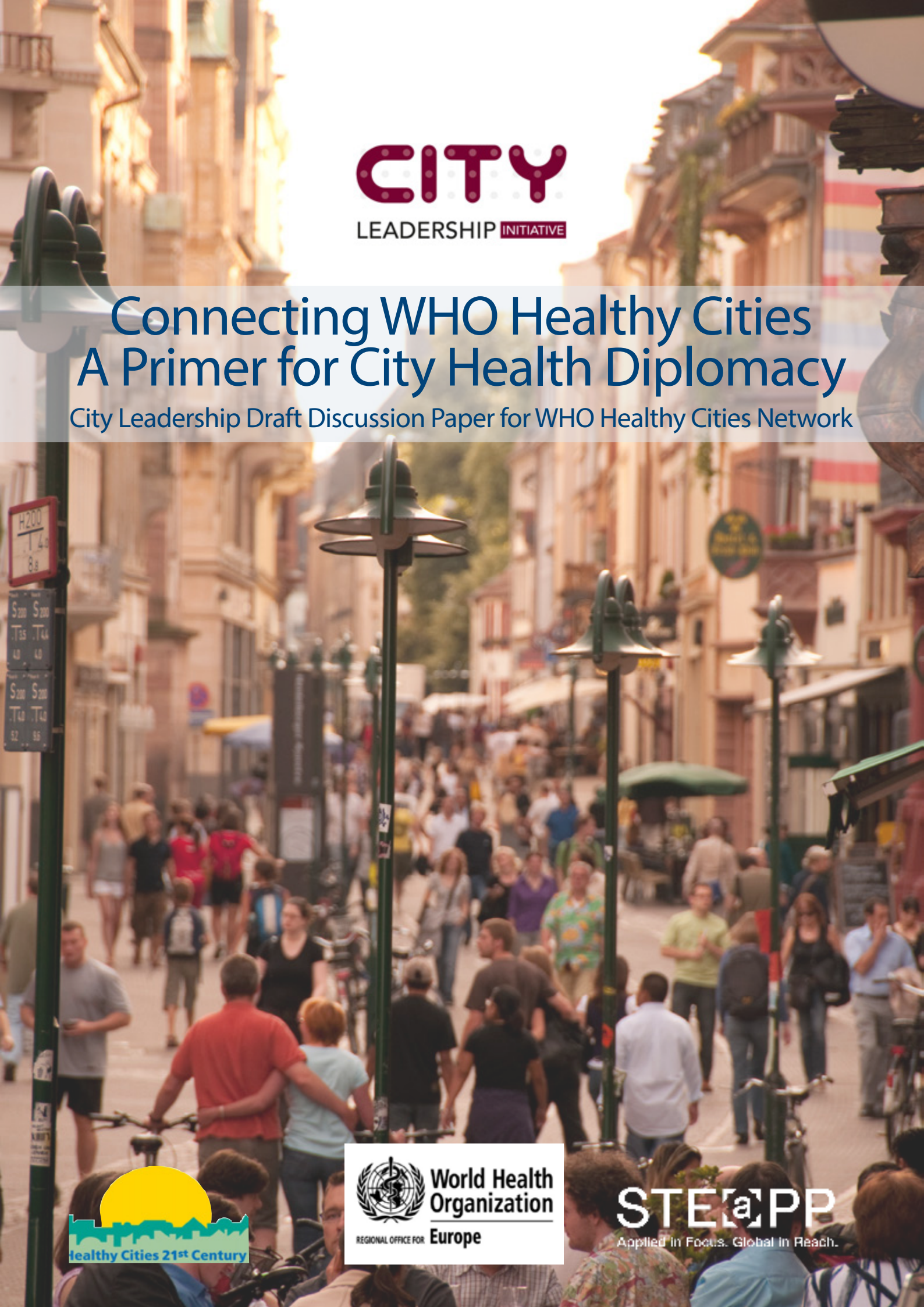

CITY LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE

Connecting WHO Healthy Cities
A Primer for City Health Diplomacy

City Leadership Draft Discussion Paper for WHO Healthy Cities Network

Healthy Cities 21st Century

World Health Organization
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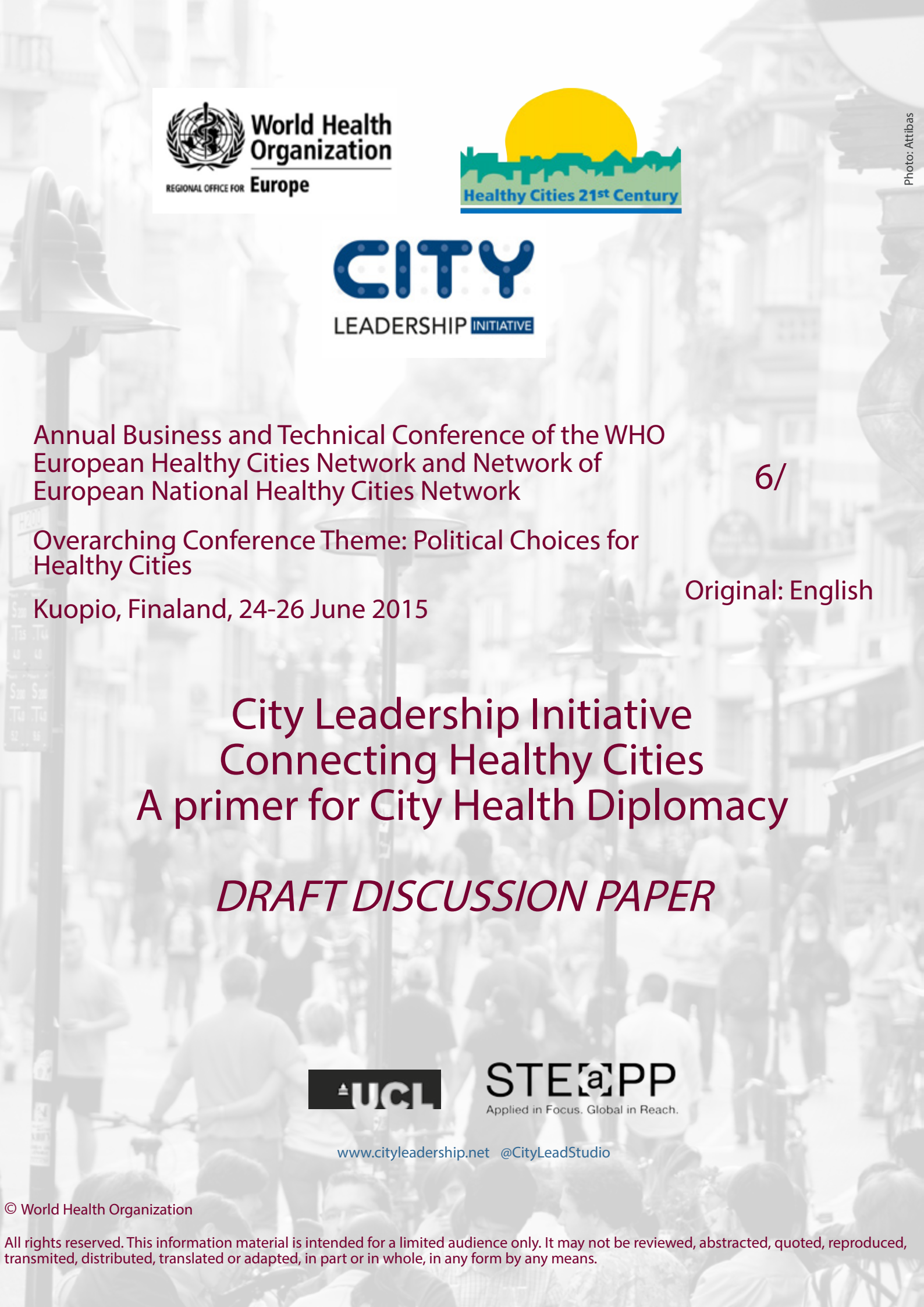

Photo: Attibas

Annual Business and Technical Conference of the WHO European Healthy Cities Network and Network of European National Healthy Cities Network

6/

Overarching Conference Theme: Political Choices for Healthy Cities

Original: English

Kuopio, Finaland, 24-26 June 2015

City Leadership Initiative
Connecting Healthy Cities
A primer for City Health Diplomacy

DRAFT DISCUSSION PAPER

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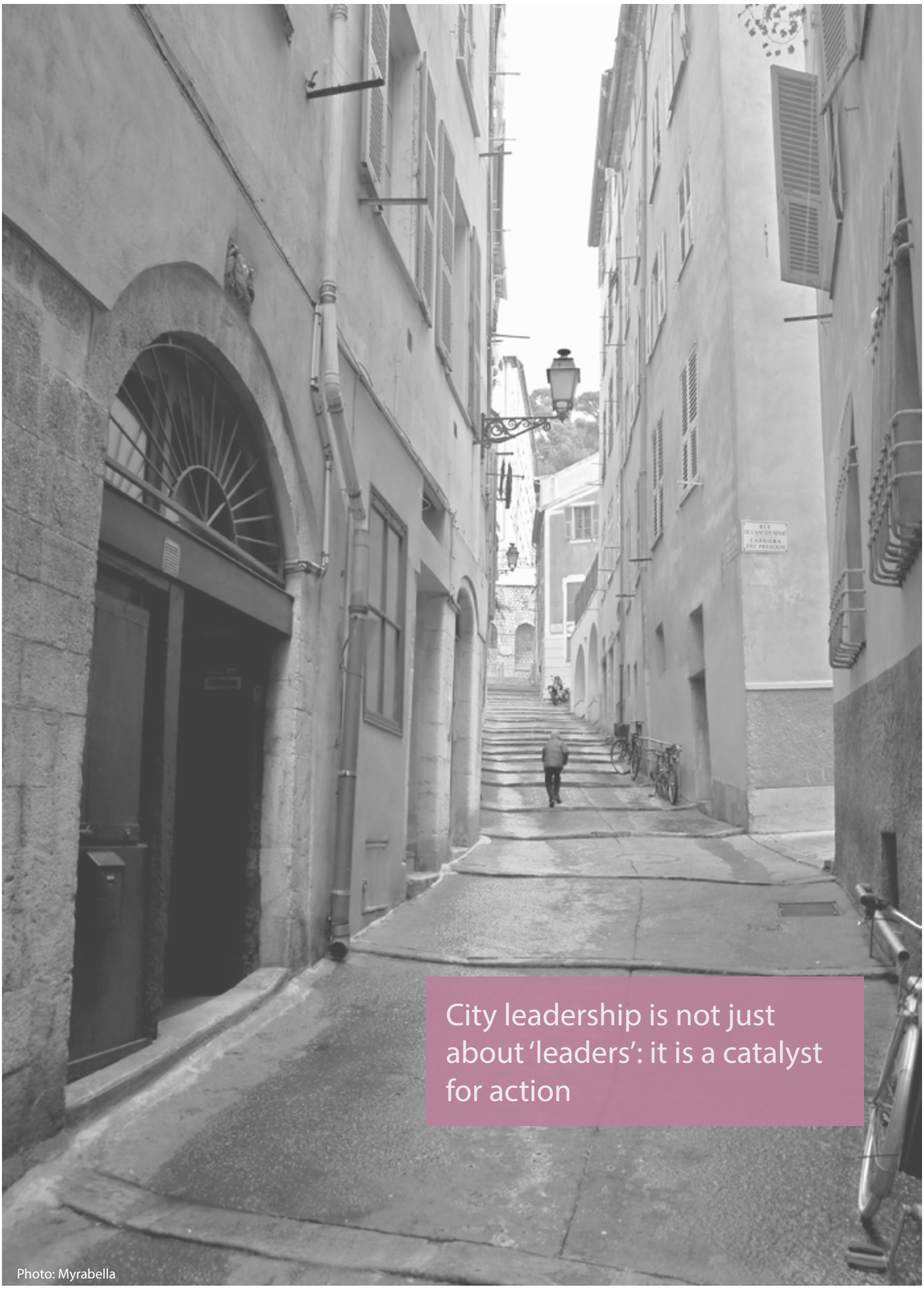

Photo: Myrabella

Executive Summary

how do cities engage in city-level health diplomacy?

In this report, we discuss the possibility to build on one of the core aims set out in the WHO European Healthy Cities Phase VI goals and Health 2020, namely the improvement of leadership and participatory health governance by cities. As part of this, we argue that it is possible and indeed profitable for cities to become more engaged in international health diplomacy.

Why should cities engage in diplomacy?

Once ignored in regional and international diplomacy, cities are increasingly stepping in to discuss issues state-level diplomats have not addressed or fail to reach compromise on. These include areas of vital importance to cities such as controlling urban pollution, on the ground peacekeeping, urban welfare and housing or, indeed, public health policies.

Diplomacy acts on one hand as a multiplier effect for the tools cities have and know well, namely planning and branding. It is also, however, a tool in its own right, marking the political weight of cities in increasingly decentralized and globalized economies.

Diplomacy by cities is not new.

Indeed, there already is a dense network of city diplomatic initiatives, some spanning back a century ago. CLI research suggests, however, that there has been a boom in the number of network initiatives by cities in the past 20 years. While around half of these networks are domestic, regional and international networks represent a bigger share of the newer networks. On an aggregate level, the main outputs of the networks are policy papers, reports and conferences; to a lesser extent, they also keep citizens and professionals informed through newsletters and blogs.

Traditional definitions of diplomacy like that given by Hedely Bull consider diplomacy only on the state-level: diplomacy involves "the conduct of relations between sovereign states with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means ". More broadly, however, diplomacy can be understood as the mediated relationship between representatives of polities. Bull furthermore breaks diplomacy down into five main functions which cities also engage in: *facilitating communication*, *negotiating agreements*, *gathering information*, *preventing conflicts* and *symbolizing the existence of an international society*.

But the present enthusiasm comes with the risk of network fatigue.

Some cities, either through their infrastructural power or their historic significance have the resources both physical and symbolic to conduct diplomacy on their own and rally cities to the cause of diplomacy. Many other cities turn to networks which they hope will come with political economies of scale. There is, however, a danger of cities becoming spread too thinly between the multitude of network commitments, conferences and summits. As a solution, several networks have chosen to coalition rather than diversify, forming consistent policy bodies representing in one single place a wide variety of interests. The Compact of Mayors, formed to gather the voices from several climate change networks in order to represent them at the Paris Climate Change Talks is one such example. We argue that health, as an issue that underlies many of the challenges cities face – whether they be concerns about demographics, inequalities, the dangers of the environmental degradation or the desire to preserve greenspaces – has to the potential to motivate one such supra-network.

And yet there is still room to capitalize on health diplomacy.

Some initiatives of city-level health diplomacy are very old; these evolved organically from well-established local government associations, proving that urban public health is of vital concern to cities. And yet, overall, there remain very few specifically health-oriented city networks and health diplomatic initiatives. This is unfortunate as there are several powerful examples of how health advocacy and lobbying by cities has changed government health laws. There is also a large health dimension to a number of growing problems which cities and central governments alike are becoming more concerned about – environmental degradation, lifestyles or migration to name a few.

What makes for good city diplomacy?

The simple but unsatisfactory answer is that there is no one format to effective city diplomacy. While some cities (and not necessarily always the largest) have a dedicated international affairs infrastructure managed by specialist staff, others conduct diplomacy in an ad hoc manner or rely heavily on their elected leader.

There are, however, some features which all diplomatic cities have in common:

1. They have recycled and added value to existing sistering or other mid-20th century diplomatic ventures.
2. What's more, the recycled version of these structures is often theme specific: sustainable development, security, health, etc.
3. They often pool resources between relations with their central governments and international actors.
4. They maintain good channels of communication, both upwards to domestic and international governments and institutions, and downwards to the professionals and citizen groups they house.

There are many ways cities can be strategic about their diplomacy.

In many ways, these are things cities are doing already, often unknowingly. For this reason, improving diplomatic capacities does not have to come with an expensive bill: in our research we have come across many cities or networks exploring creative solutions such as using free technology to improve their relation with their staff, their citizens, their governments and each other.

1. Deciding where to commit to diplomacy: The first step in diplomacy should be to come up with a consistent list of objectives and the tools one feels are necessary to complete these.
2. Up-skilling staff: Training for health officials is increasingly aware of the need to train them for the political side of their role.
3. Engaging local professionals: Conducting diplomacy through networking public health professional eases the burden put on city staff.
4. Increasing popular buy-in: Citizens need to be aware of the projects their cities are doing for them to support them.
5. Improving communication channels: Cities face both the challenges and benefits of being between their citizens, professionals or institutions and national or international governments.
6. Leveraging technology: Issue-spotting technology enables synchronization of data to come to the negotiation table prepared, while communication technology makes accessing this negotiation table less expensive.

Introduction

city health diplomacy: a call for action

One of these core goals of the WHO European Healthy Cities Network phase VI and European Health 2020 agreement is the commitment to *improving leadership and participatory governance in health*. An important part of leadership and participating in governance is the ability to dialogue, persuade and get ideas across to other actors, in other words the ability to act diplomatically.

a) The role of cities in global heath

By 2050, around 65% of the global population will live in cities. Cities are crucial actors in providing adequate housing, community care, hygiene and sanitation, access to a good quality of life or a clean environment and a host of other criteria crucial to public health, and yet mainly go unrecognized as domestic polity bodies.

As cities grow and the world becomes more urban, cities will also be faced with increasing challenges: dealing with overcrowding and environmental degradation, being at the forefront in the spread of increasingly dangerous epidemics and infectious diseases or managing the effects of both legal and illegal migration are just some of the by-products of growth cities will need to tackle. And yet, cities are also showing increasing solidarity towards each other. From the humble beginnings of the WHO Healthy Cities project almost 30 years ago, city networks for health now extend across all continents, transcending geographic and language barriers.

In its latest phase, the WHO Healthy Cities network aims to improve the leadership capacity of cities, in particular their roles as political and diplomatic actors in the spheres of domestic and global public health. Long under-represented, it is now increasingly important for cities to gain political and diplomatic powers in line with the challenges they will face.

b) Cities, global health and health diplomacy

"Improving the health care system within any country requires many decisions by many people" said representatives of the Conflict Management Group in a report aimed at guiding practitioners through health diplomacy for the WHO in 2000.

Cities, however, have been decidedly under-represented in this process. They are fundamental components of global governance in the twenty-first century, they influence the dynamics of our (global) political scenario and, yet, international analysts cannot see them because they are entrusted with looking at players the discipline has traditionally assumed crucial in order to explain some of the machinations of the game of world politics.[1]

However, the need for allowing cities a more direct say in issues which both concern and which state-level governments have so far struggled to deal with is starting to be felt in, in particular, the areas of environmental preservation and conflict resolution.[2] In both these spheres, international fora such as the negotiation of the new Sustainable Development Goals, the Post-Kyoto COP21 process and even the UN through its HABITAT program are seeing increasing involvement of local authorites through networks and coalitions formed for that process. The discussions in these fora often implicitly overlap with health on many points and it is important to consider how cities can contribute to this.

Since the early 1990s, health governance and diplomacy have themselves gone through major changes aimed at, among other things, increasing the legitimacy of and participation in global public health as well as addressing an increasingly wider definition of 'health'. Indeed, while 'international health' once concerned itself primarily with the threat of a few highly infectious diseases and health threats specific to the developing world, the new 'global health' has widened this scope to take into account a whole range of threats to health and wellbeing spread by globalization and the globalization of lifestyles affecting both developed and developing countries. Among these, one could list the threats of pollution, tobacco and other drugs, alcohol, diets high in fat and sugar, the availability of clean greenspaces or the hostility of certain urban environments to the elderly and those with special needs as particular concerns to cities.[3]

The remainder of this report is structured as follows. The following three sections of this report will focus on the existing nature, landscape and structures of city diplomacy and city diplomatic networks, considering how cities can engage in diplomacy and what makes successful city diplomacy. In the subsequent two sections, we will apply these lessons to health and consider how cities can improve their diplomatic capacities.

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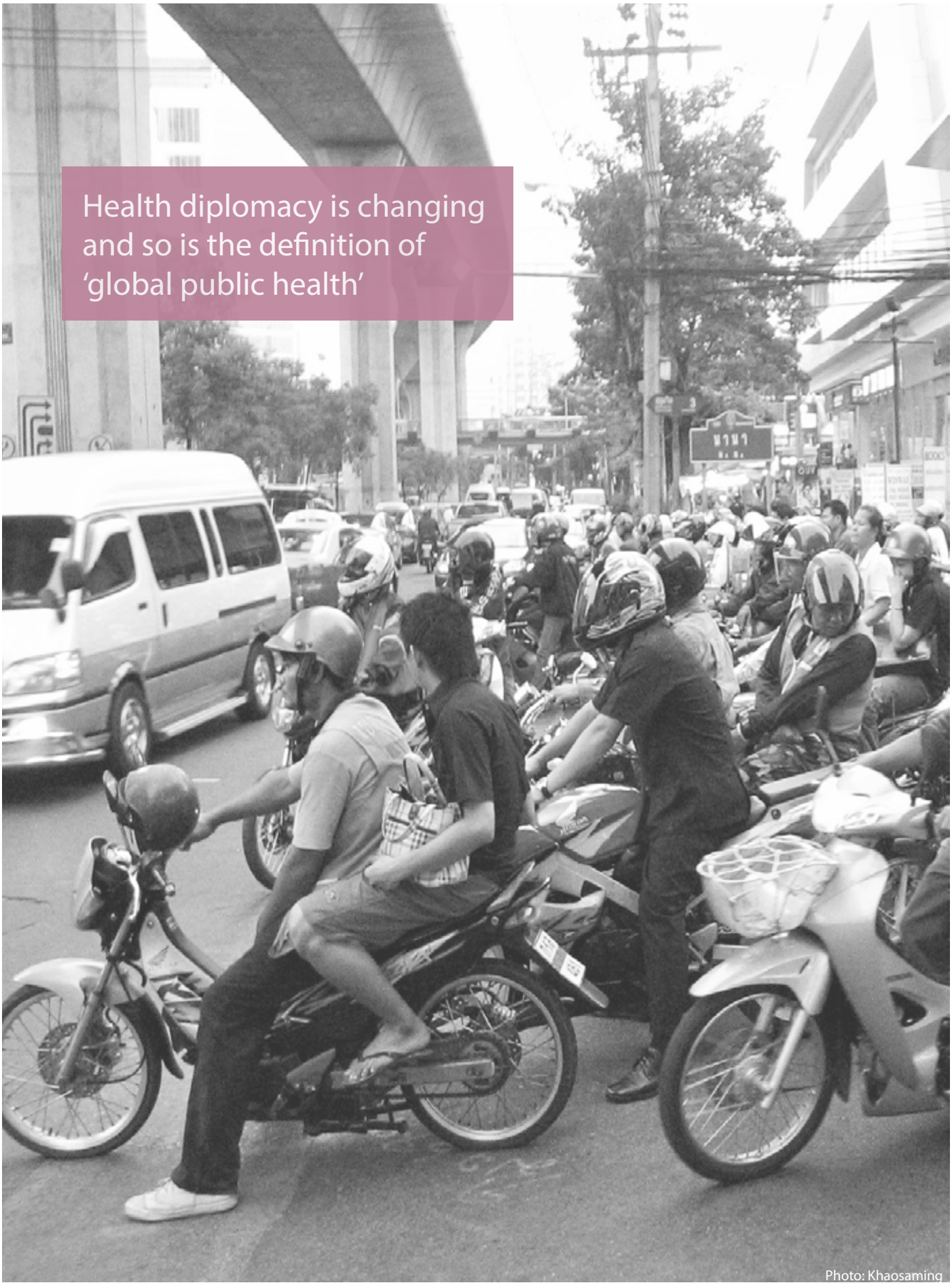
1: For more on this see: Acuto, M. (2013). *Global cities, governance and diplomacy: The urban link*. Abingdon: Routledge.

2: For example: Bouteligier, S. (2012). *Cities, networks, and global environmental governance: spaces of innovation, places of leadership* London: Routledge; and Mush et al. (2008) City Diplomacy: The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace-building, Post-conflict Reconstruction. The Hague: VNG International.

3: McInnes, C. and Lee, K. (2012). *Global Health and International Relations*. Cambridge: Polity.


Health diplomacy is changing and so is the definition of 'global public health'
Photo: Khaosaming

I – Why *Diplomacy*?

why cities are becoming diplomatic actors

"The core functions of diplomacy are facilitating communication, negotiating agreements, gathering information, preventing conflicts and symbolizing the existence of an international society, all of which can benefit from the involvement of cities."

Cities are not just physical places where the future of the 'urban age' will play out: they are also key actors capable of shaping the future of global challenges. As increasing number of scholars has been arguing, this capacity to 'act' not just within their confined administrative boundaries but also on broader, and increasingly international, stages is what justifies paying serious attention to the role of cities as central actors in contemporary world affairs. Cities have been representing their interests and those of their citizens domestically, as well demonstrated by the extensive experience of national networks like the US Conference of Mayors, as well as often also participating in efforts towards wider international goals such as movements of environmental protections, peace, health and quality of life. To do this, cities have been leveraging many tools at their disposal, including branding, planning, advocacy and, increasingly, diplomacy. In this section we look at why this latter practice is characteristic, what it means for cities specifically, and why it is different from the other typical tools at hand to mayors and city leaders more in general.

a) Diplomacy: A distinctive practice

What is the difference between diplomacy and other modes of engagement? Why should we focus on city health diplomacy rather than more specifically on branding, lobbying, networking and the many other external engagement activities so typical of many municipal governments today? The 'case for diplomacy' with cities is, in an age of extensive urbanization and urban challenges, a case for a more refined (strategic, some might argue) practice of a city's external relations, for a greater attention to the long-term political results of all the engagement and communications activity currently conducted in cities with peers, business and even states overseas.

The influential international relations scholar Hedly Bull defined diplomacy succinctly as "the conduct of relations between sovereign states with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means". So why would cities need to care about the practice of diplomacy if, after all, it is a state affair? Decades, if not nearly a century, of contemporary diplomatic studies scholarship might suggest the contrary. Whilst we regularly associate the conduct of foreign affairs with states, ministers and prominent leaders, much of the literature in international relations and social sciences more in general has now regularly ascribed the capacity to perform on international stages to many actors beyond states. NGOs like Oxfam or the Red Cross added lobbying and advocacy to their list of activities decades ago while it has always been recognized that businesses and the private sector are influential players in international negotiations ranging from the agreement of maritime laws to the establishment of international pharmaceutical standards. Cities are now increasingly following suit by forming political coalitions such as the C40 which address political issues states have not or cannot come to agreement on.

This of course implies thinking, principally, of cities in political terms and thus as 'local governments' – a category of fuzzy boundaries as representatives of boroughs, municipal, metropolitan and even regional authorities have been 'speaking for cities' on international stages.

Even when we consider a classic state-centric definition of diplomacy, we can find plenty of room for maneuver for cities. Although state-focused, Bull divided diplomacy into five core functions, each of which can be, and often is, replicated by cities or other non-state actors: facilitating communication, negotiating agreements, gathering information, preventing conflicts and symbolizing the existence of an international society.[1] Borrowing from Bull, and from the variety of scholars now engaged in discussing the diplomatic possibilities of cities, we will consider in this section how cities exercise these functions to achieve their aims. Rogier Van der Pluijm and Jan Melissen of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations have described the aims cities wishing to deploy 'diplomacy' as two-pronged: on one hand, cities are increasingly taking over state-level diplomacy, similarly to how NGOs or corporate lobbies have carved a niche for themselves in the past; on the other, they are also tackling issues traditionally ignored by states such local infrastructure needs or bottom-up approaches to peacekeeping.[2]

City diplomacy, as we illustrate more in depth throughout this report, is far from a sporadic and peculiar activities. In a City Leadership Initiative study of 180 city networks, 25% met at regular intervals at least once a year or more, with a further 20%

scheduling irregular meetings and conferences. How can cities better leverage the effects of these vast amount of interactions with other cities, and how can diplomacy contribute to the effective integration of city leadership in global agendas? To answer these questions we need first and foremost to unpack the importance of a 'diplomatic' view onto the external engagement activities of cities.

b) A long tradition of city diplomacy

Although the boom in organized city networking and diplomacy started peaking in the last three decades, it is important to point out the networking between cities and advocacy by cities on a state level is not a new fad. There is an extensive history of city diplomacy that charts back all the way to the early days of human civilization, and is firmly recognized by scholars and historians of both classical and middle ages, as well as in parts of the pre-modern period. Embedded in commercial relations, trade routes but also conflict among city states and early nations, the lineage of city diplomacy is first and foremost a reminder that the external relations between cities have been on the world stage far longer than those of modern states, and should be acknowledged as significant forerunners of the many popular contemporary efforts like UCLG, C40 or Eurocities. This is not to say, however, that nation states are entirely oblivious to this legacy. For instance, during the colonial era, the British government recognized the important of cities in maintaining peace and believed that cities where the first line of diplomatic defense in preventing conflict. Cities were active in post-conflict environments such as Kosovo or Columbia as well as in ongoing conflicts such as Palestine.

Relations between cities have regularly shaped the evolution of societies in many continents, from Europe to Latin and Central America, the Middle East or East Asia, forging regular exchange patterns between major metropolises well beyond the so-called "myth of Westphalia" that nowadays puts states at the heart of global affairs.[3] Critical, then, is an appreciation of city diplomacy as a long-lived activity because:

1. Networking among cities is not a new activity in world affairs, but the result of a long historical lineage of city-to-city cooperation
2. City diplomacy does not require inventing de novo an approach to cities' external relations
3. City diplomacy requires a recognition of the continued role of cities as key more-than-local players
4. Networking among cities needs to take stock of the tradition of city diplomacy and the changes (qualitative and quantitative) occurring in the last few decades

c) Diplomacy as a multipliyer effect

To understand how cities can leverage their diplomatic capabilities, we also need to identify what diplomacy means on the city level. This is a particularly difficult because often times city diplomacy is confused, at least in the 'common speak' of media and general public, as simply one part of branding of planning (see box on page 12).

To date, a large portion of city diplomacy has been dedicated to improving the tools cities have through cooperation and knowledge-sharing with other cities, but there is also a case to be made that these tools depend on a strong capacity for city diplomacy as well and that city diplomacy is not simply a means towards an end but another tool to be built alongside branding and planning.

Planning: A large part of the time, when cities get together or link with representatives of the state, it is to talk about concrete urban policy issues and share know-how with the aim of cities then incorporating these gains into their own strategic plans.

Strategic planning is becoming increasingly unavoidable for cities – recent research by the City Leadership Initiative (on a global sample of 202 cities) revealed that about 82% of cities worldwide either have or are in the process of developing a strategic plan. Moreover, the areas over which cities 'plan' are increasingly growing in complexity and extent, thus making it harder for cities to develop plans and long-term strategies alone.

For this reason, many knowledge-sharing and capacity-building initiatives exist. UN Habitat efforts at shaping collaborative cross-municipal efforts towards planning, or the widespread role of private consulting actors like AECOM and ARUP are prime examples. Well prior to the adoption of the Habitat Agenda in 1997 or the sprawl of planning consulting in the past two decades, however, there were already established networks like Energy Cities and Climate Alliance shaping discussions on how municipalities manage their infrastructure and reduce their environmental impact locally. Even where planning is not the main goal of the (city) diplomatic enterprise, diplomatic discussions on better planning can still be traced as an important domain cities have power over, as was seen in the Municipal Alliance for Peace in the Middle East (MAP) where ensuring a better quality of life for Palestinian citizens through better urban infrastructure was seen as an important contribution towards peace-building efforts in the middle east. Thus, there are many examples of diplomacy and planning going hand in hand, both mutually complementing and building on each other.

Branding: Branding refers to the ability of cities to promote an attractive identity which helps them 'stand out', and draw talent and investment. Branding as a key part of city promotion is today an important strategy for most cities seeking to gain an edge in the inter-urban competition that has risen over the past 20 years, alongside increasing globalization. Because cities

are now seen as needing to compete globally for investment, tourism and residents, rankings such as the Saffron European City Brand Barometer, the Anholt GfK-Roper City Brands Index or the Mori Memorial Foundation's Global Power City Index (GPCI) now capture much of the international discourse on the effectiveness of city brands and marketing strategies.[4] In this sense, city branding is seen as those activities aimed at influencing the common perceptions people have with a place, and is usually focused on visual and public relations elements of a city marketing strategy. From this viewpoint city branding differs from 'diplomacy' in important ways: city diplomacy encompasses activities aimed at agreement, cooperation and trans-national collaborative initiatives, while city branding is centered on promotion and attraction. City diplomacy is couched in the broader spectrum of a city's international political activities, while city branding tends to be closely associated to marketing as the intentional and organized process of construction and dissemination of a discourse on, and images of, a city.[5] City diplomacy aims at constructing shared understandings, while branding tends to be focused on broadcasting (or targeting specific markets) via a specific message.

As we highlight below, the greatest challenge today is that city branding is often conflated into diplomacy and vice-versa municipal officers and leaders tend to focus much of their international appearances towards branding a limited space for more specific diplomatic processes like joint declarations, cooperation agreements and negotiated settlements. Yet, if one would think city branding is by nature an adversarial, zero-sum game, there are in fact many ways being diplomatic can strengthen a city's brand image. Van der Pluijm and Melissen highlight the Olympic bidding process as one example of how branding and diplomacy combine. On one hand, a large part of impressing the International Olympic Committee depends on constructing an appealing city image in line with the Olympic brand, but on the other, cities also need strong communication skills and the ability to negotiate in order to best represent their country at the Olympic roundtable. They point out that wining the bid therefore requires not a top-quality city in the physical sense but also a top-quality city in its ability to dialogue directly with other rival cities and the Committee itself.

In fact, being a 'diplomatic' city known as a core player in various international networks and multilateral fora can be a critical part of a city's brand – and one that goes against the common adversarial tone of city branding. This is for instance the case of The Hague which, in the process of creating its 'international city of justice' brand, worked hard to leverage its role in various local authority networks as well as foster links between its local governments and the international bodies the city houses or hopes to attract. A similar case could be made for several 'global South' cities that are today at the forefront of international urban cooperation, as with Rio de Janeiro chairing the Climate Leadership Group. Examples such as this point at the complementarity, but also difference between city branding, city planning, and city diplomacy.

d) Diplomacy as a (political) tool in its own right

Diplomacy does not simply exist to multiply activities done on an intra-city level; it is also a political institution in its own right. This means that diplomacy can also be an end in itself, whether that be through advocating on issues of concern or demonstrating the political power of cities which it is increasingly difficult to ignore.

Yielding 'Glocal' results: Much of what we imagine to be diplomacy happens on international fora such as the UN, the Post-Kyoto Climate Talks or, indeed, the WHO. But international diplomacy also has 'glocal' effects, that's to say benefits derived from the global but realisable on the local scale. The ability to negotiate for and win international funding and projects, the possibility to discuss best policy options with peers and the possibility to make economies of scale by addressing a mutual problem as a collective are all examples of how activity on the

WHAT TOOLS DO CITIES HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL?

Planning: Planning is the technical and political process which determines the use of city resources (such as land resources, energy resources, water resources, etc.) and shapes the urban environment (through housing, transport, health facilities, etc.). This is increasingly being done by professional urban planners but also involves a whole range of stakeholders ranging from city staff, business and institutions to grassroots community organizations.

Branding: Branding includes all the strategies – creating logos and marketing material, showcasing attractions and accomplishments, investing in areas a city wants to be known for, etc. – which reinforce a city's identity and reputation on the domestic and international stage.[6] According to Robert Jones, consultant director at international brand consultancy Wolff Olins, successful branding should turn a city into a place where people want to visit, work and live. Even more so, branding should also serve towards a city's wider political goals and international recognition.

Governance: Governance broadly refers to the political process through which cities allocate their resources to achieve their goals, lobby for resources or support on a domestic or international level and advocate on behalf of certain issues. It also refers to how cities manage relations with the citizens and institutions they house as well as domestic and, increasingly, international polity bodies. Because of this, diplomatic capabilities are growing increasingly important within governance.

global scale can have real effects on the local. As outlined above, diplomacy can act as a multiplier effect for tools cities already have – local planning can be improved with the addition of funds or knowledge gained internationally, and the local brand of a city can be compounded by the reputation this city has globally – but this is not to say that diplomacy is less important than these other tools.

Better representing urban-dweller constituencies on a local and global level: The concerns of city dwellers as domestic citizens might not always be adequately raised on an international or even domestic level.

There are several examples of cities doing advocacy work on behalf of their citizens. For example, Hiroshima and Yokohama (both of which are known as progressive towns in a relatively conservative Japan) both actively dedicate time and resources towards peace advocacy.

On the health front, this can be shown by cities advocating for attention to be drawn to health issues affecting citizens which states or international governments have not yet acknowledged or continue to ignore. Cities in North American or Europe are often credited with flagging things like HIV/AIDS patient rights, the dangers of smoking or 'food deserts' (urban areas with no access to good quality food with high obesity rates). Not long ago, the UK had a particularly interesting example of city advocacy causing swift legal change when the Local Government Association campaigned against 'legal highs', drugs which fall into a legal loophole but which had proven to be especially deadly in urban areas. This latter example shows that advocacy does not always take place on international for a like the WHO or UN but can be equally as powerful locally if good channels of communication with the government are maintained.

The establishment of a political community of cities: Similarly, on the international level, the interests of cities are usually subsumed within those of the state which represents them. Increasingly, however, cities large are forming distinct identities which challenges global cities face than New York does with the state of Nebraska or Beijing with Ürümqi, a city mid-size city in the deserts of the Uyghur Autonomous Region West of the Gobi Desert.

Just as Bull pointed to the role of state-level diplomacy in upholding the international system of states, diplomacy among cities shows the growing emergence of an international community of cities. The power these bodies hold as autonomous political actors in increasingly being felt when cities lobby together through networks, or to form summits in order to unilaterally negotiate things like carbon-taxes or discuss issues like anti-corruption strategies.

References:

1. Bull, H. (1995) The Anarchical Society. New York: Columbia University Press. The latter function is perhaps the most challenging for cities and analysts alike: how do cities symbolize the evolution and current existence of the "international society"? How do they contribute to, and shape, norms of international relations and orders of world politics? While still requiring much more in-depth thought, these questions have already spurred important debates on the role of cities in international orders. See for instance Curtis 2011.
2. Ver der Plujim, R. and Melissen, J. (2007) "City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities." Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations
3. Teschke, B. (2003). The myth of 1648: class, geopolitics, and the making of modern international relations. London: Verso.
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5. Colomb, C. (2012). Pushing the urban frontier: temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the creative city discourse in 2000s Berlin. *Journal of urban affairs*, 34(2), 131-152.
6. Andrea L., Per Olof B., (2011) "City branding: a state-of-the-art review of the research domain", Journal of Place Management and Development, Vol. 4 Iss: 1, pp.9 - 27.

Photo: John St John

To some extent or another, almost all cities carry out 'diplomacy'.

II – The landscape of city diplomacy

the inter-city diplomatic ecosystem

"Depending on their size, cities interact with other cities in different ways. However, regardless of size, there also is a real risk of cities being over-networked. Instead, the focus should be on constructing supra-networks capable of regrouping and adding value to existing small-scale networks."

What does the existing landscape of city diplomacy look like? For one part, a certain amount of it is conducted through networks of cities which CLI has gathered data on and analyzed in past research papers. O top of this, there are of course also cities with a strong diplomatic presence in their own right. How does this form diplomacy differ from networked diplomacy, and what make the strengths of each? .

a) Where does city diplomacy fit within existing city networking?

A large portion of the activities of cities on the international scene today is conducted through networks. As landscape research by CLI has evidenced, the extent of city networking is vast: estimates put the overall number of city networks to over 300 organizations, many of which have been in place, like the WHO Healthy Cities network, for over a quarter of century. There is, in practice, also a core group of forerunners, mainly comprised tight-knit domestic networks (some of which trace their origins more than 100 years back) in developed countries like the US, Switzerland or Japan, which demonstrates that city diplomacy can, indeed, be sustained on the long run. The International Union of Local Authorities which currently has more than 250 members across 40 countries has just celebrated its 100th birthday, furthermore demonstrating the potential for international municipal cooperation. Yet, we can also see the phenomenon of city networking, and the city diplomacy that goes with it, is also seeing a renaissance of more-than-local engagements by municipal governments, with close to 40% of these city networks younger than 20 years old (Figure 1). This, practice, tells us that city diplomacy is not just well established, but also well and alive.

While national networks continue to represent the majority city networks, there is also a growing trend for regional urban associations, pushed forward by regional bodies like the EU or the ASEAN, and transnational urban associations, pushed forward by organizations like the World Bank and the UN, to populate the global city networking landscape (Figure 2). In fact, more than half of the 'international' networks surveyed by CLI have disclosed forms of multilateral and corporate partnership with organizations including UNICEF, the ILO, UN HABITAT, Goggle or the Clinton Foundation. We return to this 'hybridization' of city networking, and the 'polylateral' city diplomacy it implies, below. [1]

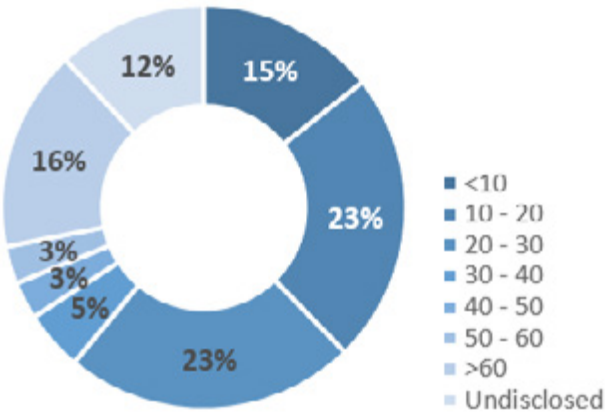

Figure 1: City networks by age

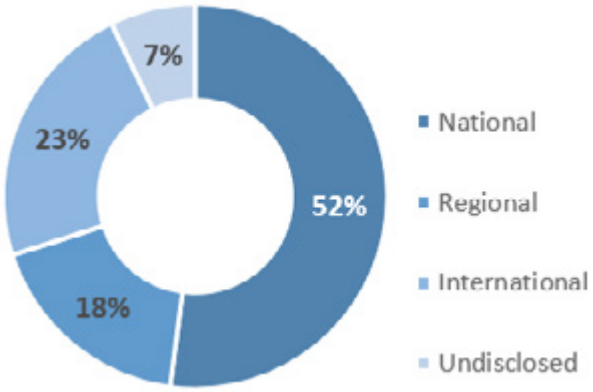

Figure 2: City networks by scope of activity

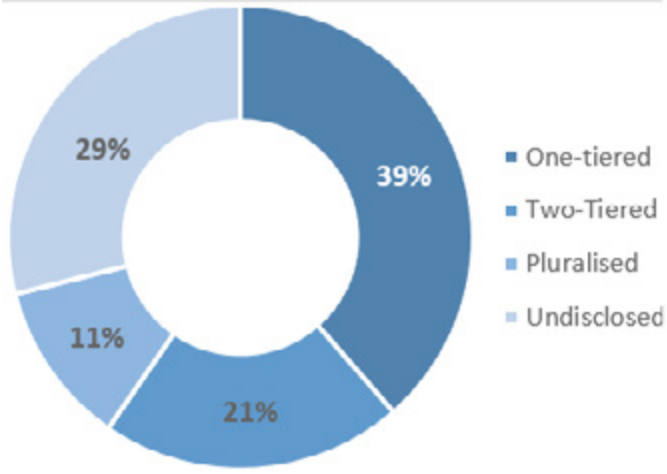

Figure 3: City networks by structure

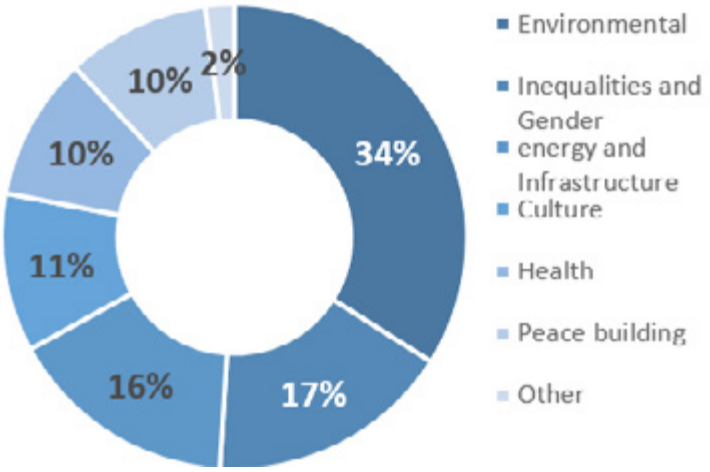

Figure 4: City networks by focus

Whist still a mostly 'national affair', city diplomacy is bridging well beyond the classic domains of foreign affairs. It is for instance interesting to point out that a few seemingly 'domestic' networks still have partnerships with another country. This is true, for example, between mayor networks in culturally similar areas (one mayor association in Paraguay, for example, shares links to Spain), between countries prepared to share know-how (for example, a local network in the Czech Republic with tight links to Norway) or to foster friendship (several local networks in Japan, for example, have links to China).

In structural terms, the cities networks surveyed by CLI are relatively equally divided between one-tired, two-tired and pluralized structures, with a slight preference, however, for the former (Figure 3).

When it comes to focus, 10% of city networks describe their main goals as health related, while the biggest focus by far remains the environment (Figure 4). However, it should be pointed out that health plays a big part in many of the concerns addressed by city diplomats, whether it be the health implications of environmental degradation, the importance of health in talking economic and gender-based inequality or the importance of ensuring health to refugees and migrants made homeless by war. This only highlights the need for a wider body on city-level health to tackle what has been ignored.

According to CLI research, 25% of city networks globally tend to meet at regular intervals at least once a year or more, with a further 20% holfing irregular meetings and conferences (Figure 4). This would suggest that conference outputs or other documents such as policy papers drafted in collaboration during conferences make up a large part of city network deliverables, but that all of this activity is in fact also capable of leading to even more applied political results, such as those of shared policies and joint piloting initiatives. Another critical 'diplomatic' output which is difficult to survey for is the agreements signed between cities during these meetings, often on issues that national states cannot reach consensus on. Chris van Hemert describes one such case where a municipal network for peace between Israeli and Palestinian mayors managed to conclude a statement of understanding on controversial issues such as borders, cease-fires of the division of water.[2] Such semi-formal city-level agreements have also been considered for a wide range of issues including carbon taxes and other environmental considerations.

This is particularly important in a 'diplomatic' sense because cities are demonstrating an extensive track record of joint statements, charters and public policy activities that imply substantial negotiations and collaborative agreements among city leaders. When mayors and their peers agree to a joint initiative to, for instance, promote healthy green spaces or walkability retrofits to their downtowns, they are doing so on behalf (as noted in chapter 1) of their constituencies 'at home' and at the same time in agreement, generally voluntary but in some important cases binding, with international collaborators and multilateral agencies. We can, and should, therefore speak of 'city diplomacy' for three core reasons:

1. cities are effectively setting up trans- and inter-national cooperating mechanisms that are sanctioned by agreements among their (legitimate) representatives
2. these agreements have real and often critical effects on political communities or citizenries constituted by growing numbers of city dwellers and represented by these city leaders, and
3. these international activities of cities do not just result in meetings, but in tangible outputs and international organizations (like city networks) that define the shape of international cooperation for cities.

On the top of these considerations, it is furthermore interesting to notice how a large portion of networks are now also exploring new technologies such as blogs and twitter campaigns to diffuse the outcomes of their work and push for further city-centric lobbying. Several city networks are becoming quite skilled at the "digital diplomacy" that states have in many case lagged behind. While traveling remains a barrier for city diplomats, possibilities opened by new means of communication promise exciting opportunities for inter-city relations far beyond the often limiting stereotypes of city networking and city diplomacy as the exclusive realm of large mayoral summits

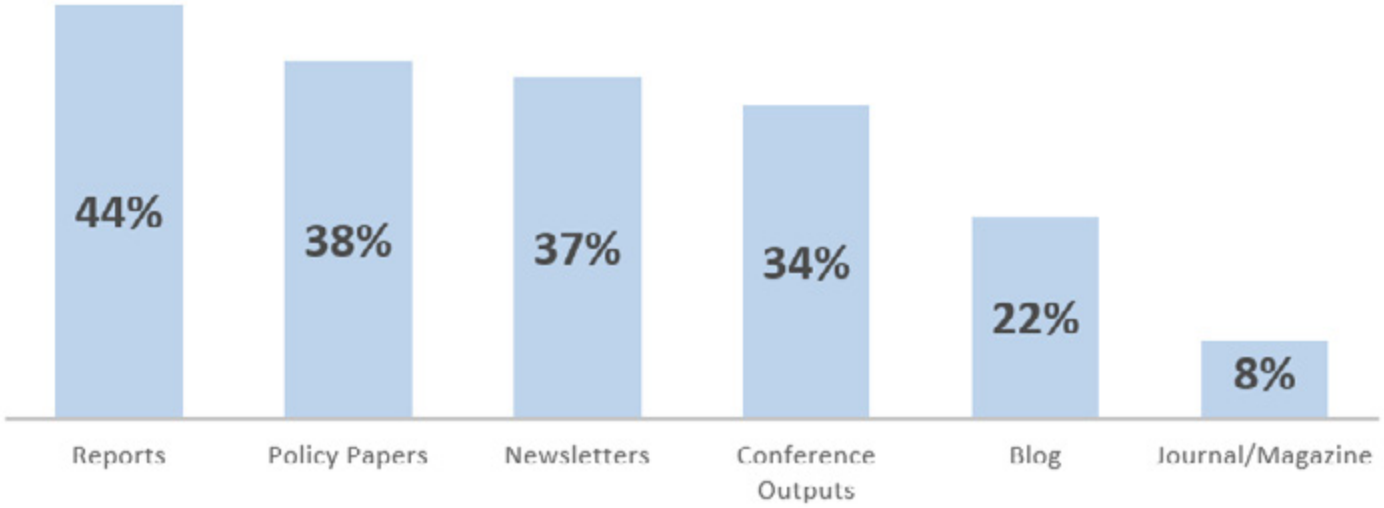

Figure 5: Network outputs

b) Diplomacy by individual cities vs. diplomacy by networks

City networks, of course, do not make up the entirety of all city diplomatic enterprises. Following the example of how businesses and NGOs firmly established themselves as non-state actors on a state-level diplomatic playing field, some entrepreneurial cities have carved out a niche for themselves and are now unavoidable internationally when discussing certain policy issues. What enables some cities to do this and how does city diplomacy conducted by individual cities differ from diplomacy conducted by networks?

- Diplomacy by individual cities

Why are some cities more likely to engage in diplomacy or initiate joint diplomatic ventures between cities? Most visible are those global cities such as New York, London, Singapore or Dubai with a strong physical and political infrastructure. Following these are smaller cities such as Hiroshima or The Hague who as part of their history or identity have a strong presence on the international scene.

Perhaps the visibility of these urban big players obstructs from view the fact that even smaller cities regularly engage with other cities, their region or even international players. We argue that diplomacy is within reach, or indeed already carried out, by all cities regardless of size.

Before considering this, however, let us consider what makes cities with an explicit commitment to diplomacy successful. New York and Hiroshima are thoroughly different cities; they also carry out diplomacy for thoroughly different reasons. For the former is an economic pole of the US and houses several consulates and international institutions including the UN; the latter is a mid-size city of moderate economic and political important with a unique history which made it a center for international peace movements.

These two very different cities have some things in common with their strategies, however. On one hand, they have tried to add value to their relations with other cities by systematizing old networks. In 2007, New York converted its vast uncoordinated network of sister cities into a single forum, Global Partners Inc., which meets periodically to discuss specific issues of urban interest such as corruption or security; similarly, Hiroshima amalgamates the bulk of its international relations into its peace advocacy, creating the Mayors for Peace movement in the 1980s as the main outlet for this. Incidentally, this has led to involvement by both cities in international health diplomacy: Global Partner's 2008 summit was dedicated to the health of climate change while the city of Hiroshima helped establish an international research council on radiation and human health (HICARE) in the 1990s.

Another important similarity between these two cities has been the dedication of their elected leaders to city diplomacy and to making their city an example for others. Former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg created many progressive policies (including health related policies) he hoped would be a model to other international cities and in his retirement has indeed set up a consultancy which aims to advise other cities in implementing change. In Hiroshima, the diplomatic role of the Mayor is an inherited one and enthusiasm for the international peace project is a given for elections. In many other cities, however, creating a 'sellable' concept of diplomacy to city leaders is a challenge for city staff, but it is also interesting to point out that networks usually have a longer lifespan than a politician's term in office. There is a case to be made for allowing networks to act stabilizing institutions which preserve a continuum in policy despite frequent political turnover.

- Diplomacy by networks

A network fatigue?: Networks offer an important tool to leverage the voices of cities which do not have the physical resources of New York or the symbolic power of Hiroshima. Lincoln, a small British university town, was for example recently able to showcase its own experiences banning 'legal highs' through the Local Government Association which lobbied on behalf of its members for central government to recognize the costs of these dangerous drugs which are all too often dealt with by local councils alone. Within a matter of weeks, the central government responded to the upsetting Local Government

Association report, issuing new laws to crack down on the illicit substances.

While the increased attention given to city networks has enhanced their political power, there is also a concern, however, that this enthusiasm has led to an overly-complicated web of often overlapping organizations.[4] Let's consider, for example, the case of environmental city networks. In a selection of 180 of the most visible city networks, for example, CLI found almost 50 of these to be related to climate change. Among these, five big players (the C40, the Climate Change Alliance, the ICLEI, the UCLG and the World Mayors Council on Climate) held between them almost 30 events and meetings in 2014 alone.

Although, as pointed out above, networks have existed between cities for more than a century, the boom in interest by both academics and practitioners in only recent (Figure 6). As a result, the number of city networks has grown exponentially in the past 20 years (Fig. 6). Cities like Tokyo or New York juggle hundreds of various networks but even a small city like Brighton-Hove in the UK is connected to close to a dozen networks which range in size from EU initiatives to grassroots movements like the Sustainable Food Cities Network. What is clear is that regardless of their size and capacities, cities are being spread thin.

Some experts have been arguing that a certain amount of

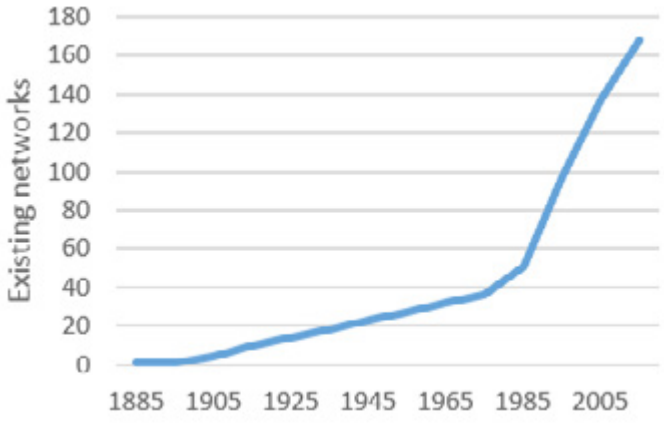

Figure 6: Number of networks by year

Darwinian reorganization would need to go on to result in a more coherent city-network ecosystem. Rather than dismantling existing networks altogether, however, it has been suggested that a more effective modus operandi can be reached through merging existing networks and forming supra-networks capable of mobilizing a variety of actors on a given theme such as climate change, peace or health.

Networked networks: How then can cities conduct effective diplomacy without being overwhelmed with the demands of various networks? A developing trend which is attracting attention in the literature is the potential for "networks of networks", that's to say umbrella bodies which seek to represent and find consensus in medley of networked organizations or indeed across different networks.

One interesting example of networked networks to follow might be that of the Compact of Mayors. Convened by the UN's Special Envoy for Cities and Climate Change, the Compact groups together a variety of important environmental city networks including the C40, ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability and United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) in the aims of creating a single common platform representing cities during 2015 Paris climate change negotiations.

As this report goes to print, it is still too early to tell what outcome the Paris climate negotiations will have, but past experiments with networked networks created to represent the diverse interests of non-state actors at the state-level negotiating table have yielded encouraging results. One example of a successful networked network is the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, an interest group created to represent the hundreds of NGOs with connections to international justice in the lead up to the 1992 Rome Convention which established the International Criminal Court. While each individual NGO was in its way a network of its own, the presence of an umbrella body acting as a single spokesperson for the patchwork of interested parties enabled civil society to have a voice in negotiations they would otherwise have been excluded from.

c) Conclusion – Lessons learnt

In this section, we have discussed where city diplomats fit in to the wider international political and city networks picture. From this, we could derive some preliminary lessons:

Leveraging existing expertise and structures: It is evident that a number of successful networks which still exist today evolved from makeshift structures established as much as a century ago. We can also notice that effective diplomats (New York and Hiroshima being two amidst many successful examples) make use of their legacy to develop a niche relevant to broader audiences in contemporary international affairs. In this way, most cities are already conducting some form of diplomacy, whether in a formal manner or via more informal structures and back channels. As already proven by the WHO Healthy Cities network, public health also holds the potential for cities to leverage towards further international cooperation.

Ensuring good channels of communication: We have seen that effective diplomats maintain good channels of communication with national and international governments. Unfortunately, however, this is often due to historical factors beyond the direct control of the current administration such as in New York which has a long history of being an economic and diplomatic hub.

In large part because of the promises networks make to increase the power with which cities can get messages across through numbers, city networks have boomed in recent years. However, having too many contradicting or overlapping networks which communicate poorly between each other hampers this goal.

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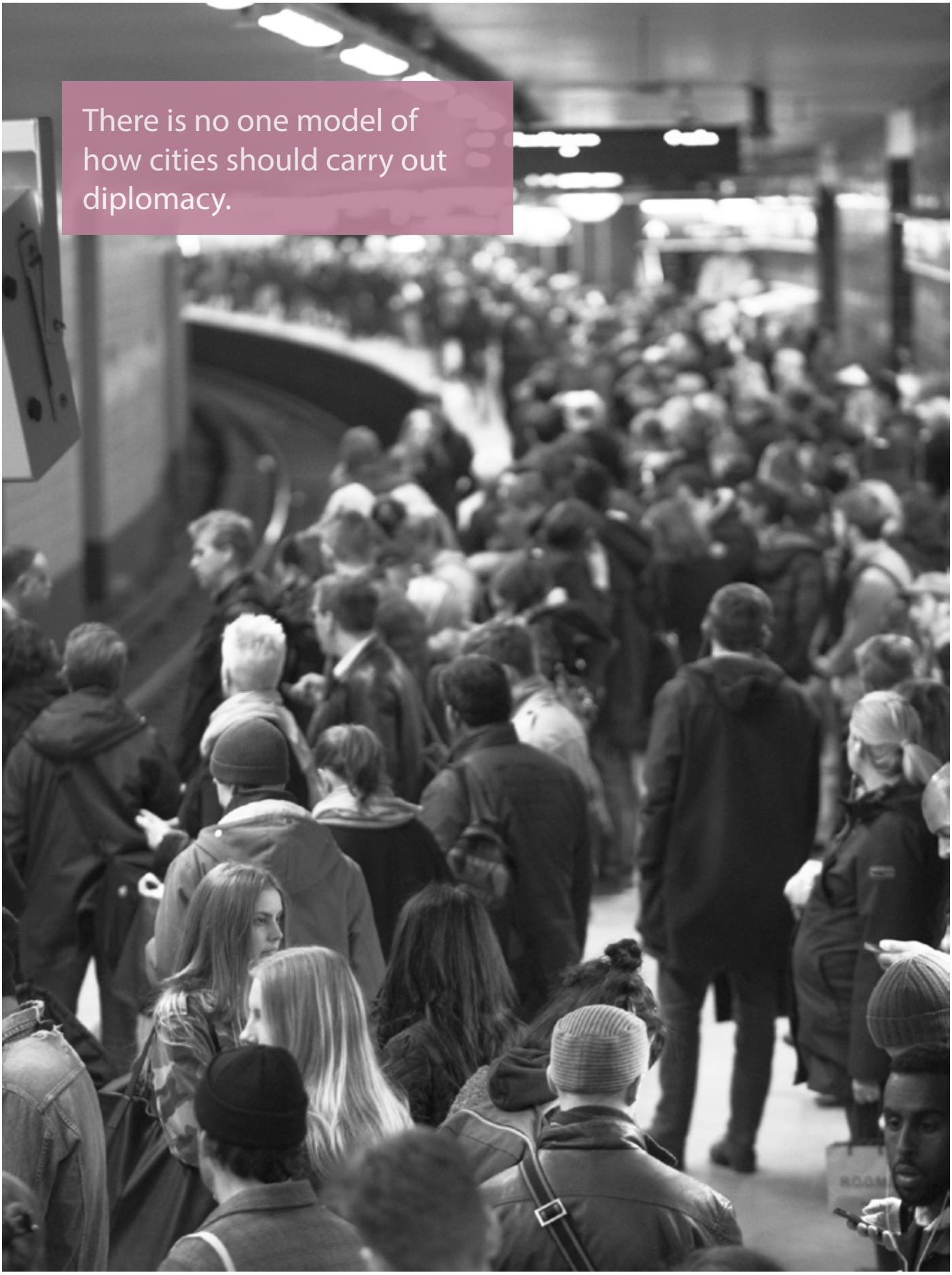
There is no one model of how cities should carry out diplomacy.

III – The structures of city diplomacy

the intra-city diplomactic ecosystem

"There is no one single model of city diplomacy. Instead, activities by individual cities and collective networks merge into a complex political ecosystem. "

Having discussed what city diplomacy looks like on an aggregate level – where it is done, who it is done by and how it is being reorganized – it is now important to open the black-box of the city and consider what city diplomacy would look like from within. What structures have cities put in place to be more effective diplomats? What resources do cities currently use to be active politically? We turn in this chapter to a more specific look at the inner shape of those structures that allow cities to engage in diplomatic activities, sketching a few preliminary conclusions on possibilities for further growth and optimization. We do this via a set of four case studies illustrating different styles of diplomatic structures, but also via a closer look at the cost of city diplomacy.

a) What does a diplomatic office look like *in a city*?

Possibly because of the decline in the popularity of cities in political science, where local government held key theoretical positions in the 1960s-70s but was then superseded by the centrality of national governments and international relations, there is very little literature available on the shape of city diplomacy structures. Yet, even a brief summary analysis of a set of case studies from Anglo-Saxon cities (UK and US, summarized here in four types), despite their specificity, already points at a few key lessons:

1. City diplomacy tends, especially in major global cities, to be managed as a bridge for partnerships and external engagement but does not always need to 'go abroad' to do this.
2. The structure of city diplomacy does not need to be centralized in a single 'office of international affairs' but rather can also be dispersed across departments – with both models having equal limits and opportunities.
3. Even small cities can be effective at city diplomacy via targeted structures and officers with an entrepreneurial outlook, even though there might be evident limits to the volume of engagement, making prioritizing key.
4. City diplomacy structures are not just to outreach, but also to manage the outreach coordinating the variety of external engagements and investments.

Centralized and corporatist – the case of New York: Communications is a key part of diplomacy. Foreign Affairs in conducted mainly within the Office of the Mayor by a dedicated Commissioner for International Affairs whose main role is therefore to act on behalf of the Mayor in liaising with the various international actors in New York.

On one hand, the Office manages relations with the hundreds of consulates and international organizations housed in the city. This is a form of informal diplomacy whereby the city exerts its influence on international governments through the well-coordinated and deliberate welcome it gives them. On the other hand, the office also oversees a not-for profit organization called Global Partners Inc. set up by the city to upscale its old sistering system.

New York approaches this side of its international diplomacy like a corporate consultancy. Though located inside the Mayor's Office for International Affairs, the organization has its own independent board of directors charged with managing the institution effectively and profitably. Together, they coordinate a number of Global Partners Inc. summits and conferences as well as a large youth program aimed at fostering informal diplomacy through young people.

Broad and decentralized – the case of London: While in New York, International and Intergovernmental Affairs are kept separate, in London, "External Affairs" refers to both international relations and relations with the central government. This is because the Greater London Authority sees many similarities in the communication between its upward relations with the central government and those with international actors.

The Greater London Authority furthermore has senior staff responsible for External Affairs spread across its structure. On one hand, it has a special independent External Affairs Directorate, with a budget of £5.8, responsible for managing all of London outwards relations, whether they be downwards within the community, horizontal with other local authorities or upwards with the central and international governments. On top of this, both the London Assembly and the Mayor's Private Office have senior staff in charge of External Relations. Thus, London has

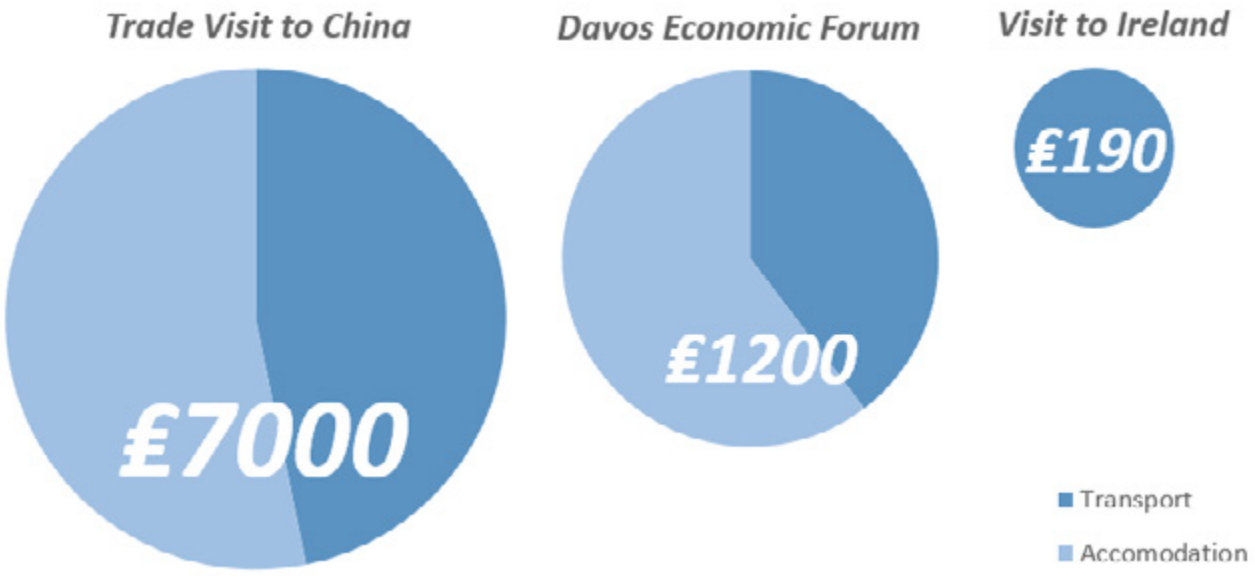

Figure 1: Cost for London Mayor Boris Johnson to attend three diplomatic events of varying scale in FY2013-14

no one specialized International Relations committee although specialist staff can be found advising on all levels.

As in New York, Communications plays an important part in senior staff role associated with External Affairs, both in interpreting the happenings of the central government and world at large and communicating them to the Assembly and in managing communications from the city to the outside.

In partnership – the case of Brighton-Hove: As a small city the team's main role is securing funding from the EU for innovative projects like CASCADE (an energy partnership) which could not be entirely funded through domestic subsidies. International cooperation and projects are then managed in conjunction with the section of the city administration responsible for that technocratic role (energy management, health, etc.). The Brighton-Hove international team also works in conjunction with Southern England Local Partners, a group created to represent local government in the South of England in Brussels.

As an manager of investments – the case of Yokohama: While the purpose of the Brighton-Hove European Affairs team is to lobby for funding from the EU, in Yokohama, quite the reverse, their "International Relations Office" exists in large part to manage the investments (of locally collected or centrally-subsidized money) the city makes into the networks it founds (CITYNET and Y-PORT in particular) and its advocacy on issues such as peace. The role is in part a communications role since communications is, of course, at the core of diplomacy but it also takes on a project management role, supervising the various networks and initiatives the city invests in.

Interestingly, Yokohama also manages its own offices in Frankfurt, Mumbai and Shanghai. The Shanghai office functions primarily as a chamber of commerce of sorts, supporting Yokohama-based businesses in China. Although these offices are all small, it is rare to see a city with its own consulates.

b) How much does diplomacy cost cities?

As highlighted in several sections of this report, city diplomacy remains a domain that, despite a long historical legacy and a pervasive networked presence, requires far more extensive systematic analysis. In this sense, as of yet it is only possible to offer snapshots of the expenditure made by a selection of cities, bearing in mind the fact that each city is unique in its political structure and overall political goals. Yet, even a preliminary outlook at a few case studies of both large and medium-sized cities points at a few key lessons:

Budgeting for external engagement – the case of London: London lies on one extreme of the spectrum as a global city with a mayor who is highly engaged in the public-facing side of diplomacy. As we have seen, the budget for London's External Affairs and European Relations are spread across several departments. Not all this money goes to activities which are strictly 'diplomatic'. Information is available, however, for the amount spent by key individuals building and advising on relations with international and domestic partners. The Mayor's Private Office Assistant for Government and International Relations, for example, is one of the most senior grades in the local government and commands a yearly salary of £79,050.

Furthermore, almost all of incumbent mayor Boris Johnson's yearly expenses, on the order of roughly £ 10,000 to £ 15,000 per year, were incurred through either formal or informal, domestic and international diplomatic activities. In the 2013-2014 fiscal year, for example, he declared additional expenses for nine

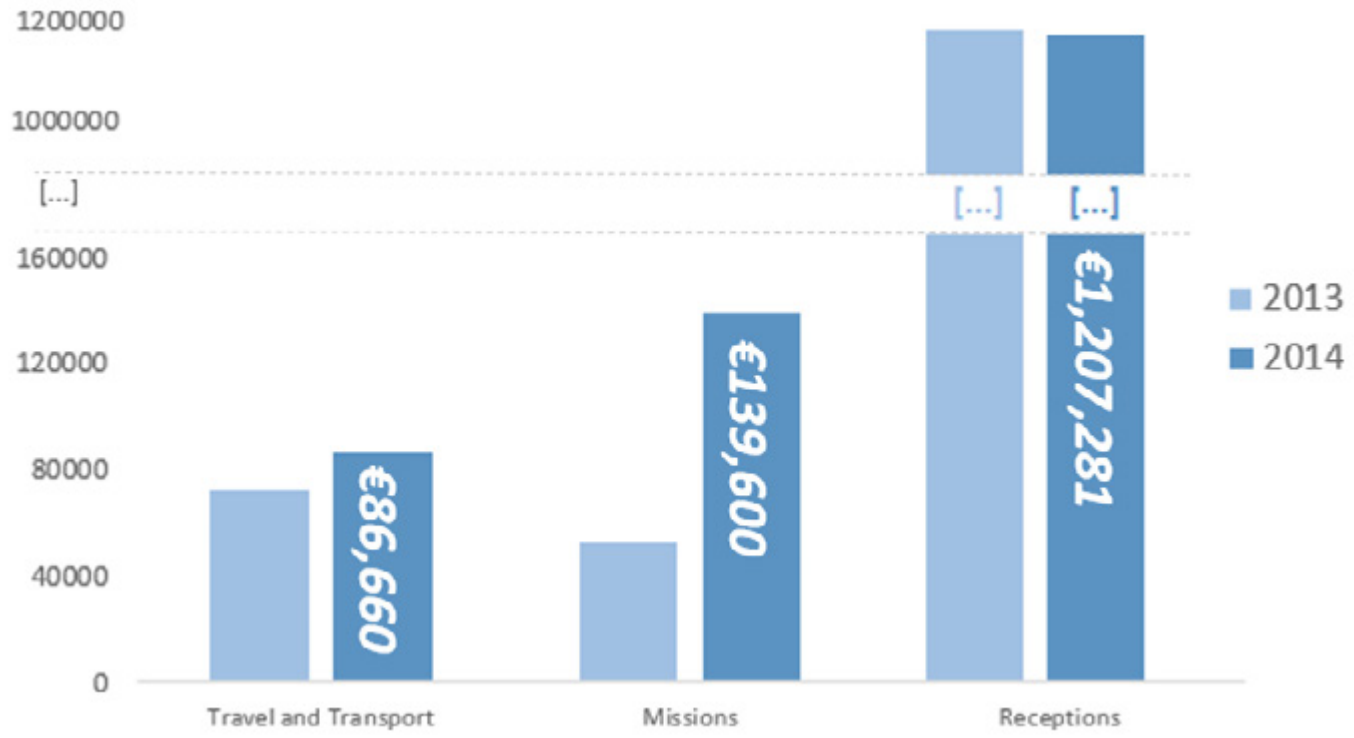

Figure 2: Comparative costs between FY2013 and FY2014 for Strasbourg

diplomatic activities, including two major international tours to China and the Middle East (see Figure 1 for a breakdown).[1] This does not include the dozens of conferences and events he would have attended in London without additional expense. Not surprisingly, international travel takes a big share of his expenses.

Traveling vs convening – the case of Strasbourg: Strasbourg, another example of a highly extroverted city, is a mid-size city, home to the European Parliament and a hub of connections between EU countries. In 2014, the city Council voted on increasing the budget for a number of expenses relating to diplomatic or political networking activities (Figure 2). [2]

While Strasbourg makes no distinction between spending for international and domestic events, their breakdown provides a useful breakdown for political activities when cities rarely have a budget benchmarked for diplomacy. Not surprisingly for a city at the heart of the EU political community, receptions, which provide a useful place for local officials to network with state-level of EU-level policy makers, represent a large expense while the travel and transport costs of city officials are much smaller.

Cities in the EU benefit from economies of scale The EU draws together and facilitates inter-city cooperation, enabling economies of scale such that even a city like Brighton-Hove can have an active role in the region. How does this compare with cities outside the EU?

Betting on networks – the case of Yokohama: Yokohama, which, geographically speaking, is now simply a continuation of the colossal Tokyo urban area, maintains a strong political identity. The Yokohama municipal government is one of the rare municipal governments to give a comprehensive and detailed breakdown of their 'International Affairs' spending and targets. Of particular note is the fact that Yokohama spends ¥89 million per year on (roughly €650,000 or £470,000) on networks, in particular two networks it plays a foundational role in – CITYNET, a global policy network, and Y-PORT an Asia-Pacific network for sustainable cities (see Figure 3 on next pag).[3] Interestingly, Yokohama also maintains its own diplomatic offices in a number of cities including Frankfurt and Mumbai.[4]

It is important to point out that these are all cities which, regardless of their size, have made deliberate attempts to be extroverted and international. Extroverted cities are more likely to make data available and it is important to note that this is only a snapshot of how diplomacy and international affairs are conducted by some cities.

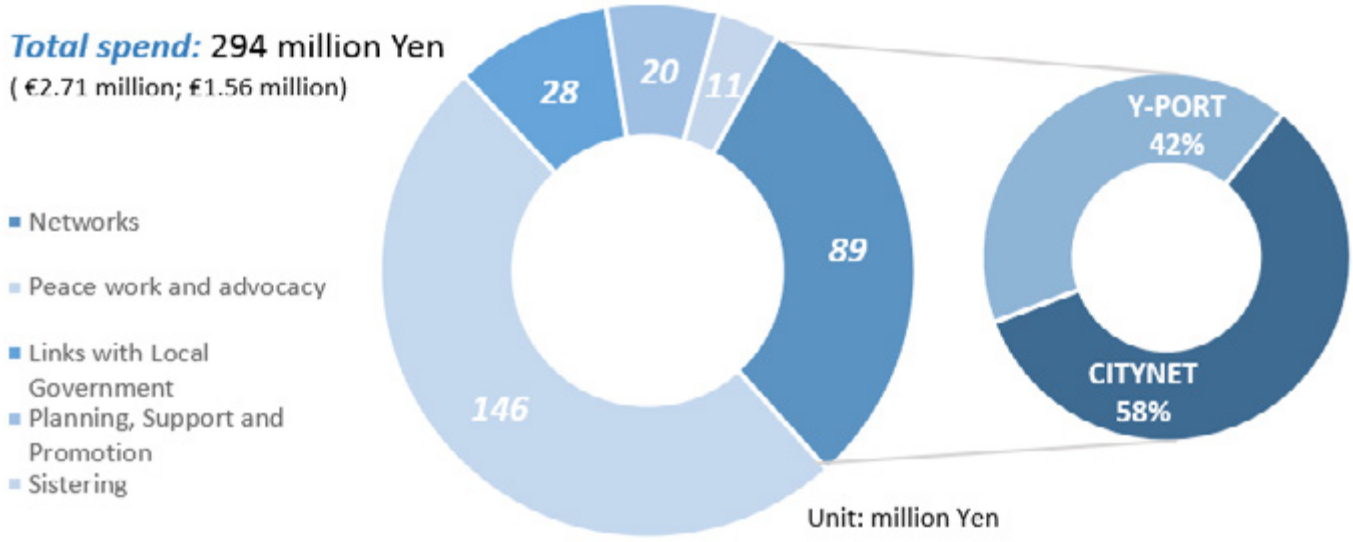

Figure 1: Cost for London Mayor Boris Johnson to attend three diplomatic events of varying scale in FY2013-14

c) Conclusion – Lessons Learnt: what do cities need to conduct diplomacy?

- Recycling structures

Several cities have transformed their existing sistering agreements into more formal, policy-based partnership programs. The most dramatic example of this is New York which turned a patchwork of sister cities into an independent city forum, Global Partners Inc. which meets to discuss specific aspects of policy, but there are also cities like Yokohama which more than halved its budget for sister cities since 2013 in favor of investing more into network initiatives it founded.

One does not even need to increase the number of cities one is partners with: in 2008, Melbourne, for example, made a deliberate attempt to add value to the relations it already had with its seven sister cities by deciding to focus on one specific technical side of the relationship (medical research, arts sponsorship, business...) in each city which they could work on together.[5]

What is clear is that cities have already been conducting diplomatic relations for a long time but that these structures are now crystalizing and becoming more formal and efficient.

- Pooling ressources

Many cities pool resources by budgeting for international and domestic diplomacy together. Cities are at once in a privileged but also a difficult position by being able to conduct diplomacy at once with(in) their state and internationally. This makes building better diplomacy all the more important, even for cities which do not have international ambitions. In the concluding chapters of this report we will talk more thoroughly about maintaining good vertical (i.e. international and with the central government) and horizontal (i.e. with other cities) channels of communication.

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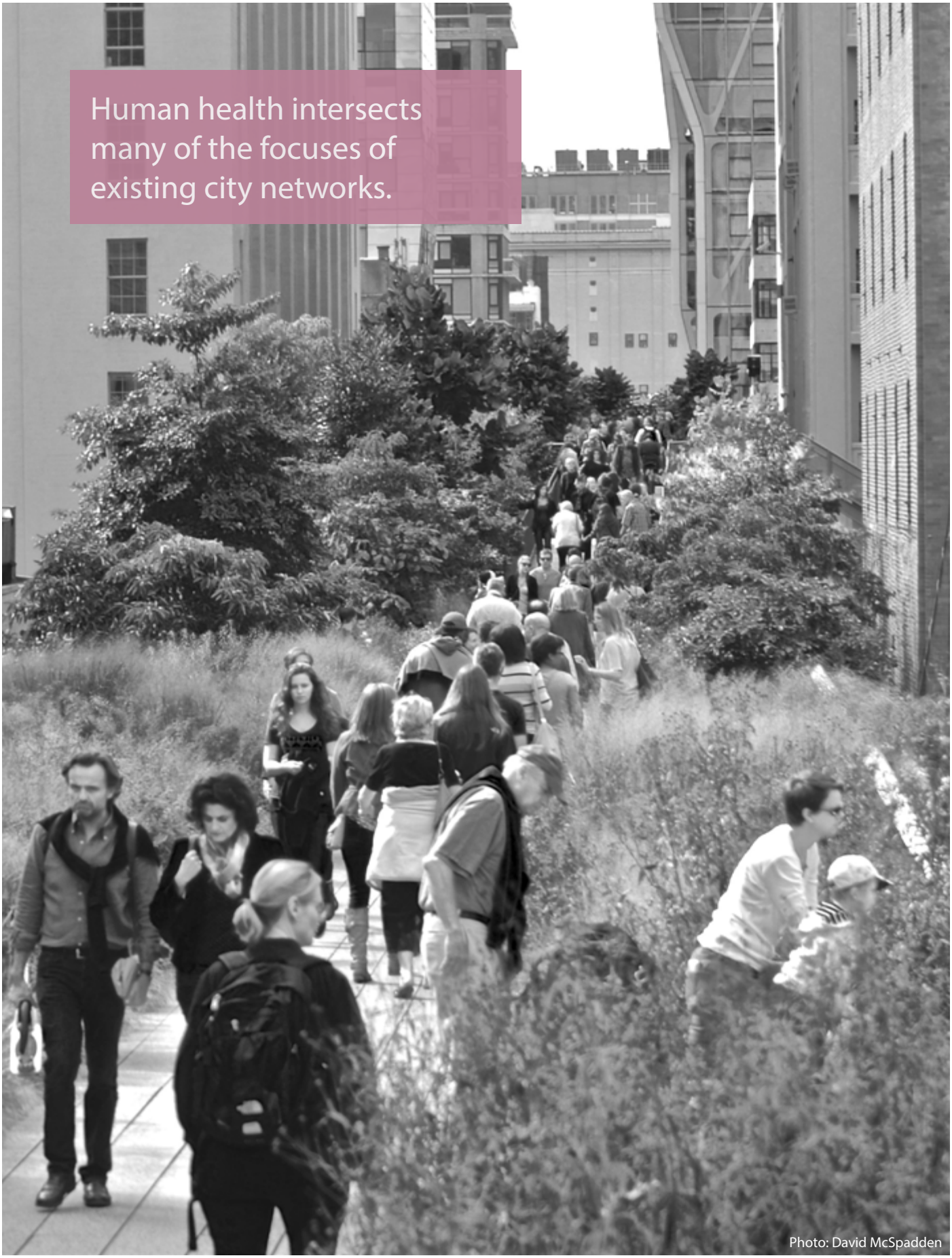
Human health intersects many of the focuses of existing city networks.
Photo: David McSpadden

IV – Health in city diplomacy

how health ties in with city diplomacy

"There are comparatively few health networks currently in existence, but those which do exist tend to be old and well established. Health furthermore has the potential to intersect a number of existing networks on themes ranging from *the environment* to the *remediation of inequalities*."

In this section, we consider health networks in specific and how what we have learnt about diplomatic networks as a whole can be applied to health diplomacy. We note that there are comparatively few health networks, but that those which do exist have often emmerged from an older, more general network to respond to new urban poroblems. With this in mind, we propose that city health diplomacy can tie in with a number of existing initiatives such as UN HABITAT, the C40 or the WHO IHR.

a) What do existing city health diplomacy networks look like?

As illustrated in Figure 1, research conducted at CLI gathered 169 of the most prominent city networks and metrics such as their scope, age or leadership structure. Even if this selection tried to balance geographical distribution, size and age so as to have pool of networks from which we could draw statistically relevant conclusions, the direct impact of "health"-specific initiatives was limited. Only 10% of the networks studied focused on health against more than 30% focusing primarily on environmental issues. Further, among this 10%, only a minority focus exclusively on health (Figure 1). The majority, like the Philippine League of Municipalities or the Association of Local Authorities in Lithuania described health governance of healthcare research as one of their most important goals yet also took care of a number of issues related to health and wellbeing such as disability services, housing or security. Alongside these are a few very specific networks with a narrow scope such as drug prevention in Europe (European Cities on Drug Policy is an example of this). In this sense, WHO Healthy Cities (both as network as much as network of national networks) represents a frontrunner in city health diplomacy.

More broadly, among such wide pool of networks, city networks affiliated with the WHO appeared to be unique in the way they simultaneous took a broad and holistic approach to health (encompassing a number of clinical and social factors without being limited to a specific sub-discipline) while at the same time maintaining a scope tightly linked to public health without branching into things like infrastructure, energy or education.

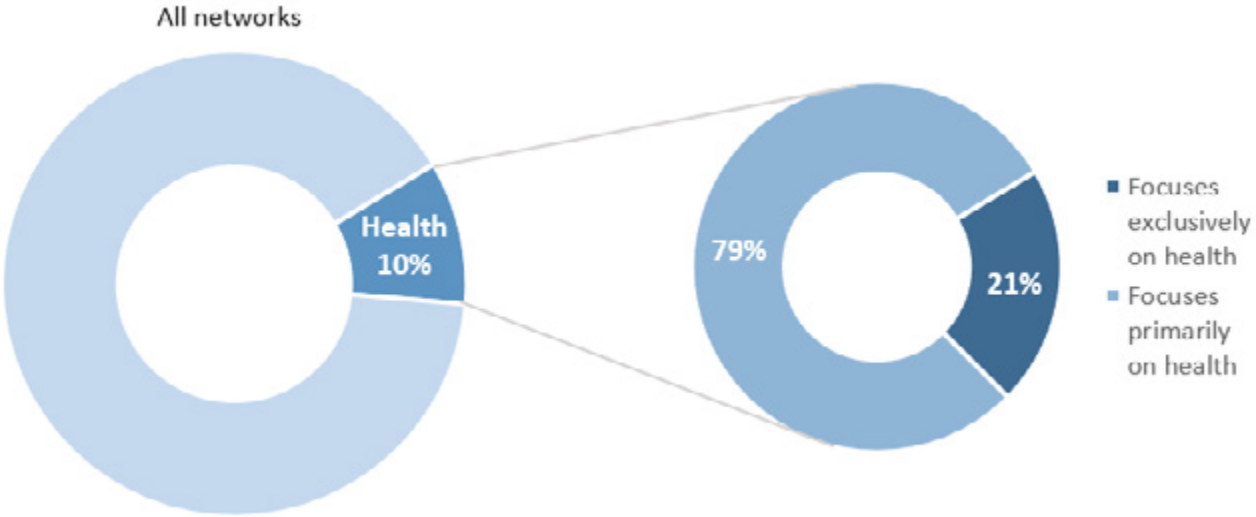

Figure 1: Not all networks with a focus on health are exclusively focused on health

Health networks are on average older than city networks in general (Figure 2). This older than average age may be an explanation as to why very few of these networks describe themselves as health focused in their name. Indeed, networks which started out as very broad such as the National League of Cities of the United States Conference of Mayors later evolved to notice how health intersects with many of the needs of their constituents. This is a trend we hope continues on an international level.

Despite this hope, however, we note that health networks remain largely domestic, though there are also certain regional associations (Figure 3). While many national networks have, as described above, grown into a health role. The same cannot be said internationally. While volume (number and size) of networking does not represent the only factor for successful city diplomacy, it is then important to consider more accurately how city health diplomacy can be best leveraged in these conditions. In the following section, we discuss the potential for health to be an underlying force and indeed driver in the way cities address the various concerns they face on an international level.

b) Where can city health diplomacy contribute?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is an emerging need for supra-networks to coordinate the various overlapping or conflicting micro-level networks and individual initiatives of cities. Within this, there is potential for health networks which highlight the health dimension of the issues cities are trying to cope with through diplomacy.

Indeed, health and wellbeing underlie a vast majority of fears cities have. Housing, for example, is concerning not because of the infrastructure itself but because of the links between bad-quality housing and injuries, poor sanitation, illness and emotional unhappiness. When it comes to urban pollution, the immediate concern of policy makers is to ensure that their constituents stay free from illnesses caused by airborne pollution such as asthma, have access to safe drinking water and can go outside without fear.

Vice versa, as the Local Government Association's Health and Wellbeing Board points out: "Health and wellbeing is more than just clinical services. It's about employment, housing, diet, education, lifestyle, happiness and more."

Often, however, these connections between health and the wider picture are not made. How then can health be made more relevant to existing city networks and initiatives?

- The environment and sustainable development

PPerhaps one of the most positive contributions made by cities in recent years has been in the area of the environment: while national governments remain stalemated in agreeing to international action on climate change, cities have taken up the cause, making major strides like agreeing to carbon offsetting or forming powerful policy-bodies like the C40 or the Compact of Mayors.

Unquestionably, a major aspect of environmental concerns is their effect on public health. The WHO estimates, for example, that in 2012, 7 million people died due to exposure to airborne pollution. The effects of this deadly pollution, whether in the air, water or through contaminated food sources, is particularly strongly felt in cities and there is certainly a clear overlap between environmental protection, public health and the role of cities.

The WHO as a whole has been active on this front, addressing what it terms 'environmental determinants of health', and has concluded some state-level initiative such as the recently passed Assembly resolution on air pollution. There is certainly room, however, to better integrate the voices of existing city initiatives on climate change into the debate on human health and the environment, especially considering how motivated cities have been so far in addressing the issues on a macro-level. Global Partners Inc., New York's network initiative indeed convened a summit on the topic of "Public Health and Climate Change" in 2008. This shows that this intersection is a fruitful subject of discussion for cities.

So far, however, the intersection between urban agenda and global health agenda has figured only marginally in ongoing international processes:

1. UN HABITAT: The HABITAT project provides an outlet for cities to discuss and address issues of urban concern which

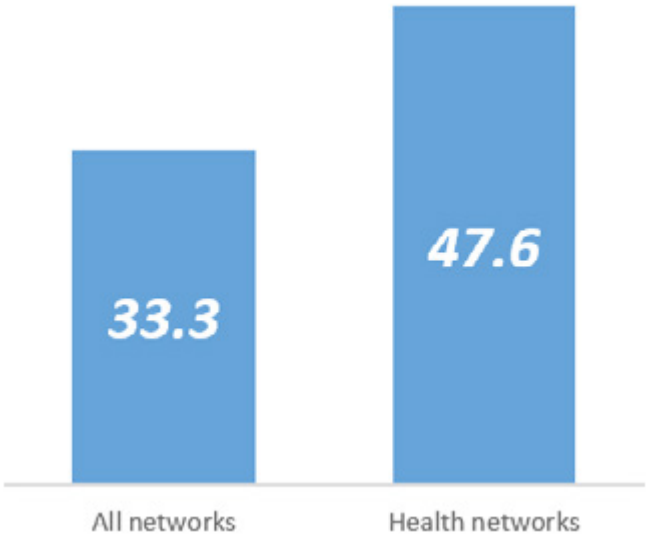

Figure 2: Average age of networks

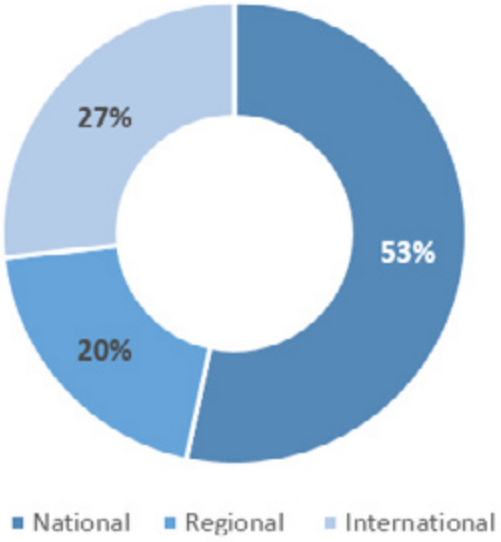

Figure 3: Geographic scope of health networks

tates have either ignored or failed to address satisfactorily. Surprisingly, however, there is little explicit mention of health, despite strong focuses on sanitation, lifestyle improvement and the wellbeing and safety of minorities.

2. COP21 and the post-Kyoto process: Although cities and city networks have created many outlets to be involved in the negotiations (the Compact or Mayors or the TAP2015 City Pavilion), the focus of the negotiations remains the causes rather than consequences of environmental change. City networks such as ICLEI or the C40, however, urge the negotiators to keep the SDGs in mind, hoping to draw attention to, albeit tangentially, human wellbeing.
3. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): The SDGs offer the most explicit international recognition of both the importance of human health in the development and environmental agenda and the role cities play in ensuring this. The proposed Goal 11 in particular deals with pledges for cities, and Goal 11.5 furthermore recognizes the role of cities in providing vital services such as health.
4. The UN Hyogo and Sendai Frameworks: The Hyogo and more recent Sendai Frameworks deal with disaster resilience and prevention. For this reason, non-governmental emergency health groups such as the Red Cross have been invited to join the dialogue. The more recent Sendai framework also aims to increase the participation of local authorities although there is as of yet little overlap between the health side of the Framework and the side which deals with urban involvement. We believe this is essential as local authorities are often the first on the ground to coordinate emergency medical services.

- Lifestyle, wellbeing and non-transmittable diseases

On one hand, cities are at the frontline of economic growth but also face growth's negative externalities to health such as increased road accidents, unsanitary and overcrowded housing or increases in isolation, anxiety and neuropsychiatric illnesses. UN HABITAT has already attempted to encourage discussion between cities on many areas related to urban wellbeing, including sanitation, good housing, safety and gender and youth problems, but avoids explicitly addressing the health side of these issues.

On the other hand, outside the UN cities have become increasingly powerful in agenda-setting and state-level health policy-making on a number of lifestyle-related issues. For example, in a country of 300 million smokers (one third of the world's total) and an expected 1 million cigarette-related deaths by 2020, Beijing has recently spearheaded city legislation to ban smoking in public areas. This follows a long history of cities leading the way to national-level bans (in the US, for example, a coalition of towns across California eventually lead to state-wide legislation which was soon emulated by other states). The management of lifestyle and non-transmittable diseases (which are compounded by urban lifestyles) is clearly an area where cities can exert their influence on national or even global political bodies. This is why frameworks to facilitate their health advocacy and lobbying are now needed more than ever.

Thus, local authorities do have the power to influence the dialogue and persuade other governments. We hope that structures can be put in place so that it is not only the New Yorks or Beijings of the world which prompt policy change on lifestyle-related diseases, but rather, as was the case with the anti-smoking coalition of cities in California, groups of cities which coordinate among themselves.

- Migration and the reintegration of the vulnerable

The Royal Geographical Society termed movements of migrants, both legal and illegal, "some of the most important and least studied migration patterns worldwide".[4] Recent UK governmental research furthermore suggests that the majority of these migrants, especially those fleeing humanitarian or other crises, will end up in cities.[5] While migration crises are currently being debated on a state-level, it remains unclear how cities will cope with the difficult task of insuring the reintegration and wellbeing of migrants. Health plays a major part in this especially since many migrants will have faced harsh conditions prior to their arrival.

One city which has demonstrated on a micro-level how the formation of networks and horizontal partnerships with other actors can help deal with this is Brighton-Hove. The city has formed a partnership, the Brighton & Hove Refugee and Migrant Forum, with a number of NGOs for this purpose. One prominent member of the Forum is Freedom from Torture, a clinical organization formerly known as the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, which focuses on the health needs of some of the most vulnerable refugees.[6]

Health (both emergency and long-term) is an unavoidable aspect of the current migrant crisis and cities which will ultimately shoulder the burden of this undoubtedly have many insights to share with the state-level politicians and diplomats currently dealing with the issue.

- Infectious disease reporting

Cohen and Elder describe how historically cities have been crucial in raising to the national agenda and shaping policy towards infectious diseases like TB and AIDS in developed countries. If developed countries are forerunners in international public health, large metropolitan areas are the forerunners of public health within these developed countries. Cohen and Elder furthermore describe how best public health practices in disease reporting and prevention first spread between cities (from a leader to outliers), then were internalized on a national scale. Networking between cities, albeit informally, has thus played a key historical role in the way disease outbreaks are dealt with on the ground today.[7]

The American response to AIDS is an interesting case study because it offers both an example of how modern cities learn from each other and how they can advocate on behalf of their most marginalized peoples. Cohen and Elder describe the national and general municipal awareness and response to AIDS as "two years behind" that of New York and East Coast cities in the 1980s. San Francisco became the first American city establish an AIDS reporting system in 1981 and the outpatient clinics it established served as a model for those established in Chicago and New York two years later. The city also played a key advocacy role on behalf

of patients and concerned public health officials. It would take until 1986 for these changes in reporting to take place on across all states, and still today local governments continue to advocate on behalf of policies like clean needle exchanges which are much more progressive than the national norm.

Today, many of these best practices pioneered by city-level public health have been formalized within the WHO's International Health Regulations (IHR). Out of feasibility and response to the sheer volume of demand, the WHO IHR provisions for support, training and disease monitoring work on a state level. It is important, however, to recognize the contribution knowledge sharing and agenda setting through cities can play in emergency public health.

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- Research, knowledge and universities

The example of the role of San Francisco in establishing best practices to the AIDS epidemic highlights an important point: cities are faced with numerous problems but they also house the policy makers and intellectual and scientific communities who develop responses to these problems on a national and international scale. Fostering these communities is an important part of what is known as informal diplomacy.

Cities have long used diplomacy to market and improve themselves as cultural and artistic hubs and it is interesting to consider how this can now be relevant to scientific and medical professionals. On one hand, good diplomatic skills are needed to make bids for funding and planning support; on the other, cities are increasingly collaborating to plan 'knowledge hubs' between each other.

In 2013, for example, London made a bid to attract funding in order to redevelop a 'medical district' around University College London and the Welcome Trust (a medical research institute) to form a 'golden triangle' of health sciences with Oxford and Cambridge. Such knowledge hubs furthermore do not need to be geographically close like Oxford, Cambridge and London. For Melbourne and Boston, partnering in medical research in a cornerstone of their sister-relationship. This is compounded by the fact that both cities house world-class universities and explicitly sponsoring the exchange through the intermediary of the city sends a clear message about the importance both cities place on health.

Universities have long acted independently on this front so a key issue for cities will be determining what they can gain through this. Is it possible for such projects to improve health within cities on top of the boost to the economy and city prestige which being a research and medical-hub already brings? Ideally, the relationship should be mutually beneficial: while research institutions benefit from the collaboration and funding of cities, cities and city networks should be able to benefit from partnership with these medical and scientific institutions.

It will be interesting to consider whether there is a possibility to further emphasize medical research within existing cultural and scientific exchanges.

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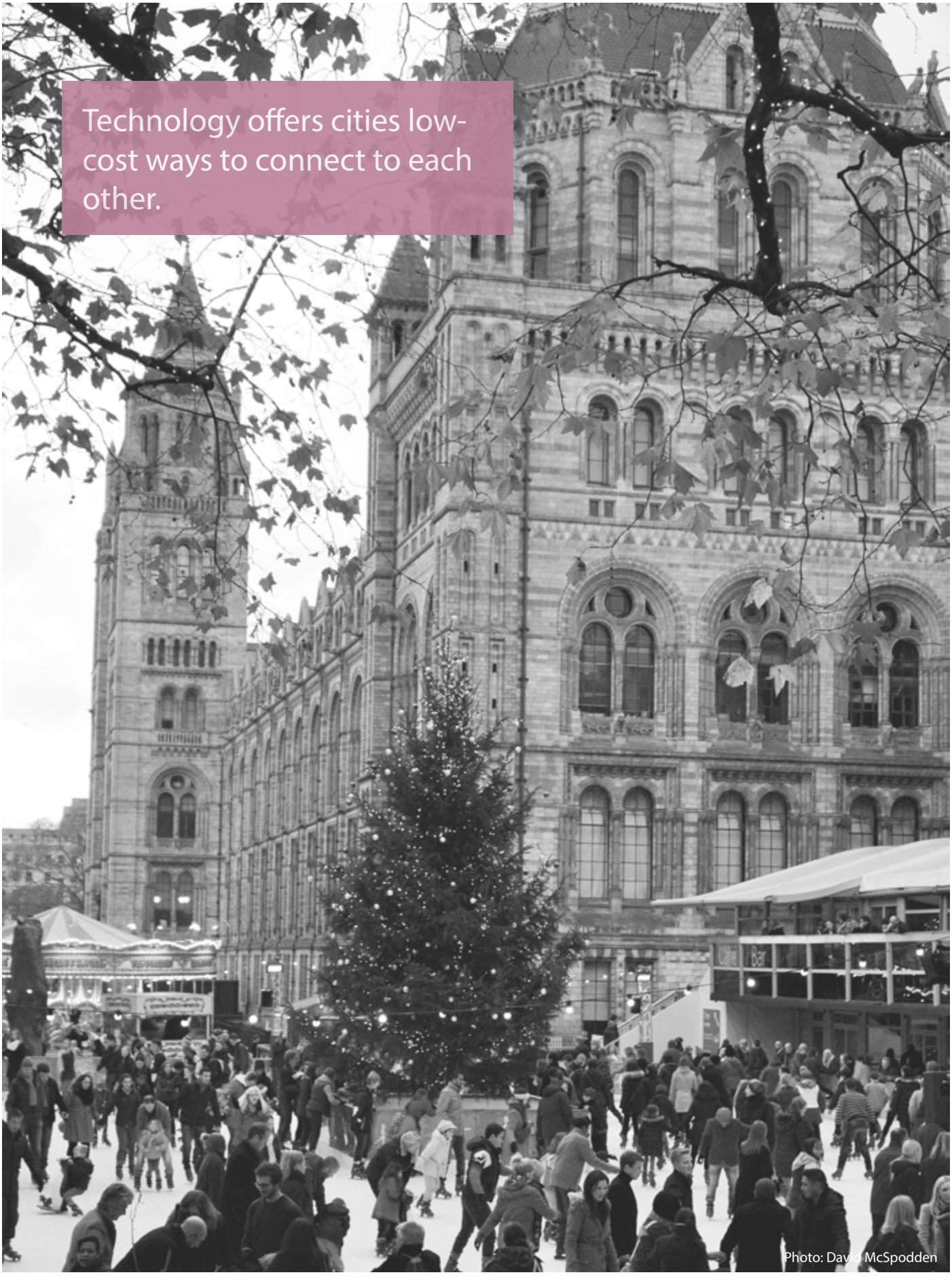
Technology offers cities low-cost ways to connect to each other.
Photo: David McSpodden

V – Capacity building towards a more effective city health diplomacy

a check-list for health diplomacy cities

Deciding how to commit to diplomacy
Up-Skilling staff
Engaging local professionals
Increasing popular buy-in
Improving channels of communication
Leveraging technology

1) Deciding how to commit to diplomacy

As we have seen, there is no one format for conducting city diplomacy. Most cities already conduct some form of diplomatic activities, albeit generally in a non-structured fashion. This often takes the (limiting) shape of sending leaders or municipal staff to events locally and abroad or by signing on to one of the many national and international partnerships available. While not dismissing the importance of these activities, the key issue city diplomats the world over are now facing is that of making this networked activity more effective, systematic, and ensuring better outcomes without dramatically increasing city expenditures.

It is thus important for cities to consider first and foremost whether they are satisfied with how much they currently spend and how much they currently get out of their governance initiatives. It is also important for them to consider what they wish to achieve through better political representation – whether they aim to become a regional or even international leader in a certain field, or simply hope benefit from the windfall effects of being connected without distracting too many resources away from the local.

This self-examination could start from what Green and Bloomer describe the 'thought process' of non-state actors such as businesses or NGOs when engaging in diplomatic or advocacy initiatives.[1] As they put it, it is necessary to evaluate one organization's (and possibly city's) diplomatic positioning as follows:

1. *Defining overall objectives:* What needs to change (i.e. new international agreement, new policies, new relationships, etc.) for the desired outcome to be realized?
2. *Defining intellectual objectives:* What are the arguments in the available data and/or scholarship to back this change?
3. *Defining political objectives:* Who are the political winners? Are there any clear political losers who would campaign against change?
4. *Defining financial objectives:* What is the cost/benefit analysis of these changes?
5. *Defining practical objectives:* What is the time frame and what are the constraints? Under what conditions would such as change be feasible?
6. *Defining targets:* Who are the decisions-makers and institutions most likely to influence change?
7. *Defining tools to influence these targets:* Which are the tools best adapted to each target?

From the preliminary review of existing efforts, networked landscapes and summary expenditures, it is evident that a 'Green and Bloomer test' of city diplomacy is an important step in the right direction. To put it simply, it is necessary to encourage cities to invest (often time and negligible budget allocations) to scanning clearly their horizon of international activities and, centrally, their internal structural capacity.

no one specialized International Relations committee although specialist staff can be found advising on all levels.

As in New York, Communications plays an important part in senior staff role associated with External Affairs, both in interpreting the happenings of the central government and world at large and communicating them to the Assembly and in managing communications from the city to the outside.

b) Becoming Self-Relfective

In a practitioner's guide to health diplomacy commissioned for the WHO, Drager, McClintok and Moffit (2000) point out that a significant portion of diplomacy occurs before delegates even meet, that's to say in the data gathering and agenda setting phase. Cities are becoming more and more 'smart' and large cities usually have their own data-collection and analysis units. This is a major resource cities, possibly in cooperation with the many training hubs sketched below, can tap by teaching staff to use data to their advantage in creating powerful arguments or proposals.

In our future CLI research, we aim to start a project on 'self-reflective' cities, a few of which we have spotted during this project for WHO Healthy Cities. A 'reflective city' uses the data

and information it collects on an ongoing basis to continuously reassess its policies and relations with others.

We noticed this in what the Melbourne Business and International Relations Committee did in 2008 when it decided to reassess Melbourne's exiting passive relationships with its six existing sister cities based on areas where each city had something to teach the other (culture, business, medical research, etc.) and set up discrete and active processes to add value to the arrangement.

A self-reflective city focuses on quality over quantity; this makes it possible for even smaller cities to engage actively in health diplomacy. We were pleased to see the city of Kuopio engaging in a similar process where it evaluated several international arrangements against the city's strategic plan. In discussion with local businesses (many of which are involved in technology and research), the city determined that the two arrangements it should focus its energies on where the WHO Healthy Cities Network and a business cooperation arrangement with the Shanghai district of Pudong. Following this, the city then determines what actions it can take to be as involved as possible in few projects it focuses on rather than spreading itself thin across several projects.

c) Up-skilling staff

A critical component of an effective effort toward city diplomacy is that of mobilizing a city's international engagement capacity and staff. Considerations on the need for a diplomacy-ready municipal cadre are evident throughout this report: do municipal officers have what it takes to conduct international activities effectively, beyond pure (and at times detrimental) branding and for purposes other than planning? Do cities have a continuous flow of expert officers or are do they rely predominantly on established figures and seasoned mayoral delegations? How can city leaders best invest in the up-skilling of their officers in a climate of globalization, international cooperation but also resource constraints?

One possible trade-off to obviate to the limiting answers offered by many cities to the questions above could be that of deciding whether to rely on external expertise. While further research is needed to establish a cost-benefit analysis of training versus hiring specialist diplomatic staff some preliminary limits of the latter system are apparent. For the moment, it is possible to suggest that there are qualitative limits in each approach: while technical staff retrained to negotiate usually have a better grasp of the issues at hand, professional negotiators are more familiar with the strategies for ensuring a favorable outcome. For this reasons, state-level diplomatic delegations usually contain a variety of staff, headed by a professional negotiator who is accompanied by, in varying contexts, legal staff and technical experts on the subject the negotiations are addressing. While this may not be always possible at a city-level, there are many opportunities to up-skill municipal staff in diplomacy to ensure that delegations are composed by the right mix of negotiators and technicians, and that even when individual envoys are dispatched these have undertaken basic international engagement training.

Certainly, while still limited in number, there are numerous high-level diplomatic training institutions fit for purpose in both global North and South. This is the case of centers of diplomatic training excellence like the Clingendael Institute in the Netherlands, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in the USA, or the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy in Australia, but also of emerging hubs at the University of Pretoria, National University of Singapore, or University of the West Indies, as well as historical locations like the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna and analogous institutions in Moscow, Beijing, Tokyo or Dubai. Diplomatic courses, especially in intensive and group fashion, at many of these hubs are relatively affordable (mostly in the USD $3,000 to $10,000 range for small groups or individuals) and could potentially be part-subsidized by national government improvement schemes or by trade-off with some of the costlier diplomatic activities already in place in cities. Where the vast majority of these institutions lack expertise is in tailoring more effectively their training to the needs of municipal officers and city leaders, who balance on the tricky line of applied everyday urban problems and shifting global challenges.

The WHO itself recognizes the importance of diplomatic training and offers high level 'Health Diplomacy' courses for its own staff and executives at both Duke University and in Geneva. However, more accessible Health DIplomacy training is also often available through local government networks and associations. Even broad-based conferences for public health officials are increasingly recognizing the importance of teaching technical staff discussion and communication skills: the National Association of County and City Health Officials, for example, promises attendees at its conference workshops on discussing health laws and managing communication strategies.

d) Engaging local professionals

Engaging professionals to conduct diplomacy and knowledge-sharing on behalf of cities comes with the double benefit of easing the load on city staff and facilitating the implementation of changes by involving professionals in the planning.

A long-standing example of this can be found in the International Conference for Police and Law Enforcement Executives where city-level squads get the opportunity to discuss best practices and policy with national and international (i.e. Interpol) forces. The conference is not only an opportunity for professionals to network and discuss the political implications of their job but also an opportunity for the diplomatic discussion and international response to city level problems such as police brutality. More recently, the World Cities Culture Forum has attempted to do with cultural directors.

There are already countless examples of this happening on a

micro scale. In the US, for example, the National Association of County and City Health Officials, a large independent not-for-profit working alongside local government, organizes a major conference annually for public health officials across the country. The conference organizes workshops with the aim of improving both technical skills and creating a nationwide dialogue on issues such as public health laws or public health media strategies. The organization further emphasizes that participating in the conference gives public health officials the chance not only to develop their career but also to represent the policies of their city.

In the same way that police at international police conferences do not only discuss their technical best-practices but also their role in the community, how they operate in an urban environment and how their operations are governed within the city, there is a real possibility for exchanges of medical and healthcare professionals to move beyond the technicalities of health and towards discussing their contribution in its governance.

e) Increasing popular buy-in

A common complaint of city executives is the difficulty of justifying international or regional involvement to their constituents when resources are limited: indeed, while it is easy to see how activism and lobbying by non-state actors such as businesses and NGOs contributes to their goals or missions, it is harder to demonstrate the effects international or inter-regional involvement has on grassroots city-dwellers.

For instance, in the interviews for this report, one representative of the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, the overseas office of the Japanese network of local governments, told us that popular-buy in is more likely when citizens directly feel the effects of their city's involvement within a network or with other cities. An example they gave of a network which survives almost exclusively on citizen support was the Slow Food, or Città Slow, movement, a loosely organized food movement where members include individuals alongside community chapters or towns and cities themselves (known as "Supporters"). Although the movement shrunk during the Global Financial Recession, at its peak in 2008 it was highly active and present in the daily lives of its members through the shops where they shopped, the restaurants they visited and the community projects they were involved in.

While Slow engaged citizens several times a day at every meal-time, other projects concerning things like culture, the city economy or health, which arguably do more for citizens, unfortunately have a less obvious direct effects on citizens' lives. For this reason, PR campaigns should focus on making the involvement of cities relevant to the average citizen.

In a recent add campaign, for example, the UK Local Government Association's Health Board described the lives of a real couple, Zoe and Hassan, and how their local council helped them with things like childcare, asthma, depression, smoking and bad housing, to show how health and wellbeing intersect with a number of wider social issues and how the nation-wide Health Board, through local government, can help connect the dots.

Cities need to consider how this works both ways: citizen support is important for successful city diplomacy, but successful diplomacy helps build the reputation of a city among its citizens and contributes to its branding.

f) Improving communication channels

Upwards: In the past, the interests of cities on an international scale were usually represented through the intermediary of their state. Cities are now being given more power to speak independently in international forums such as the UN or the WHO. It is clear that for cities to gain more diplomatic leverage, they will need to cultivate good channels of communication between both their central state governments and international structures such as the UN or the WHO.

Ver der Plujim and Melissen point out that, historically speaking, cities followed non-state actors such as businesses and NGOs in seeking political involvement on regional or international levels. [3] It follows that cities can therefore learn from the experiences of non-state actors in getting their voices heard on a higher level. Bayne and Woolcock point out that the main strategies of non-state actors are:

1. Forming coalitions to create a powerful unified voice.
2. Drawing to the things they can bring to the table which might be of value to state-level diplomats (this includes contacts, power to mobilize public opinion, data and resources, etc.)
3. Building interpersonal relationships. Diplomacy is indeed conducted through individuals and actors who are not necessarily guaranteed a seat at the table can insure that they are invited by being memorable and helpful.[2]

Downwards: Diplomacy does not simply entail better communication with the top, however, but rather also being an intermediary between ground-level constituents and professionals and top-level political leadership. This is particularly important for health where campaigning done on an international level ultimately needs to trickle down to medical and public health professionals.

Here, parallels can be draw between the way other technocratic networks (for culture, for the environment, for technology...) communicate with grassroots and professionals. Firstly, good downwards communication involves stakeholders from the start; this can be seen, for example, in the way that the World Cities Culture Forum makes sure to invite members of the artistic and cultural communities alongside cultural project managers.

Second, as mentioned earlier, communication with grassroots must be short but impactful. Ducan Green, Head of Research

at Oxfam, describes one of his most memorable experiences as being when Oxfam came up with the statistic that each European cow is subsidized by $2 per day, more than the daily income of half the world population; this micro-fact quickly went 'viral' attracting attention to his organization. Green points out that these same skills at creating short but powerful communication are important for dealing with the media.

The efficient use of simple technology such as blogs or email newsletters (which, CLI data suggests, less than half of city networks are currently using) are other low cost alternatives to keeping professionals and stakeholders informed.

Horizontal: As we have pointed out in previous chapters, coalition-building is an important tool for cities wishing to engage in international or regional health advocacy. Traditionally, city representatives meet at conferences or caucuses to organize this, but new technologies are making it increasingly easy and cost effective for cities to stay in contact with each other. In the next section we will discuss some strategies for establishing a tech strategy with diplomacy in mind.

g) Leveraging technology

Technology is obviously a major boon for cities with limited resources to send staff on diplomatic enterprises or collate data into powerful agendas and talking points.

It has been pointed out, however, that cities as a whole often have disjointed tech policies: while they spend as much per year on average as firms in the financial sector, the former rarely have technology governance policies which the later almost always appoint a Chief Technology Officer. This leads to situations such as the same technology is bought through different suppliers by separate departments. What is more, just as cities are already in many cases doing diplomacy, cities also most likely already have the physical infrastructure needed to be 'smart'; what is needed, however, is now a more effective strategy on how technology and data can be used towards end goals.

Issue-spotting technology: As Drager, McClintok and Moffit (2000) point out, an effective diplomatic strategy resides as much on what is brought to the table as how it is communicated. Big Data as well as mapping and visualization tools are valuable assets towards this, but there is also the problem of data being fragmented across sources. This is particularly true of health data which is often collected at varying levels.

While cities generate massive amounts of data, their local governments can't always tap this because data is housed in many locations (local government data, national government data, data in places like hospitals or independent care providers). London, and subsequently other cities such as Bristol, have tried to fix this by creating open 'datastores'. The use of Open Application Programing Interfaces (OpenAPIs) in particular allow users to pool data from a wide range of sources into a single repertory without disrupting the original sources.

Communications technology: How do cities participate in the political dialogue when resources for travel are scarce? The C40, for example, has found that free technologies which can be downloaded by anyone such as Skype or the mobile platform Whatsapp are high enough quality to be used professionally as well as having very low barriers to entry.

Despite their ease of use, live communication can still be complicated by uneven internet connections and time-zone clashes. Fortunately, non-real-time communication is also getting more instantaneous. To use the C40 example again, the network developed a website where members and staff can post and answer questions or upload stories and case studies. The network makes efforts to have an active media presence on Twitter as well as regularly uploading a blog showcasing their member's work in order to keep lay-people and interested professionals informed on the network's activities.

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Conclusion

lessons learnt from city diplomacy

"In this report, we have considered how lessons learnt from existing city diplomatic structures can be made relevant to health. We also found, however, that health has the potential to be a driving force joining together segments of the often disjointed ecosystem of city networks."

In this report, we have considered the existing structures of city diplomacy and how they can be made relevant for health. We have found that cities frequently engage in diplomatic projects, both formally and informally, and that this is becoming a bigger part of a city's role within the global economy. We have also found, however, that there is a real risk of network and diplomacy fatigue with city resources being over-stretched. For this reason, we argue the case for supra-networks which can regroup a number of existing initiatives under a single overarching theme. We believe that health, which is relevant to so many of the daily workings of cities, has the potential to be such a driving force.

a) Building on existing structures

Cities are already engaging diplomatically with one another, state-governaments and international organizations. Examples of cities advocating for a cause or forming coalitions to serve their interests indeed even predates the Westphalian state model. The past decade, however, has seen cities recyle outdated sistering agreements and transforme veteran networks like century-old mayor associations into modern policy bodies adressing 21st century policy and planning challenges.

From this has emmerged an increasingly complex ecosystem of city diplomatic institutions. This is of course beneficial for the cause of cities, but also comes with the risk of messages getting confused and distorted between so mnay groups. Because of this, supra-networks which can consolidate and cordinate diplomatic activities into a single powerful message delivered to states and international organizations is needed. This has already happened within city environmental diplomacy, but has not gone beyond this.

We feel this is a ajor oversight as there are multiple ways health is relevant to the various concerns of cities. For example, when considering environmental degradation, it is impossible to ignore the effects on human health of things like poluted air or water. When considering the livability of cities, one always considers what effect the lack of green spaces, damp or dangerous housing and infrastructure or 'food deserts' have on the prevalense of non-transmitble diseases. Indeed, considering how health and healthcare best practices intersect with a number of existing city diplomacy projects on topics such as the environment, lifestyles and city livability, migration and social inequalities or the promotion of fundamental life-science research, universities and knowledge sharing can be beneficial to all parties involved.

While countless diplomatic and policy-sharing initatives exist for all the above, it is important to unlock the health dimention of this and promote health diplomacy as a way to unify and coordinate these various activities.

b) Building on existing experiences

While every city is different and it is impossible to create a single parsimonious practioner's guide on the operations of all local governements, all cities already have to some extent or another the physical nifrastructure needed to conduct effective health diplomacy: they know how to use technology, how to train staff and how to communicate with each other.

Let us, however, repeat the five core eras citis should bear in mind when conducting formal diplomacy. In many events this will be a question of building on sucessful past experiences rather than developping new systems.

1. *Deciding where to commit to diplomacy:* The first step in diplomacy should be to come up with a consistent list of objectives and the tools one feels are necessary to complete these.
2. *Up-skilling staff:* Training for health officials is increasingly aware of the need to train them for the political side of their role.
3. *Engaging local professionals:* Conducting diplomacy through networking public health professional eases the burden put on city staff.
4. *Increasing popular buy-in:* Citizens need to be aware of the projects their cities are doing for them to support them.

5. *Improving communication channels:* Cities face both the challenges and benefits of being between their citizens, professionals or institutions and national or international governments.
6. *Leveraging technology:* Issue-spotting technology enables synchronization of data to come to the negotiation table prepared, while communication technology makes accessing this negotiation table less expensive.

c) Questions for future research

As of yet, CLI has only considered a selection of 180 of the most visible networks and looked at them from the outside. Post-Kuopio, we would like to open the black-box of city administration and delve deepeer into the motivations of cities which commit to diplomacy and health diplomacy.

In particular, we now feel research is needed on the governance process of city health diplomacy. Within cities, who managese health advocacy? Is it taken care of throug a network, or within the city's public health division? Furthermore, who maintains relationships with bodies like Healthy Cities? We would moreover like to assess urban attitudes to health diplomacy, including attitude towards the possibility of international intervention in on the ground public health. What do cities feel they gain from international health-based relationships, and are these things they feel they are not getting enough support for domestically?

These are all questions we hope to adress in our future research.

Photo: Ahmed Hashim

ABOUT THE CITY LEADERSHIP INITATIVE

The City Leadership Initiative (CLI) is a project of University College London's newly-established Department of Science, Technology, Engineering and Public Policy (UCL STEaPP), and is funded by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), in partnership with the World Bank Group and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat).

CLI is designed to improve our understanding of how leadership translates into long-term strategic visions. Through its research project, it aims to respond to pressing concerns about the future of cities and city leadership in the 21st century. Developed jointly with as a core research programme and as a policy engagement studio, this initiative seeks to assess the impact, entrepreneurial approaches and innovative structures that city leaders deploy to confront global challenges such as those of inequality, insecurity, economic constraints and environmental degradation.

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Photo: Richard Fisher

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