the four. The Mayor's Office of International Affairs (OIA)—the office in charge of engaging Los Angeles internationally—was only established in September of 2017. However, while the office is only in its infancy, it already can boast securing and centralizing hundreds of partnerships, even bringing the Olympic and Paralympic Games back to Los Angeles for the year 2028.¹⁶⁸

Mentioning Mayor Eric Garcetti is salient when examining the metrodiplomacy of L.A. due to his keen understanding of geopolitics. It was he who called for the creation of such an office in 2017. Garcetti, before assuming the mayorship, was a visiting instructor of international affairs at the University of Southern California and then an assistant professor of diplomacy and world affairs at Occidental College.¹⁶⁹ It is this diverse international understanding of politics that has led Garcetti to make statements in the past such as, “the state of the globe and our

¹⁶⁷ Relies on data from the IMF 2018, rounded to a single decimal place.

¹⁶⁸ “Mayor’s Office of International Affairs,” City of Los Angeles, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://www.lamayor.org/mayors-office-international-affairs>.

¹⁶⁹ Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian interviewed by author.

nation's foreign policy is described at best 'in flux' and at worst 'quickly disintegrating.'"¹⁷⁰ In response to U.S. national policy, Garcetti has stated that "We're unclear on our policies, from trade to security, multilateralism and our defense commitments. We're unpredictable in our stances ... And we're undependable in our friendships. One day we're fascinated and friendly with you, the next day we're not."¹⁷¹ This insecurity at the national level, is in part one of the reasons for L.A.'s subnational policy leadership. In addition to this, Los Angeles has been propelled into subnational policy leadership due to disagreements with national policy, both foreign and domestic. To account for these disagreements by Los Angeles utilizing metrodiplomacy, the difference of values can be accounted for. As Ambassador (ret.) Hachigian stated, when asked about this topic "we are only doing what is legally in our bounds to do, we aren't coming up with trade policy or controlling the military ... this is all stuff within our legal right and things that are important to our citizens."¹⁷²

The current deputy mayor of the Mayor's Office of International Affairs, Nina Hachigian, was appointed by Mayor Garcetti shortly after the establishment of the office. She has a background in diplomacy, serving as ambassador to ASEAN prior to assuming this role. Hachigian is keenly in tune with the city of Los Angeles' needs and who, over everything, sees her role and the role of the office she heads as bringing benefits to Angelenos. Whether that be economic benefits for L.A. businesses or cultural benefits for the average resident, there are opportunities and advantages that the Office of International Affairs brings for all Angelenos. Just in the realm of culture, the office has been pivotal in piloting a program which sends young

¹⁷⁰ "Mayor Garcetti: The State of Global LA is Growing Stronger," Pacific Council on International Policy, accessed February 13, 2019, <https://www.pacificcouncil.org/newsroom/mayor-garcetti-state-global-la-growing-stronger>.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian interviewed by author.

L.A. community college students abroad, establishing one of the world's largest expositions of Sri Lankan art, establishing the Japan House cultural center, and even securing the King Tut exhibit to come to Los Angeles on its world tour.¹⁷³

In a more traditional understanding of diplomacy the L.A. Office of International Affairs is incredibly active for an office of its size. The office has hosted hundreds of foreign missions, and countless heads of state since its founding. Traditionally, diplomacy and international partnership have been very much intertwined into the fabric of L.A.'s metrodiplomacy agenda. With the economic might that Los Angeles carries, leaders to the United States' North and South are ripe to send representatives here and work collaboratively on a range of topics. As Hachigian said, "where those global challenges exist or can be changed is in cities. So when you think about climate change, or refugee flows, or pandemic disease, or terrorist attacks, a lot of these kinds of challenges that we think of as global, where they have their impact or can be changed, is often in cities."¹⁷⁴ Hachigian underscores the diverse array of areas that L.A. partakes in. From sustainability initiatives like the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group (C40), to the municipality's sanctuary city policy, and even the city's leadership at the Mayor's Migration Council in Marrakesh, it is clear that L.A. is by far one of the most engaging global cities in the world. Simple aspects of the city such as owning its own utilities, having sole jurisdiction over building codes, and even having enough political support to buy entire electric fleets of municipal vehicles shows that something greater is in the works. The knowledge sharing the city is able to provide other cities through 100 Resilient Cities—a TMN in which L.A. is increasingly involved—and other organizations has proven to be priceless in the move towards a resilient

¹⁷³ This paragraph relies on information obtained during an interview with Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian.

¹⁷⁴ Ambassador (ret) Nina Hachigian interviewed by author.

urban future. Mayor Garcetti's "Climate Mayors," a coalition founded by the Mayor of over 407 Mayors representing almost every major American metropolis is pushing for stronger environmental regulations and promising to adhere to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), often referred to as the Paris Climate Accords. The Climate Mayors are most applauded in their efforts to establish the Electric Vehicle Purchasing Collaborative, a collaborative in which cities can bid together for bulk shipments of electric vehicles to lower overall costs.¹⁷⁵

About the only area in which L.A. fell short in its utilization of metrodiplomacy was tourism development. Tourism development for the city is done by a non-profit 501(c)(6) called Los Angeles Tourism & Convention Board, most commonly referred to as "Discover Los Angeles." The City's official tourism marketing organization, while sizeable, has little to do with the political structures at the municipal level. For this reason it is labeled as neutral in this analysis.¹⁷⁶ Apart from this surprising finding, however, Los Angeles utilized metrodiplomacy in every policy area outlined in this study. The following table has been provided to highlight this information.

¹⁷⁵ "We are Climate Mayors," Climate Mayors, accessed January 2, 2019, <http://climatemayors.org>.

¹⁷⁶ "Facts about LA," LA Tourism & Convention Board, accessed March 7, 2019, <https://www.discoverlosangeles.com/media/facts-about-la>.

Figure 8: Policy Areas Los Angeles Utilizes Metrodiplomacy

Policy Area	Los Angeles
Economic Development and Business Policy	+
Security Policy	+
Tourism Development Policy	0
Cultural Policy	+
Migration Policy	+
Environmental and Sustainability Policy	+
Sports Policy	+

+ Relies on metrodiplomacy
0 neutral reliance
- no reliance
? not clear

PARIS

The final city of this study, and the second city representing the Global North, Paris was an obvious choice when exploring a European city in this analysis. As the capital of the French Republic and a major hub for finance, culture, and the arts, Paris is one of the most dynamic cities in continental Europe. With a population of 11.8 million in 2010, the capital is expected to grow to just under 13 million inhabitants by 2025. Paris has one of the highest GDPs in Europe, reaching just over 764 billion U.S. dollars in 2010 and expected to increase to 971.4 billion by 2025.¹⁷⁷ While only a 27 percent GDP growth rate—the lowest of the cities in this analysis—metropolitan Paris itself is expected to have a GDP the size of the entire Indonesian

¹⁷⁷ Parks, “The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025.”

economy, which in 2018 was 1,005.2 billion U.S. dollars.¹⁷⁸ Île-de-France, the region encompassing Paris and its surrounding suburbs, itself has the highest subnational GDP of any subnational region in the whole of Europe.

Figure 9: Population and Economic Data for Paris

City	Country	Population* 2010	Population 2025	GDP** 2010	GDP 2025	Total Growth	% GDP Growth
Paris	France	11.8	12.9	764.2	971.4	207.2	27%

*Population represented in millions.

**GDP represented in billions of U.S. dollars.

Île-de-France (translated to “Island of France”) plays a key role in the work of Paris’s metrodiplomacy. Paris, unlike other metropolitan areas, has a strong coordination between its central metropolitan area (the city of Paris) and what is often referred to as the *région parisienne* the (“Paris Region”). This coordination is a necessity for Paris as it is currently slowing in its expected overall growth. Out of all the cities in this study, Paris has a mere 27 percent expected growth rate.¹⁷⁹ Yet, even being as wealthy as it currently is, the fear is that Paris won’t be able to keep up in global terms. As The Brookings Institution stated in a 2016 report titled *Global Paris: Profiling the Region’s International Competitiveness and Connections*, “facing new pressures related to globalization, technological disruption, and demographic change, the region’s growth has lagged relative to global peer regions that share its economic size, wealth, and industrial structure.”¹⁸⁰ The findings of the report underscore the need for boosted growth, something only possible through global connections and international partnership.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Relies on data from the IMF 2018, rounded to a single decimal place.

¹⁷⁹ Parks, “The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025.”

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Parilla, Nick Marchio, and Jesus Leal Trujillo, *Global Paris: Profiling the Region’s International Competitiveness and Connections* (Washington, Brookings Institution, 2016), 2.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 2-5.

Current Mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, has made it her goal since assuming office in April of 2014 to strengthen Paris' role in international affairs. Like Los Angeles, Paris's mayor and her name recognition are quite high. This is not an aspect typically witnessed in many cities in the Global South. When prompted, names like, Bloomberg, Daley, Emanuel, Giuliani, Hidalgo, Huldai, Johnson, Khan, Koike, Sheinbaum, Won-soon, and Yong, often draw some sort of name familiarization from many in the Global North who have come to recognize these esteemed political figures in one way or another. A type of brand is formed currently in the Global North surrounding global city mayors, something that has often not necessarily been true in the Global South. In many cities the mayor himself or herself is often seen as a personification of that city. Paris is no different as recognition for Mayor Hidalgo is arguably the highest globally. Hidalgo serves as the leader of scores of TMNs as well as various international partnership organizations. She is most noted as serving as the chair of the C40. The C40 while mentioned earlier, is a transnational municipal network in which "develop and implement climate action plans in line with the Paris Agreement" occur.¹⁸² At present time, more than 94 global cities are affiliated with the organization—represented a combined 25 percent of global GDP—forming 17 distinctive internal networks working on issues such as adaption, mitigation and sustainability. Together the "C40 networks help cities replicate, improve and accelerate climate action."¹⁸³ In 2018, Paris together with Buenos Aires launched the Urban 20 (U20) described as "a new city diplomacy initiative facilitated by C40 to raise the profile of urban issues and enhance the role of cities in the G20 agenda. This initiative will learn from past G20

¹⁸² "Mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo re-elected as Chair of C40 Cities," Press Release, C40, accessed February 27, 2019, https://www.c40.org/press_releases/mayor-of-paris-anne-hidalgo-re-elected-as-chair-of-c40-cities.

¹⁸³ "The Power of C40 Cities," C40, accessed January 5, 2019, <https://www.c40.org/cities>.

and G7 campaigns led by C40, UCLG and ICLEI.”¹⁸⁴ The U20 met for the first summit in October of 2018 in Buenos Aires.

Apart from Hidalgo’s climate leadership for the city of Paris, she is also spearheading her city’s involvement in areas such as business development. Paris aggressively sought to steal business and industry from London following the Brexit vote.¹⁸⁵ Attractive business inducements took the form of tax and other economic incentives, as well as new commercial construction projects in Paris in the hopes of stealing companies from London to relocate their central offices to Paris.¹⁸⁶ Paris went as far as loosening height regulations on certain development projects in the city, an unprecedented move by a city with some of the most restricted height regulations in the world. Additionally, the city went further to approve the construction of seven towers in the outskirts of Paris to increase commercial and office space in a city dealing with a lack of undeveloped land. The idea of bringing in new business and industry closely matches what Paris has done in previous years to attract tourism. Paris and its metrodiplomacy functions are coaligned with the city’s marketing functions. Paris has for years developed and perfected its image, with a stellar portfolio to match. Tourism and cultural policy, which in Paris are very closely aligned, also are central aspects of the metrodiplomacy of the city. Paris has consistently scored as one of the most popular cities in the world for gross amounts of tourists per year.¹⁸⁷ This is no accident; The Paris Convention and Visitors Bureau—the organization created in 1971 to handle Paris’ tourist marketing and services—was a move by the Paris City Council and Paris

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *The Local*, “France sees Brexit as tool to weaken London: leaked memo,” *The Local*, July 16, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.fr/20170716/france-sees-brexit-as-tool-to-weaken-london-leaked-memo>.

¹⁸⁶ Ben Mcpartland, “Brexit to create 3,500 finance jobs in Paris, says French lobby group,” *The Local*, July 11, 2018, <https://www.thelocal.fr/20180711/brexit-to-create-3500-finance-jobs-in-paris-industry-group>.

¹⁸⁷ “Paris: record tourist numbers in 2017,” Paris, Official Website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau, accessed January 20, 2019, <https://press.parisinfo.com/news/press-releases/Paris-record-tourist-numbers-in-2017>.

Chamber of Commerce and Industry to better strengthen the destination “in France and abroad.”

As described on their website:

The Bureau actively promotes Paris as a destination for leisure and business tourism to tour operators and the media. It organizes promotional campaigns, which highlight such different aspects of Paris as: Paris, the capital of shopping, gastronomy, romance... As well as providing solid support for the organization of company events, the Bureau also actively champions bids by the capital to host national and international congresses.¹⁸⁸

Marketing “French culture” both to tourists, and Parisian culture abroad is something with which the French are innately in tune.¹⁸⁹

The final mentionable area in which Paris has neutral metrodiplomatic involvement is the area of migration policy. In this area, Paris has been actively forced into passing some policies to handle the flow of migrants from the Middle East and North Africa. Many fleeing as refugees and economic migrants have come to settle within the city limits. News headlines like “Illegal migrants in Paris suburb soar to 400,000 as hundreds of migrant children sleep on streets” which was printed in British newspaper *The Telegraph* in 2018 are nothing new in the global media.¹⁹⁰ In 2017 alone, the child welfare system in France was driven to take over 25,000 children into their care. With an estimated number hovering around 550 new migrants arriving in Paris each week, how the city has chosen to deal with migrants is of particular concern. However, not all Parisians agree on what policies and steps the city should take to handle these concerns. As *The Telegraph* reported “Parisians demanding tougher policies and more deportations complain that

¹⁸⁸ The Paris Convention and Visitors Bureau: About us,” Paris, Official Website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau, accessed January 22, 2019, <https://en.parisinfo.com/footer/full/1457>.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ David Chazan, “Illegal migrants in Paris suburb soar to 400,000 as hundreds of migrant children sleep on streets,” *The Telegraph*, July 5, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/07/05/illegal-migrants-paris-suburb-soar-400000-hundreds-migrant-children/>.

the capital has become ‘the new Calais’¹⁹¹ However, as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) notes in a report published in 2018 titled *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees in Paris* that, “At all levels of government, measures are now being designed for “reinforced” support for migrants, helping them to better integrate socially and to better access the job market; these measures are tailored for all persons with a residency permit, in particular for refugees.”¹⁹² The effects and rate at which metrodiplomacy is being utilized in this area can only be described as neutral because:

The municipality sets aside dedicated resources for this and actively involves French citizens in implementing activities to foster social cohesion. The city is still attracting new migrants while socio-economic disparities and segregation remain marked in Paris and its region, in a context of limited emergency accommodation facilities for migrants and a tight housing market. More can be done to improve coherence across levels of government and among partners, in order to prevent fragmented service delivery and to improve how the impact of integration programmes is measured.¹⁹³

Paris still does not rely on international partnership to the degree or extent that other global cities do when shaping internal migration support policy. In the future, greater integration of the city into existing networks and TMNs, as well as the strengthening of foreign relations with sending countries could greatly benefit the city. Apart from this area of improvement, however, Paris appears to be widely engaged in metrodiplomacy overall. The chart below details the areas in which the city is engaged overall.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² OECD, *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees in Paris* (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2018), <http://www.oecd.org/migration/working-together-for-local-integration-of-migrants-and-refugees-in-paris-9789264305861-en.htm>.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

Figure 10: Policy Areas Paris Utilizes Metrodiplomacy

Policy Area	Paris
Economic Development and Business Policy	+
Security Policy	-
Tourism Development Policy	+
Cultural Policy	+
Migration Policy	0
Environmental and Sustainability Policy	+
Sports Policy	?

+ Relies on metrodiplomacy
 0 neutral reliance
 - no reliance
 ? not clear

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

“Global cities are increasingly driving world affairs—economically, politically, socially and culturally. They are no longer just places to live in. They have emerged as leading actors on the global state,”¹⁹⁴ stated Ivo Daalder, president of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. This study has shown sentiment to be the case, and it has outlined the process through which cities find themselves able to grow to such prominence. Buy utilizing metrodiplomacy, metropolitan

¹⁹⁴ Rodrigo Tavares, “Cities and states are becoming increasingly powerful actors on the world stage,” *CityMetric*, February 2, 2017, <https://www.citymetric.com/politics/cities-and-states-are-becoming-increasingly-powerful-actors-world-stage-2771>.

regions and municipalities in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa are changing the face of diplomacy and foreign policy. They are also concurrently shifting notions of sovereignty and fast-tracking the global approach towards transnational areas of concern. As Rodrigo Tavares states, “subnational activity and activism in the international arena is growing at a rate that far exceeds that [which is] carried out by traditional representatives of sovereign states.”¹⁹⁵ It is due to historical processes that city leadership and civil governance has developed to the all-encompassing nature that they have today.

As subnational entities around the globe scramble to undo the damage being done at the state level, it is up to urban inhabitants and municipalities to take aggressive stances in order to advocate for their self-interest. Only through direct involvement at the international level will cities and all they represent be sustained into the coming decades. If cities meet this challenge effectively, municipal leaders must ensure that their cities interact skillfully with not only their own national legislators but extraterritorial bodies as well—this is where transnational municipal networks come into play.¹⁹⁶ The diplomatic activities of TMNs define how cities are fast-forwarding their development projects, as rapid growth continues to inflict institutional challenges. The UN has posited, “countries will face challenges in meeting the needs of their growing urban populations, including for housing, transportation, energy systems, and other infrastructure, as well as for employment and basic services such as education and health care.”¹⁹⁷ However, as Michele Acuto of the City Leadership Laboratory at University College London reiterates, “while cities cannot enter into treaties with foreign entities, they can do

¹⁹⁵ Rodrigo Tavares, *Paradiplomacy*, fourth cover.

¹⁹⁶ Neil M. Coe, Peter Dicken, Martin Hess, and Henry Wai-Cheung Yeung, “Making Connections: Global Production Networks and World City Networks.” *Global Networks* 10, no 2 (2010): 138–49.

¹⁹⁷ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “68% of the world population projected to live in urban areas by 2050, says UN.”

virtually everything else: sign memoranda of understanding with foreign governments, make binding and non-binding political declarations and resolutions, and organize to form new bodies and influence virtually any social, political, and/or economic matters under the sun.”¹⁹⁸ Cities are doing just this. Metrodiplomacy is thriving at the municipal level, as shown in this study by the wide array of policy areas in which cities are actively involved.

What is witnessed across the board is that all cities utilize metrodiplomacy in at least a few key policy areas. While most cities were active in over three policy areas, the majority dedicated even more resources and attention towards metrodiplomacy as a catalyst for policy actualization. It should be noted that all cities in this study utilized metrodiplomacy in the areas of economic development and business policy, as well as environmental and sustainability policy. Furthermore, all cities except for one were active in the realm of cultural policy. What this signifies is that there are certain policy areas in which a majority of global cities are actively engaged. Business and environmental issues are increasingly looked at differently in the globalized world and this unilateralism proves it. Business and environmental TMNs are also to thank for the higher amount of cities active in these areas. These organizations make it easier for cities to make the transition into making their own partnerships, sharing best practices, and passing progressive policy measures.

¹⁹⁸ Benjamin Leffel and Michele Acuto, “City Diplomacy in the Age of Brexit and Trump,” 4.

Figure 11: Policy Areas and Metrodiplomacy by City

Policy Area	Buenos Aires	Guangzhou	Los Angeles	Paris
Economic Development and Business Policy	+	+	+	+
Security Policy	0	-	+	-
Tourism Development Policy	+	0	0	+
Cultural Policy	+	0	+	+
Migration Policy	-	+	+	0
Environmental and Sustainability Policy	+	+	+	+
Sports Policy	0	-	+	?

+ Relies on metrodiplomacy
 0 neutral reliance
 - no reliance
 ? not clear

Overall, when examining the areas in which cities were engaged, it appears they were least active in the area of security policy, with only Los Angeles actively engaged in this area in the study. On the other hand, other areas such as tourism, migration, and sports policy were also represented in this study, either heavily or neutrally. In a general overview of all policy areas it appears that the two cities in the Global North were more actively engaged than the two in the Global South. The above graph provides all cities' data organized in the order in which the city was introduced. What it shows is that no single city follows the same path in the ways in which it

chooses to engage beyond its borders. Metrodiplomacy, while new, understudied, and often misunderstood, is increasing because global politics is entering a new era. This is the era of the city, a time in which cities are actualizing progress towards many areas of concern that states have not. Each city and each agenda is as different and as unique as the city itself.