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Chadwick F. Alger

The UN System and Cities in Global Governance

 THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
MERSON CENTER
for
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES



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for
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

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I dedicate this volume to Professor Richard C. Snyder, the Chair of the Political Science Department at Northwestern University, and Director of the Mershon Center in National Security at Ohio State University, when I was a faculty member at both universities. He helped me to learn that scholars should create useful knowledge, and to do so, they must be able to draw on knowledge from several academic disciplines. They must also collaborate with members of these disciplines in applying this knowledge



Secretariat Building at United Nations Headquarters. A view of the Secretariat Building at United Nations Headquarters, 1 July 1994. United Nations, New York, Photo # 119835. Source: UN Photo taken by Milton Grant. Permission is granted for scholarly, academic and non-profit use and free of charge for the UN landmark building.

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Commission on Sustainable Development Meeting. Wide view of the High-Level Segment of the 15th session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development in the General Assembly hall, at UN Headquarters in New York, 9 May 2007, United Nations, New York, Photo # 144350. Source: UN Photo taken by Paulo Filgueiras. Permission is granted for scholarly, academic and non-profit use and free of charge for the meetings of the UN Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc).

Chapter 1

Cities in Global Governance: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In the 1960s, while I was spending much time doing first-hand research at UN Headquarters in New York City, and living in a suburb of Chicago, I gradually became aware of the extensive involvement around the world of people living in cities. As a Professor of Political Science, teaching international relations, I became concerned that my courses focused on how government officials in Washington were linked around the world, but I did not inform my students about how they, and other people in their city, were linked around the world. Therefore, I began to inform myself about how people in a variety of activities in my city were linked around the world.

In 1971 I moved to the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at Ohio State University, in Columbus, Ohio, and soon developed a research project: Columbus in the World and the World in Columbus (CITW:TWIC). We did an extensive study of Columbus in the world that included foreign trade, banking, travel abroad, voluntary organizations, religious groups, Ohio State University faculty and foreign students, the military, international arts, agriculture, ethnic groups, the Afro-American community, and medical people. Each of these had extensive international involvements, but most of them knew very little about the others. Of course, we shared this information with people in Columbus, and also with interested people in other cities. This included Boulder (Colorado), Lincoln, (Nebraska), Oshkosh (Wisconsin), Philadelphia and Scranton (Pennsylvania), Richmond (Virginia), San Diego (California), and a network of cities in New York.

In 1977 the editor of the *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, published by The Korean Institute of International Studies, became interested in this project and invited me to publish an article about it in their journal. This was a very important opportunity. It provided me with an opportunity to report what we had learned in CITW:TWIC in a way that made it relevant to people living in cities around the world. This article, “Cities as Arenas for Participatory Learning in Global Citizenship” is [Chap. 2](#) in this volume.

This research motivated me to do more extensive research on the world relations of cities. Five of these articles, published between 1979 and 2011, are printed in this volume. **Chapter 3** is “The Impact of Cities on International Systems,” in Krishna Kumar (ed.), *Bonds Without Bondage: Explorations in Transcultural Cooperation*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1979. The first part of this article reports on recent changes in paradigms that guide international relations research. Here I report that international relations scholars were becoming increasingly concerned that a focus only on the governments of States was providing too limited an approach to international relations. Using this as a background, I then make an effort to provide conceptual tools for observing and analyzing the involvement of cities in international relations. I was very pleased when this article was published in Polish in *Studia Nauk Politycznych (Studies in Political Sciences)*.

Chapter 4 is “Perceiving, Analysing and Coping With the Local–Global Nexus”, *International Social Science Journal*, 1988. In this article I consider what the barriers are that prevent people from perceiving and understanding their links to the world. I then extend my concern beyond the global context of cities and discuss the global context of rural areas, households, and women. I also gathered information on significant local responses to global intrusions that includes local non-governmental action on foreign policy issues of States and local government action on foreign policy issues of States.

Chapter 5 is “The World Relations of Cities: Closing the Gap Between Social Science Paradigms and Everyday Human Experience”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 1990. Here I report that, although the mainstream of social science was ignoring the world relations of cities, there was scattered scholarship in history anthropology, sociology and political science that offered important insight on the growing involvement of human settlements in the world. One main theme is the changing impact of worldwide economic and social forces on cities of the world and their inhabitants. The second main theme is the very significant responses of some city governments and local citizens to these changes, with respect to issues such as war prevention and disarmament, poverty and human rights. I then explore the implications of these developments for democratic theory, and for research and teaching about international relations.

Chapter 6 is “Japanese Municipal International Exchange and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges,” *Ritsumeikan International Studies*, 1997. Scholars in Japan became very interested in my research on cities and invited me to Japan to report on it several times. When they invited me to write an article on Japanese cities, I was very reluctant, because I know only a very few words of Japanese, but they still insisted that I do it. I learned that all Japanese prefectural and major municipal governments had international affairs divisions, and of the existence of a Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR). Many Japanese cities have sister city relations with cities around the world, particularly in the Asia Pacific region. This led to the creation of CITYNET, with 43 cities from 17 countries in the Asia Pacific region as members. It has developed a quite interesting relationship with the UN Development

Program (UNDP). Very significant are efforts to protect the human rights of foreign residents in Japanese cities.

Chapter 7 is “Searching for Democratic Potential in Emerging: Global Governance: What Are the Implications of Regional and Global Involvements of Local Governments?”, *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 2011. While doing research on the world relations of cities, I became aware of the fact that there are 5 global organizations of local governments. It is very surprising that the first one was founded in 1913. There are also 16 in the European region, and 5 in regions outside of Europe. It is very significant that the European regional organizations include the European region and also local regions, large cities, border regions, mountain regions, maritime regions, and a specific issue focus. In 1996 a World Association of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination (WACLAC) was created to strengthen the global influence of local authorities, particularly in the United Nations. Now organizations of local governments are active in a number of organizations in the UN system, including the UN Development Program (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Environment Program (UNEP), the UN Education, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and others.

In conclusion, I hope that this information on the world relations of cities will encourage you to find out how your local community is linked around the world. Because local communities are now increasingly linked around the world, local government agendas are now increasingly identical to that of the government of your country. Thus local cooperation around the world is now required to deal with many environmental, economic, communication, travel and communication problems. You can learn about this at www.un.org/en/sustainablefuture/cities.shtml. When you are there you might also click on “get involved.” Of course, it is also useful to think about how you are linked around the world throughout your daily life, when you buy food, and many other items, work for a company that exports items, have contact with recent immigrants, communicate on the internet, contribute to air pollution, and breath air from around the world. This will enable you to think how you are having an impact on the rest of the world, and how it is having an impact on you. Are there things that you could do, with your local government, and with governments beyond, to insure that your children, and grandchildren, live in a better world?

Chapter 2

Cities as Arenas for Participatory Learning in Global Citizenship

Publics everywhere are becoming increasingly conscious of their interdependence with the rest of the world—as they pay for fuel and food, encounter security checks at the airport and consume the products of multinational corporations.¹ Yet people only vaguely understand the connections between their everyday life and global social and economic processes and are little involved in the decisions that shape these processes. Why?

This report provides some answers to this question. It also demonstrates that the international linkages of local communities provide opportunity for participatory learning in international affairs that can lead greater public responsibility for foreign policies. The report is based on an experimental project that was begun in Columbus, Ohio in late 1972 and is still underway.

2.1 The Widening Boundaries of Human Activity

The impact of technological change on the speed of travel and communication has drastically extended the boundaries of most human activities and occupations. Agriculture, banking, education, manufacturing, medicine, recreation and research, to name a few, are flowing across national boundaries in new ways. Air travel and new technology in telecommunication have created new centers in international networks. Bankers, traders and travellers in cities in the middle of

¹ The author is grateful for the financial support of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio and the Mershon Center, The Ohio State University. This text was first published as: “Cities as Arenas for Participatory Learning in Global Citizenship,” *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1977, 7–42. Permission to republish this text was granted by the author only as this journal was discontinued.

the United States no longer look upon coastal ports such as New York and San Francisco as their only gateways to the world. Polar flights, air cargo, and satellite communication bypass these ports.

Cosmopolitans whose daily activities link cities in new global systems have learned a new geography. A Milwaukee exporter of products shipped by air knows that his Stockholm market is to the North not to the East. A banker in Columbus, Ohio knows that a correspondent bank in Santiago is closer—in minutes required to execute a transaction—than many banks only an hour away by automobile.

Through transnational participation, these cosmopolitans have developed a new geography of time and space between cities that is not reflected on the wall maps that shape the geographical images of most people.

All of us are at least indirectly involved in these new global systems. Our local bank deposits may be reinvested in Santiago. We invest, work ‘for or buy from multinational corporation and a host of other products from around the world. Yet most of us tend to consciously relate to the world in the perspective of an “old” geography—a geography that links us to coastal ports by road or rail, then by sea to coastal ports abroad and onward to a foreign inland city by rail or road. To the extent that the geography of surface travel dominates our image of links between our city and other cities, we really don’t know where in the world we are in relation to people in other cities.

With respect to international linkages, these changes in human geography are more fundamental for people in big countries than those in small ones. For most people in big countries things international have always seemed more distant than for those in small countries who were never far from borders. For people in a country like the United States who have had the additional buffer of oceans between them and other countries, these changes are even more fundamental. As useful as the wall map of the United States on schoolroom walls is for some purposes, it is a woeful misleading illusion for others. It suggests separateness that is not in conformity with the time and space of present technology. As useful as data banks on international transactions of the United States (trade, banking, communications, etc.) are for some purposes, they are not adequate for others. They obscure from view the linkages between specific cities and regions in the United States and cities and regions in other countries. The United States trade figures do not reveal to a trader or citizen in Indianapolis how his city is linked to Tokyo or Hamburg.

Most maps, national data and media, and research and teaching based on them, do not accurately tell people *where in the world they are!* Nevertheless, increasing use of the term “interdependence,” with respect to the fundamentals of life such as food and energy signifies to most people that some basic things in the world are changing. But the public is not being given the analytic perspectives and information that would enable them to begin a process of participatory learning about transnational processes in which they are involved. Meanwhile, they are susceptible to simplistic solutions to complex problems such as “Project Independence,” plans to occupy distant oilfields, and assertions that “we must be No. 1 in military power.”

2.2 Imprisoning Images: Billiard Balls, Funnels, Pyramids and Onions

The mental images that people have of the world affects the way they perceive the world and the way they act. People tend to see international relations as a set of interacting “billiard balls” (See Fig. 2.1). It implies that a nation-state has a hard shell that separates it from the rest of the world. This view is reinforced by the political maps from which most people acquire their images of the world. It supports the expectation that foreign policy is a single thing that ought to be controlled by one man or one group. This view is very useful to heads of state and foreign ministers who prefer wide decision latitude in foreign policy issues.

Most people don't tend to think of themselves as participants in foreign policy making. It is something that is taken care of by the President and Secretary of State who control the exit from the billiard ball. When viewed from within the United States, the process is most vividly portrayed as a funnel, with the President and Secretary of State controlling the flow out of the end (Fig. 2.2). The small portion of the public who do take active interest in foreign policy are likely to act through an interest group, or to write letters to members of Congress, the President or the Secretary of State. But in the end it is perceived to be a few officials who act for the country.

Nevertheless, so-called People-to-People relations have interested many people, with President Eisenhower making the phrase popular in the United States. When these kinds of relations occur, it is as though the funnels representing two countries have been turned around with the wide ends touching. As portrayed in Fig. 2.3, in this way a variety of public groups relate directly with each other, in activities such as Olympics, scientific cooperation, trade, educational exchange,

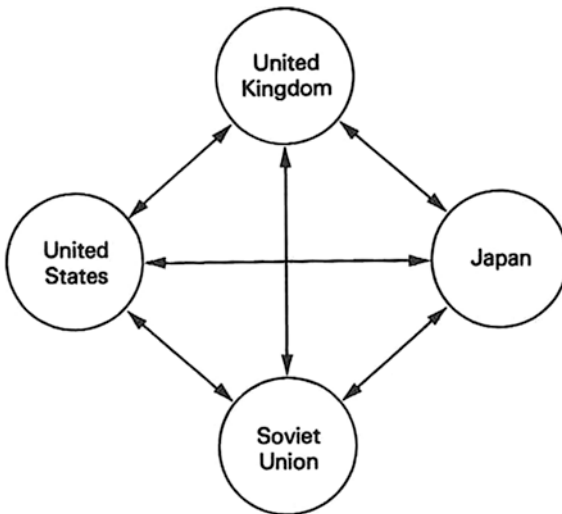


Fig. 2.1 “Billiard ball” view of international relations

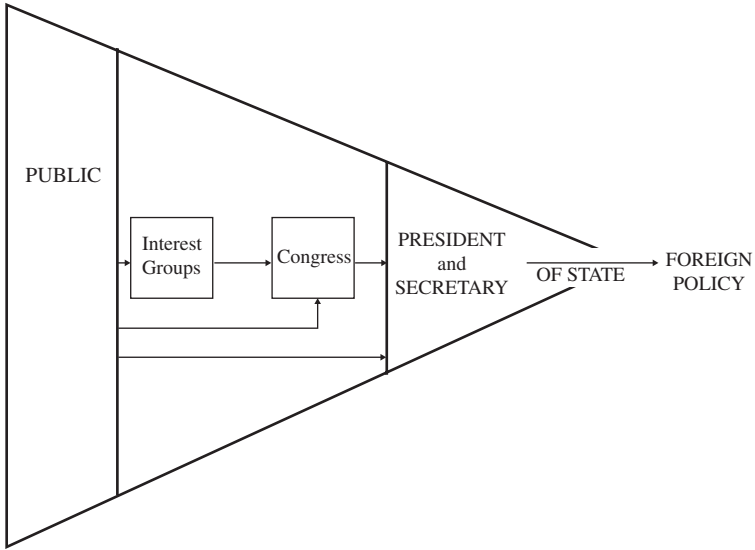


Fig. 2.2 Public participation in foreign policy making

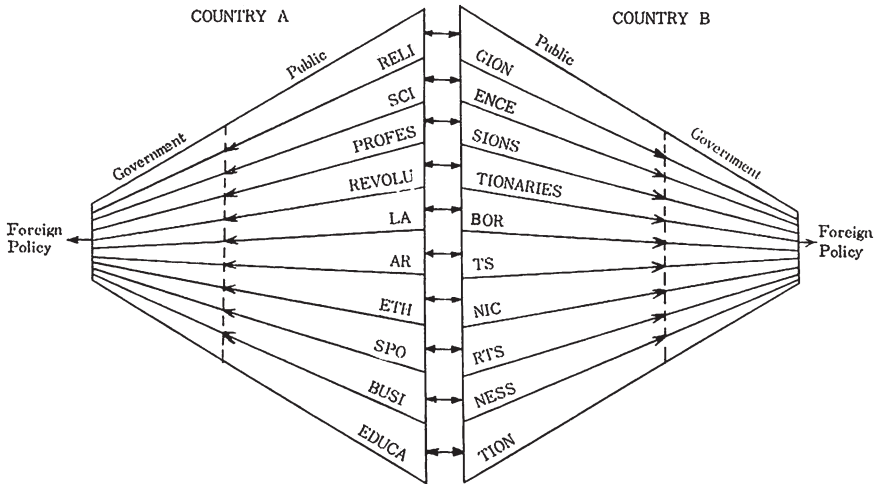


Fig. 2.3 Impact of nongovernmental relations on government foreign policy

etc. Yet, it is often the case that people see this non-governmental transnational activity as simply auxiliary to governmental foreign policy, i.e., it is hoped that this activity will effect those participating in such a way that they will in turn influence the foreign policies of their government in some desirable direction. For example, medical and environmental cooperation by the United States and Soviet

scientists is seen primarily as a way to facilitate cooperation between their governments that would lessen the likelihood of war.

These activities reflect the foreign policies of these organizations and are usually a product of considerable deliberate planning by people with vast international experience. Figure 2.4 portrays this kind of foreign policy activity. This is an important view because it signifies that the foreign policies of nongovernmental organization are not always subsidiary to governmental foreign policy. As the activities of people everywhere flow across national boundaries—with respect to science, religion, the arts, and sports—the policies reflected in this activity are having important direct impact on the character of the world.

The view of the world portrayed by these figures suggests that people who desire to play a responsible role in the international processes *in which they are already involved*, must face two ways. (1) They are implicated in the foreign policies being pursued by their national government, in their name, out the small end of the funnel, and (2) they are implicated in the foreign policies of nongovernmental activities being pursued, in their name, out the large end of the funnel.

Some people may be surprised by the notion that their churches, fraternal organizations, labor unions and educational associations have foreign policies. This is largely because the international activities of these organizations tend to be handled by their national offices.

But individual members tend to perceive themselves buried at the bottom of a pyramid, as portrayed in Fig. 2.5. International activity tends to be handled by the national office and this is accepted by most members as natural. This pyramid resembles the funnel used to portray governmental foreign policy. While most people would not use the term foreign policy for this activity, reserving this

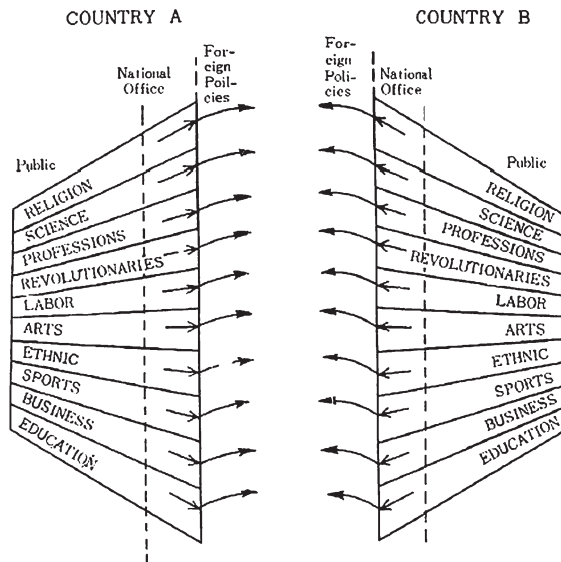


Fig. 2.4 Foreign policies of nongovernmental sectors

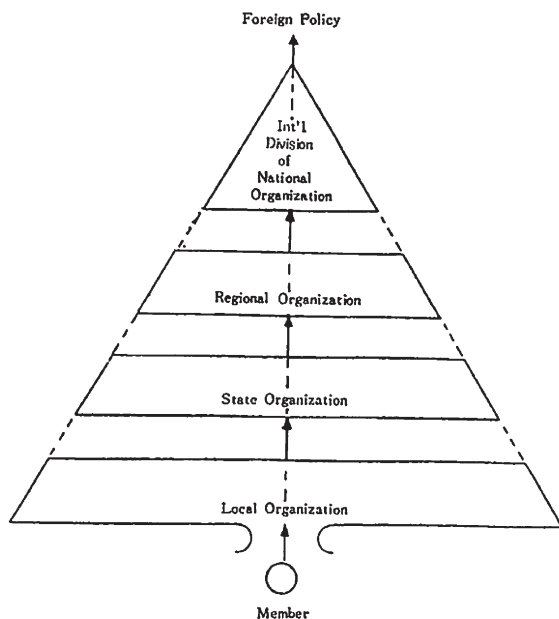


Fig. 2.5 Local-member's view of international activity of nongovernmental organization

term for governments, there is no persuasive reason why this should be so. The activities abroad of a multitude of labor, business, professional and philanthropic organizations are based on very explicit policies. The term foreign policy is a most appropriate description of decision that guide their activities abroad.

But why should it be that people tend to defer to national offices, both governmental and nongovernmental, in foreign policy decision-making. Why did it come to pass that they perceive themselves cut off from direct participation in foreign-policy making. Why do people who are demanding greater participation in local and national affairs often accept lesser participation in international affairs?

We don't fully know the answer, but we have some pretty good hunches. First, in regard to governmental foreign policy, it has something to do with the fact that even democratic governments tend not to expect much public participation in foreign policy. Even national legislatures, including the U.S. Congress, have tended to defer to the executive. When the democracies overthrew authoritarian leaders (usually kings) they tended to not completely overturn the "king" in foreign policy. Both by constitutional provisions and practice, most heads of state and prime ministers have special privileges in foreign policy. As most foreign policy issues increasingly affect the daily lives of people, continuing acceptance of this practice is an increasing threat to democracy itself. If the executive is given special prerogatives in international aspects of energy, food and environment, as well as trade, the sea, etc., the control of the public over things that impact their daily lives will be very limited indeed.

But why does the public's view of participation in nongovernmental foreign policies tend to be mirrored in nongovernmental organizations? This may partly be a

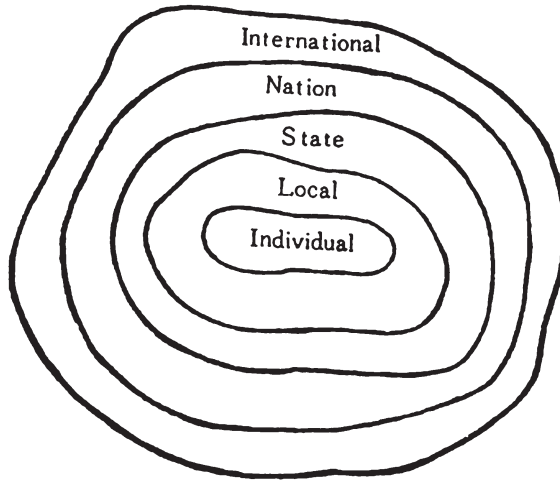


Fig. 2.6 Socialization of individuals with respect to territorial units

result of subconscious application of the governmental model to nongovernmental organizations. Perhaps more fundamental is the way people learn about the world, beginning with their first experiences in school. Surprisingly, the way people learn about the world causes them to feel cut off from international activity. Children often learn first of local things—family, school, church police department and fire department. They know that their state (or province) is out beyond that, and that they reside in one of a number of states within their country. Thus they see the world from their location—from inside a layered onion. Things international are perceived to take place from the national border—several layers away from the local community (See Fig. 2.6). This onion view of the world is reinforced by international education. International topics are the last to be covered on a variety of occasions in the educational process—always at the end of the book, at the end of the course, etc. Often there is not enough time to adequately cover this international material.

2.3 The World Can Be Viewed as a Giant Cobweb

While billiard balls, funnels, pyramids, and onions do provide partial pictures of the way the world works, they are only partial. One who observes his own daily life carefully, quickly becomes aware that he is personally linked to international processes which these images don't take into account. An effort to keep a diary of these links soon becomes an overwhelming task as the full range becomes clear.

Awakened by a Japanese clock radio... a Swiss watch provides a double-check on the time... morning coffee from Brazil... ride to work in a Fiat... on tires made of Malayan rubber... while listening to the Beatles... on a German-made radio... buying Saudi-Arabian gas... and diamonds from South Africa.

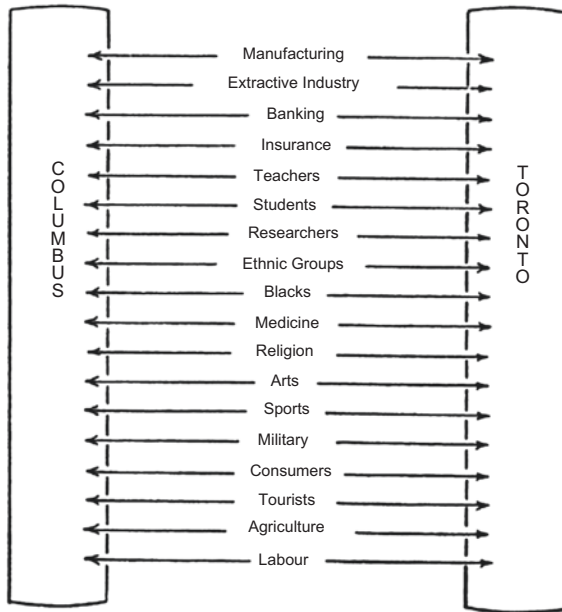


Fig. 2.7 Activities providing international links between cities

All of these linkages implicate the individual in an array of human chains that extend to all areas of the globe, to Japanese factory workers, Swiss craftsmen, laborers on Brazilian coffee plantations, miners in South Africa, etc. But these linkages are not only related to our lives as consumers:

money in our savings accounts is reinvested in an apartment complex in Chile... investment in a local industry helps produce weapons that kill people in distant places... money dropped in the church collection plate helps to build a school in Nicaragua... research is dependent on imported books... foreign students in our classes... entertained by films from abroad...

These linkages involve us in housing policy in Chile, death in distant places, education policy in Nicaragua, international scientific networks, and international artistic exchange. Actually the relationships of humankind clothe the globe in a giant cobweb.

This kind of observation reveals that people in local communities have many direct links with people in cities abroad. Figure 2.7 portrays how two cities are linked through a diversity of activities. Of course, people in most cities are not linked with one city but are linked to a network of cities through the flow of people, money, goods and information (Fig. 2.8). If you are active in one of the sectors of community life listed in Fig. 2.7, you can no doubt describe how all four kinds of flow are involved. For example, many banks in medium sized cities now invest and serve their business customers abroad. Local bankers must travel abroad (*people*) to set up cooperative arrangements with correspondent banks abroad, they receive *information* from abroad that they need for investment decisions, they

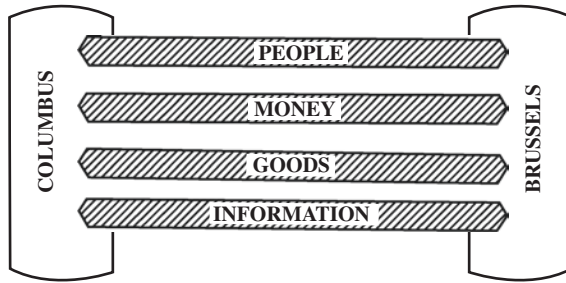


Fig. 2.8 Forms of international transactions

move *money* abroad for investment, often by telex, and this money often pays for *goods* that local merchants are importing.

People directly involved in these kinds of transactions are involved in participatory learning through which they learn a new geography that relocates them in time and space and enables them to self-consciously influence the flow of people, money, goods and information. But most citizens, perceptually trapped within billiard balls, and buried beneath pyramids, do not perceive most of the international linkages of daily life. This deprives them of learning opportunities that might lead to increasing competence to cope with the changing geographic scope of their lives.

2.4 Creating New Images

In late 1972, faculty and graduate students in the Mershon Center of Ohio State University (primarily political scientists) began collecting information on the international linkages of the Columbus metropolitan area in order to begin to explicate for the million people in the Columbus metropolitan area where in the world they are. This research extended to agriculture, arts, banking, education, ethnic ties, foreign students, insurance, medicine, military, relief agencies, religion, research, trade, travel, visitor hosting and voluntary associations. Information was collected in a variety of ways—through formal interviews with people with a reputation for being extensively involved; mail questionnaire to churches, voluntary organizations, university faculty, and foreign students; informal interviews with people in virtually all sectors; clipping local newspapers; annual reports of business and voluntary associations and from a few university theses on aspects of trade and ethnic communities.

In retrospect, it may seem obvious that we should have investigated the sectors of community life reflected in our reports. But the targets of our investigation were not obvious because those engaged in research had the same perceptual limitations as most of the population. While the researchers had all done graduate work in international relations, this experience only intensified their preoccupation with the foreign policies of governments—particularly the activities of heads of state and foreign ministers of a few big powers.

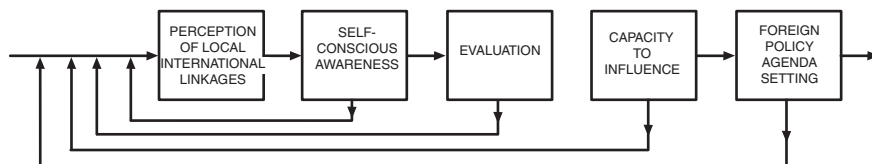


Fig. 2.9 Moving the public from perception to action

These activities are normally researched in libraries, and occasionally by using the archives of governmental bureaus and perhaps interviewing governmental officials in national capitals. Scholars with this background are totally unprepared to look for the international linkages of their own community. In fact, while they do not explicitly take a vow of disinterest in their own community, they spend so much time focusing on activity in distant capitals that they tend not to know much at all about their local community. The stuff of international research, they assume, is to be found in libraries, archives and distant cities—it does not occur to them to look out the window! Thus the research process described was necessary for the perceptual liberation of the researchers themselves.

What does research on the international relations of a metropolitan community have to do with public participation in foreign policy processes! The Columbus project assumes that people will be most interested in those international processes that link them, and their local community to the world. It also assumes that the proximity and concreteness of personal and local linkages can build a learning base for eventual understanding of processes and events that are more distant. Perception of local linkages begins a process of learning and self-conscious involvement something like that portrayed in Fig. 2.9. Perception of international linkages leads to ‘self-conscious awareness’ of these involvements. This awareness is a prerequisite for eventual ‘evaluation’ of the quantitative and qualitative adequacy of involvement. This evaluation is required before a wider public can develop the capacity to deliberately ‘influence’ international processes in ways that fulfill self-conscious interests. Thus it is assumed that international education can come through self-conscious participation in the international dimensions of local community life. Over a period of time, cycles of perception, increasing self-conscious awareness evaluation and efforts to influence policy will deepen understanding and capacity to influence.

Eventually through this process a wider public could become involved in shaping ‘foreign policy agendas’ of both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Presently these agendas are not responsive to general public interest because they have not developed out of the everyday needs of the public. Governmental foreign policies have largely been developed by political, military and industrial elites for perpetuating interests defied by these elites. Nongovernmental foreign policies have been developed largely by elites in national offices in terms of interests perceived in the contexts of these offices. There are virtually no existing processes for identifying the intrinsic international interests of the general public.

It is assumed that these can be defined and implemented through the participatory learning process outlined in Fig. 2.9.

With this participatory learning process in mind, CITW began disseminating information on the international links of Columbus to members of the public in 1973 and 1974. Rather lengthy research reports of 35–90 double-spaced pages were first made available to involved members of the public who had helped us collect information. Each covered a specific sector, such as agriculture, medicine, religion, trade, etc. These were summarized in brief reports of only a few pages for wider distribution. Figure 2.1 is taken from one of these reports. Perhaps the most effective dissemination was done in personal appearances of the staff before local organizations, backed up by distribution of the brief reports. Beginning in 1975, several slidetape programs were prepared, with the slides seeming to be far more effective in reaching the public than printed or spoken words.

As we began disseminating information, the explicit directions that this research-action project would take were not at all clear. But it was assumed that interaction with the community would be useful participatory learning for the project staff, both in terms of learning more about international links and also in discerning what kinds of new activities might lead toward greater participatory learning about these links on the part of members of the community. We were groping toward the process reflected in Fig. 2.11. Through ‘research’, including dissemination of results, an evolving ‘diagnosis’ of community needs was made and ‘CITW’ became involved in a number of ‘community projects’. These projects provided opportunities for making further diagnosis and implied further research needs. As the Fig. 2.10 suggests, there are continuing cycles of inquiry, diagnosis and action.

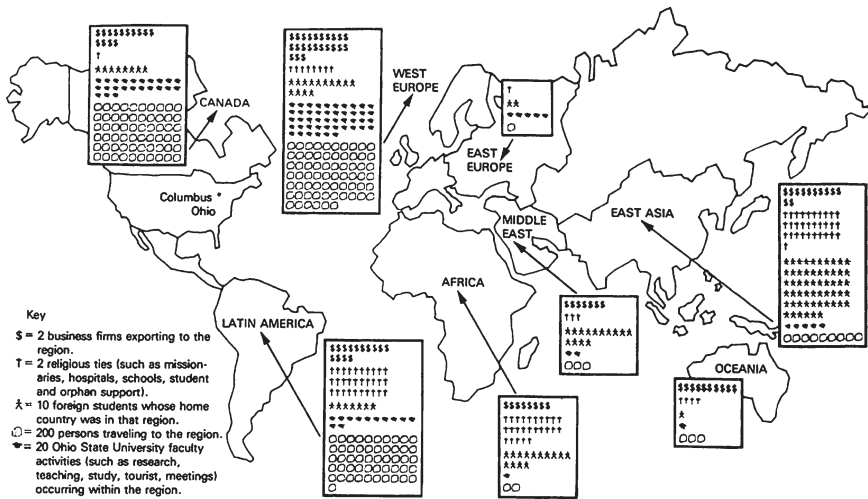


Fig. 2.10 A bird’s-eye view of columbus in the world

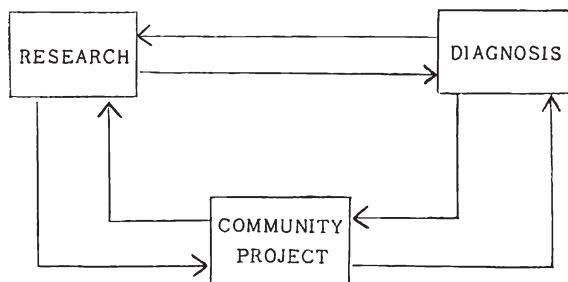


Fig. 2.11 Cycles of research, diagnosis and community projects

2.5 Diagnosis of the Community

Research and involvement in the community led to a diagnosis of eight factors that limit the potential for more efficacious citizen involvement in international affairs. These factors probably apply to some degree in all cities but they would seem particularly relevant to middle-sized cities without a long self-conscious tradition of international involvement.

First, things international are not a part of the wholistic ‘image’ that people of Columbus have of their city. People in Columbus do perceive their city as the All American City, with a variety of meanings. And they do have an image of their city as a Football Capital. But, despite the global connections of research institutions such as Battelle Memorial Institute (research), Chemical Abstracts Ohio State University; multinational corporations such as Borden and Ashland Chemical; and involvement in a host of international relief and exchange programs; these international involvements are not a part of the general public’s wholistic image of their city. Except for people directly involved in rather isolated beehives of international transactions, the prevailing image of Columbus, has a debilitating effect on the international involvement, awareness and education of the general public. For this reason, many who have encountered the Columbus in the World project for the first time respond with a sense of bewilderment—as though we said we were fishing for whales in the Olentangy River.

It is significant that this image has not prevented certain banks and manufacturing firms in Columbus from increasing international involvement. This activity has led to the creation of Chamber of Commerce committees on international trade and international finance. But most groups and organizations, particularly those in the voluntary sector, have relatively ‘low aspirations’ because they perceive themselves to be laboring against great odds in a relatively disinterested or sometimes even hostile city.

Despite the dedicated and valiant efforts of small groups, the efforts of volunteer organizations involved in international education, relief and exchange programs present a picture of Fragmentation. The image of a provincial city where only modest efforts can succeed engenders competitiveness between groups, even though they have similar and compatible goals, for resources that are perceived

as being very limited. This fragmentation means that a number of quite important international volunteer activities have low visibility and hence do not impact the public image of the community as a whole.

Were the voluntary organizations not so fragmented, they could collaborate in ways that would enable them to overcome an obstacle to the level of activity and influence of all—‘poor facilities’. Most organizations lack adequate publicity, mailing lists, facilities for producing and distributing their materials and means for finding new members and workers.

It has been puzzling to note the lack of local international interest and involvement on the part of organizations that have extensive international relations through their national headquarters. This is particularly the case with labor unions, many churches and numerous service and fraternal groups. The ways in which nongovernmental organizations mirror the nation-state in their organizational forms deprives most of the membership from opportunities for participation and learning. In effect, each organization has its foreign office in a national headquarters that is as immune from influence by the general membership as the President and Secretary of State are immune from influence of the general public on foreign policy of the federal government. This symptom could be termed Hierarchyitis. It is generally perceived that most major sectors of human life are organized on a hierarchical basis, from local to state to nation. It is believed to be right and appropriate, and even in the nature of things, that international issues are handled by “people in the national office.” Thus, it is not only in issues of federal government foreign policy that the public defers to the “national office,” but also in a vast array of nongovernmental affairs. For many people any alternative is *unthinkable*. Yet, with the increasing impact of international transactions on many sectors of everyday life, this in essence means that democratic governance, in nongovernmental as well as governmental spheres, is *unthinkable*.

Increasing local determination in the international networks of human activity will require a decrease in the periphery mentality that pervades medium-sized and smaller cities. This periphery mentality, as reflected within the United States, tends to look to larger cities, often on the coasts, and most often the Northeast coast, for expertise, norms and approval. While this inferiority complex—and the accompanying superiority complex that often gives comfort to mediocrity in “centers”—can be found in all aspects of human affairs, it is particularly debilitating for self-determination in the international affairs of medium-sized and smaller cities. Thousands of people who have completed university—courses in international relations and have deep interest in international affairs do not know to make these interests count. Perhaps they have tried to have an impact on foreign policy of their national government but have concluded that they can have little impact because even their elected representatives in Congress seem to play only a peripheral role. Seeing no alternatives in their local scene, they shift their interests to local domestic issues where they feel greater efficacy. Those desiring professional involvement in international activity are inclined to leave their city, often perceiving the national capital and its institutions as the only place where there is opportunity “to do something” about foreign policies.

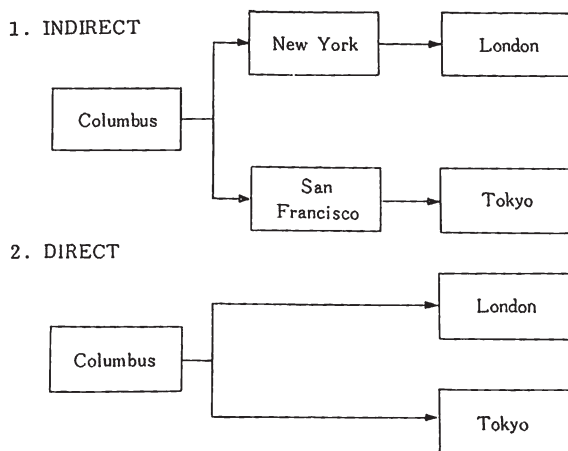


Fig. 2.12 Access by cities to foreign cities

Despite widespread deference to distant foreign policy experts, there are people in cities like Columbus who are exceedingly adept at managing international systems in their interest. Cosmopolitans in activities such as banking, trade and knowledge creation and dissemination in medium-sized cities are increasingly able to fulfill their interests through international activity. These transnational cosmopolitans have experienced a number of cycles of participation and learning and are becoming increasingly skilled at living in a wider world. They have relocated themselves in time and space. They used to be dependent on communication facilities, banks and international knowledge centers on the coasts, as portrayed by the indirect path in Fig. 2.12. But they are now increasingly linked directly, as indicated in the direct path in Fig. 2.12.

Their example is in striking contrast to the many—the ‘transnational disenfranchised’. Opportunities for profit, knowledge and other kinds of individual fulfillment that transnational involvement provides for the few is increasing the gulf between the haves and have nots in Columbus. From one point of view the transnational cosmopolitans appear to be a threat to equality and justice for the public at large. From another point of view they exemplify opportunity for liberation from the control of international affairs by distant elites. The dispersion of sophisticated international operators to many new international centers could make them more accessible to more people. It could increase the opportunity for more people to influence the policies of global systems.

Furthermore, these local transnational cosmopolitans could be a vital resource if they shared their knowledge and experience with wider local publics. But the lack of ‘cosmopolitan responsibility to the local community’ hinder local learning. Sharing knowledge and experience with the wider local community is rare, partly because transnational cosmopolitans tend to identify more with the transnational networks in which they are involved. Some are rather mobile, with neither long residence nor strong attachment to a specific local community. Most simply do not perceive that their international links might give them special responsibility to the local community from which they acquire much of the wherewithal for their relatively high

standard of life. Some have lived in cities that they consider to be more cosmopolitan than their present habitat—cities with which they still have considerable attachment. Thus they look down upon the “provincials” in their present city of residence, make invidious comparisons with other cities, and help to contribute to the city’s provincial image of itself—an image that the transnational cosmopolitans themselves falsify by their own activity. Yet, were these transnational cosmopolitans to assume responsibility for sharing their knowledge and experience with the community, they could provide a substantial impetus toward a new image. All of these:

1. present ‘image’ of community
2. low ‘aspiration’
3. ‘fragmentation’ of effort
4. ‘poor facilities’
5. ‘hierarchyitis’
6. many ‘transnational disenfranchised’
7. lack of ‘cosmopolitan responsibility to the local community’

contribute to the most limiting factor of all—lack of an ‘image of the international future of the community’—either as a whole or in the context of specific sectors. Where future planning and thinking is to be found, an international dimension is missing. Where international interest and involvement is present, a vision of the future is rarely found.

Awareness of these limitations on efficacious involvement of the community as a whole in international issues has come through efforts to collect and disseminate information on the international links of the community. Information collection and dissemination has produced community response that has led to CITW involvement in seven community projects. The selection of projects and the nature of CITW’s involvement has been responsive to our emerging diagnosis of community needs.

2.6 New Community Activities

Seven new community activities have evolved out of information collection and dissemination by CITW, largely because this information had action implications for people in the community. It is important that these activities are not a part of a grand design created by CITW, but have primarily been responsive to interest and need expressed by people in the community. But CITW’s response was influenced by our own diagnosis of community needs.

2.6.1 International Council of Mid-Ohio

The International Council evolved out of dialog between CITW and the International Relations Committee of the League of Women Voters as they developed their response to our research. This led to interviews of some twenty city leaders by League members that led to a League proposal for an international

center. The League and CITW jointly created a working group with broad community representation to consider this proposal. This evolved over a period of some 2 years into the International Council.

Columbus has never had anything resembling the world affairs councils to be found in many cities. The International Council is viewed as an umbrella organization and clearinghouse that offers a point for coordination, stimulation and support for international activities from a variety of sectors of community life. In many respects it will be like world affairs councils in other cities but with one fundamental difference. High on the agenda of the International Council are the international linkages of Columbus itself, and use of these linkages as a base for program development.

2.6.2 International Life of Central Ohio

Almost simultaneously with collaboration with the League of Women Voters, members of a number of international voluntary organizations attended a presentation by the director of CITW. Our research results suggested to them that their efforts should be having more response from the community in the light of the fact that the city is more involved in international activity than they had realized. They asked CITW to help them to work together. Consultations in response to this request led to the creation of International Life, a coalition of voluntary organizations concerned with hosting of international visitors, the United Nations Association, UNICEF, CARE and exchange programs.

International Life has developed a number of common services that are of value to its constituent organizations—a comprehensive calendar of international events (lectures, films, dances, etc.) that is printed quarterly and published in a local newspaper monthly; a handbook of international services and opportunities for service (including relief organizations, education, banking, ethnic associations, foreign language church services, language courses, etc.) and an emergency language bank. Through aggregating information on international activity and making it widely accessible, these activities are helping the people of the area to add the international dimension to their image of their community. They are also overcoming the fragmentation of voluntary efforts and enhancing the level of aspiration for voluntary international activities in the community. While starting as a completely independent effort, International Life has now become a division of the International Council.

2.6.3 Ethnic Association of Mid-Ohio

In a city with only 3 % foreign born, the ethnic life of the community is not highly visible, despite the presence of some twenty five organized ethnic groups. The ethnic report of CITW provided the first comprehensive overview of the ethnic life of the community. While a number of ethnic groups did take part in the UN Festival each

fall, and some thought they ought to come together on other occasions, no action was taken until the International Council and International Life were organized. At this point, an ethnic group leader approached CITW for help in linking the ethnic associations into this evolving activity. This led to the organization of a coalition of ethnic associations who presently have organized multiethnic evenings in order to build solidarity. Their future program calls for wider sharing of ethnic customs with the community and services for new immigrants. Discussions are now underway that may lead to the Ethnic Association becoming a division of the International Council.

2.6.4 All World City

CITW realized that the attention its research was directing to the present international involvements of Columbus required a complementary view of the world—a global view with a future perspective, to provide context for deeper understanding of the present and future international links of the city. Toward this end, CITW asked the International Council to jointly sponsor (with the Institute for Word Order, New York City) a weekend conference, for thirty citizens for many occupations, on “Alternative Images of Future Worlds and Their Implications for Citizens of Mid-Ohio.” The agenda, developed jointly by CITW and IWO, presented information on the present international links of Columbus and on alternative global futures, along with suggestions for global transition strategies toward these futures. Participants were challenged to think about transition strategies for the Columbus area that would lead toward preferred global futures.

Under the initial leadership of a Catholic priest, a task force on global hunger developed out of the conference. This task force has now evolved into the All World City (in contrast to Columbus’ tendency to call itself the All American City) organization, devoted to joining with Third World city in working on problems of hunger and related development issues. Their program will be guided by an in-depth understanding of the present and potential “food power” of Columbus through research, programs of the Ohio State University School of Agriculture, food processing corporations, grain shipments, relief organizations, etc. Part of their program consists of encouraging city councils and mayors in the metropolitan area to declare support for the All World City program. The Columbus City Council has already acted.

Through the initiative of a Presbyterian minister (now a Ph.D. candidate in political science) on the staff of CITW, two projects have been jointly sponsored by CITW and the Presbytery of Scioto Valley, a district covering several counties.

2.6.5 International Dimensions of Local Church Life

This project, directed by a person with considerable experience in international church affairs, has attempted to involve five Presbyterian churches in a program to

heighten awareness and involvement in the international activities of local, national and international church organizations, and also to stimulate local congregations to evaluate, in the light of church theology, the foreign policies of local individuals and organizations—particularly those in which church members are involved. While considerable effort has been made to get individual churches involved (along with modest financial contributions), this project has progressed very slowly.

2.6.6 Local Links with Africa

This project is also being supported jointly by CITW and the Scioto Valley Presbytery, under the direction of a Black member of the CITW staff. Much time has been spent in an effort to develop a Black advisory group that would guide an extension of the information collected and disseminated by CITW on local links to Africa, and to stimulate their evaluation of these linkages. It is hoped that the project will also stimulate dialog between Blacks and Whites on these linkages. While information on links with Africa, including a slidetape show, has been shared with Blacks, and some Whites, in a number of meetings, the effort to develop Black leadership in the community has not been very successful.

Unlike the other four projects, ‘the two Presbytery projects were not in response to community initiatives that flowed out of CITW activity. CITW develop proposals to the Presbytery for these projects. At this point local Presbyterian churches and the Black community seem only to discern very limited action implications for them from CITW information.

2.6.7 Pre-Collegiate Education

As soon as CITW research began to be distributed, an eighth and ninth grade teacher in the public schools sought assistance in utilizing the information in her geography classes. This led to requests that CITW organize workshops for junior high school teachers in Columbus schools. Our material has also been used by David King and Charlotte Anderson in the development of a unit in a fifth grade textbook on the United States.² This unit uses concrete information on Columbus in giving students ‘an introduction to international relations from the perspective of the community in which they live. Exercises are provided through which teachers can develop analogous material on their own cities.

Plans are now underway to experimentally expand pre-collegiate “educational activity, using as resources the international aspects of most subjects taught in school (the international character of science, mathematics, etc.), the foreign

² David King and Charlotte Anderson, *Window on Our World: The United State*, Houghton Mifflin, 1976.

origin of many things in the school (metals, clothes, electronic equipment, etc.), and people involved in international activity in the community. As those involved in international activity are used as resources persons for schools, it is expected that this will stimulate community interest and involvement in international education in the schools and will also enable community people who participate to deepen their understanding of their own activity. This should lead to the development of adult education programs.

2.7 Basic Premises of CITW Involvement in the Community

While Columbus in the World has been a catalyst in the creation of the International Council, International Life, the Ethnic Association, All World City, and other activities, the first premise of community involvement has been to *support existing organizations* rather than to build new ones. New organizations have only been created in order to aggregate international efforts of existing organizations in ways that will make them more productive. Considerable effort has been made to link members of existing organizations to new activities and to keep them informed.

A second premise has been to encourage community projects to become *independent of the university*. CITW believes there is a vital need for international activity that is largely independent of the university. This will make such activity accessible to additional sectors of community life. And it might also build new clusters of international concern in the community that might develop wider public support for international program in the university. In the early stages of activity that led to the creation of the Council and International Life, it was difficult to engender independence from the university. Dependence on university facilities and on faculty and their spouses was customary. But this tended to inhibit the development of facilities outside the university and limited the involvement of people outside university networks.

Closely related is a third premise, that *community leadership* should be developed for each project. In the early stages there was a tendency for the Council, International Life and All World City to seek CIEW leadership, but this was rejected because of our desire to help create multiple centers of community leadership in international affairs. These activities are now quite independent, with a CITW person only one of the Council and All World City and CITW only one of the constituent organizations of International Life.

Overall, these premises of CITW involvement advocate calculated restraint, so that a number of centers of leadership are developed across the community. Thus the learning and commitment that accrue to leaders is disseminated outside the university. Leaders can make input from a broader base of intellectual and participatory experience. And leaders have linkages to a broader array of citizens in the community.

2.8 Columbus in the World Contributions to Community Projects

Columbus in the World has offered community projects a variety of kinds of assistance: information, administrative support, leadership support, program ideas, support in program implementation, links to new participants and related activities and sympathetic encouragement.

There is no doubt that comprehensive *information* on links between Columbus and the world was an initial catalyst to activity—extended perception of the quantity of the international involvement of a community creates an enhanced predisposition for new activity. It was this kind of information that led to CITW cooperation with the community in the creation of the Council, International Life, Ethnic Association and All World City.

But it is not obvious how a project like CITW can most effectively share information on international linkages with a community. Lengthy research reports are read by few and may have their greatest value as a basis for other modes of dissemination. Yet, our report on ethnic groups of some 70 typed pages seems to have been an important catalyst in the creation of the Ethnic Association. This seems to have provided an important wholistic image of ethnic groups as a sector of community activity with some common interests.

Our brief reports based on these research reports have had many more readers. These summaries are 4-1/4 inches by 6-1/2 inches in size, with a length of 4–6 pages, printed on a variety of colors of paper. They have served as a link to individuals in terms of the sector of activity in which they are most interested—sports, religion, agriculture, medicine, trade, travel, military, arts, etc. In addition some are focused on regions—Latin America, Middle East, Africa, etc. Circulated in packets of 15–20 reports, these brief reports seem to communicate a view of the comprehensive character of a city's international linkages.

There is no doubt that word of mouth, with the Brief Reports as sources of visuals during both formal and informal presentations, has been an important medium for dissemination of information. As the number of more formal presentations has increased, taped slide shows extend capacity to reach people but more importantly provide visual images (mainly photographs) that have an impact not provided by words and charts. As community projects have moved forward, word of mouth has become increasingly important for information dissemination—in meetings, in work with community people in projects, in phone inquiries, etc. Thus contact and interaction with community people is providing an important channel for dissemination.

Until community projects perceive themselves as permanently established and become self-supporting, they may fail simply because of lack of very pedestrian *administrative support* which an overwhelmed voluntary group does not have available. In the first year of activity, assistance is usually required in typing and disseminating minutes, issuing calls to meetings, in calling people to remind them of meetings, and typing, xeroxing and distribution of program proposals. In certain

circumstances availability of a free meeting place may even be critical. In the early stages CITW provided most of these things for the community projects in which it has been involved. Sometimes it is a delicate and difficult matter to withdraw this support, but this is vitally necessary if an activity is to become an independent organization in the community.

In the community projects under discussion, *leadership support* has meant the recruitment of leaders out of people involved primarily because of interest in an activity. Those seeking power and influence largely for its own sake tend not to become involved in highly risky projects on apparently marginal issues. In the initial phases CITW personnel have had to avoid assuming leadership based on access to superior information. This has tended to induce a period of leadership vacuum during which someone chairs meetings, with administrative support providing a short-term surrogate for leadership. For the most part somewhat temporary chairpersons have evolved into leaders, with *leadership support* from CITW playing an important part in leadership development.

Leadership in these projects consists primarily of developing agendas for meetings, moving meetings effectively through this agenda, organizing task groups, monitoring their progress, and facilitating a cooperative group feeling among the fifteen to thirty key participants in an activity. New leaders in these projects have needed much guidance in setting agendas, in moving a meeting through this agenda and in delegating responsibilities. Very surprising is how rapidly some have become effective leaders through the exercise of responsibility while receiving facilitative support.

There is a natural tendency for people to turn to friends and friends of friends when searching for collaborators in a new activity. This may tend to isolate this activity from the larger community. CITW has helped groups to obtain *links to new participants* and related activities. This had been possible because research and involvement in a number of activities have given us broader knowledge of international activity in the city than most other participants. Sometimes we have helped to link in relevant existing activity so that new activity has become additive rather than competitive and divisive. On occasions simple mutual awareness by two activities has helped to avoid suspicion and distrust. On occasions we have helped in recruitment of minorities when members did not seem to have relevant links to these groups.

As a result of our diagnosis of community needs, we have spawned *project ideas* that have sometimes been picked up and implemented. Examples would be the international calendar and handbook of local international services and opportunities for service developed by International Life. These were proposed as mechanisms for disseminating and reinforcing an international dimension to Columbus' image of itself. They were also seen as ways to extend the utilization of already existing activity for socializing people into international involvement. These tasks also facilitated the development of International Life itself, providing superordinate goals through providing common services to constituent organizations.

Fortunately, in the hands of community participants, the calendar and handbook were developed in ways unforeseen by CITW. Printing a three-month version of

the calendar for subscription, in addition to a monthly calendar in the newspaper, was an unanticipated innovation. And community workers found items for the handbook, such as foreign language church services, which CITW had never discovered. Yet, in both cases CITW continually pushed for comprehensive coverage beyond the more parochial tendencies of participants.

As new projects have developed and leaders have achieved greater confidence in their roles, the need for leadership support evolves into need for *project support*. If projects falter and do not produce results the leader loses confidence and the growing morale of the group suffers. In projects such as the calendar and handbooks, CITW support has included conceptualization of projects as a whole, help in gathering and compiling information, typing information, typing assistance and continuing interest and affirmation of the importance of the activity. At times the most important assist consists of prodding, setting deadlines and shortening the time required for project completion.

Perhaps nothing is more important than *sympathetic encouragement*—from a highly knowledgeable party who cares. Many hard working volunteers have received little recognition and credit for their efforts in the past. Because of CITW’s consistent involvement over a period of time, they know that our interest in international activity is deep and persistent. When we give attention and show concern it is rewarding and gives legitimacy to activity. This seems to have quite important during the formative stages of the Council, International Life and the Ethnic Association.

2.9 From Actual to Potential

Up to the present time, activity in Columbus has emphasized helping people to see the present international links of their community, and developing organized competence to make the international dimension a more visible part of community life. If more people are to actively take part in the international processes that effect their lives, they require clearer images of alternative routes to participation. Once we are perceptually liberated from the assumption that the only way to self-consciously have an impact on foreign policy is by influencing high ranking officials in our national government, the number of options are considerably increased. Figure 2.13 provides a “road map” of some of the possibilities. It suggests that the citizen should consider the possibility of involvement through both governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and with respect to a variety of territorial units—city, state (province), national and international. Some examples will make the figure easier to understand.

National Routes (7, 9, 10). Initial orientation might be easiest with respect to routes 9 and 10. These routes were portrayed by the funnel view of foreign policy in Fig. 2.2. Route 10 is used when citizens write the President or Secretary of State on foreign policy issues such as grain sales to the Soviet Union, the Middle East crisis, or Rhodesia. They also use route 9 for the same issues by working through national nongovernmental organizations, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, United Jewish Appeal, or the NAACP. On many occasions

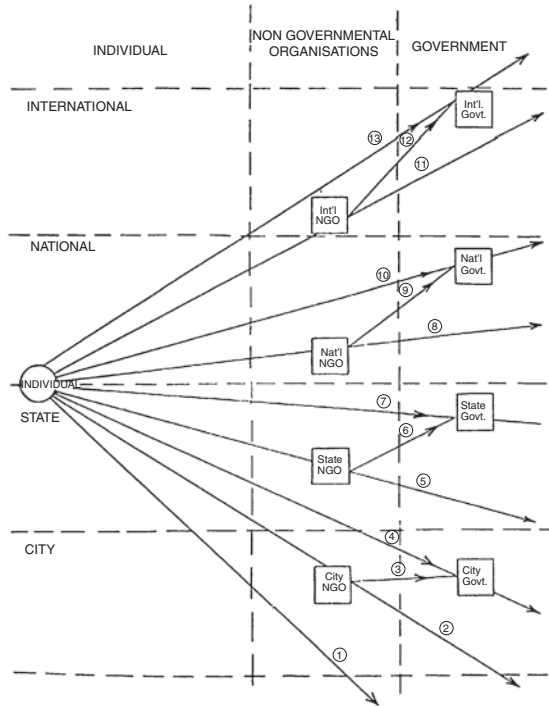


Fig. 2.13 Routes to international participation

these obvious routes for participation are appropriate. Yet they should not be used as a reflex on all foreign policy issues without consideration of other possibilities. For example, national church organizations wanting a quick response to hunger in some Third World countries have used route 8—directly sending food themselves rather than working through their national government. Of course, they did not have to choose one or the other, but could work on both at the same time.

State Routes (5, 6, 7). Route 7 is used by businessmen who try to get state assistance in stimulating exports. Some businessmen work through a nongovernmental organization to acquire state support (route 6). A number of states have responded by setting up permanent offices abroad. Labor has used the same routes to stimulate the state government to get foreign manufacturers to locate plants in their states in order to increase jobs. Occasionally state business organizations will stimulate trade directly by sponsoring trade missions abroad and by direct advertising abroad (route 7).

City Routes (2, 3, 4). Local tourist interests in cities often attempt to influence city governments to help them stimulate foreign travel to their city—directly (route 4) and through their Chamber of Commerce and other nongovernmental organizations (route 3). Sometimes the Chamber of Commerce may engage in direct activity abroad to stimulate tourism to the city (route 2). Direct action may also be taken by local church congregations who send missionaries, medical and

educational assistance abroad. The All World City project in Columbus is attempting to use route 2 although they eventually hope to obtain involvement of the city government by using route 3.

Individual Route (1). Direct individual international involvement covers a multitude of activity, such as letter writing, financial support for relatives and friends abroad, ham radio operators, direct mail purchases, volunteering for service in foreign armies, subscription to foreign magazines, direct purchase of books abroad, and depositing funds in foreign banks.

International Routes (11, 12, 13). Those in the United States who “tax” themselves 1 % of their income and send it directly to the United Nations Secretary General, use route 13. They do this because of dissatisfaction that their country contributes less a percentage of GNP to the UN than 45 % of the member nations. Since they have not been able to change this policy through routes 9 or 10, they have shifted to route 13. Those who support the International League for the Rights of Man in its lobbying efforts for human rights at the UN are using route 12. People who work for the rights of political prisoners through Amnesty International often use route 11, attempting to influence policies of national governments (other than their own) through the direct action of an international nongovernmental organization.

Readers may already be thinking that the separation of international, national, state and city routes unrealistically closes off additional routes. This was done for simplicity. The reader may now wish to draw some of these in. For example, sometimes people attempt to influence their national government to work toward strengthening peacekeeping forces in the United Nations. During the Vietnam War efforts were made in some cities to get city councils to take a stand against the war. It was hoped that this would tend to diminish the tenacity with which the national government was pursuing the war.

It would be unfortunate if explication of multiple routes for participation would cause the public to feel overwhelmed with complexity. Rather, alternate routes should be viewed as opportunities for increased influence over things that now tend to be controlled for us by a very few people in cities such as Washington and New York. A set of alternate routes are somewhat like the alternatives provided by the helicopter traffic reporter to automobile commuters on their car radios. It may seem simpler to take an unvarying and familiar route home, but when there are accidents and blizzards, certain routes may be blocked. Alternative routes through unfamiliar streets may not seem worth the effort at first. But they soon become as familiar as the old route and considerably enhance the control of the commuter over his commuting time.

2.10 In What Kind of a World Would You Like to Live?

The lives of people everywhere are intertwined with those of people in the cities and countryside of distant places. People, money, goods and information flow across national boundaries as a result of human activity in a great diversity of occupations and for a variety of a purposes. Some are involved because they deliberately

seek to have international ties, perhaps out of some feeling of identity with people in another part of the world or even with humankind as a whole. Others become involved because of pursuit of jobs, profit or pleasure. Still others become involved simply because it is unavoidable, as they pursue satisfaction of material wants, profits or jobs. Through these kinds of activities millions of people contribute to basic global patterns. People who eat bananas, drink coffee, drive foreign cars, take vacations abroad, invest in multinational corporations and contribute to church activities abroad are helping to create a particular kind of world. If you don't like the world as it is, it may seem impossible for you to change basic patterns of trade, investment, travel and religion. But it would be premature to conclude this without first self-consciously involving yourself in a process of participatory learning.

A first step in shaping your international involvements in ways that are consistent with the kind of world you would like to have is to acquire a thoughtful understanding of the purposes of your activity. Figure 2.14 provides an illustrative checklist for identifying these purposes. Sometimes the purpose for international activity is easily understood, as when a company sells or invests abroad as a way of increasing profits. Often purposes for international involvement are more complex. While they become involved in a particular business for profit, some gravitate to international aspects of this business because of curiosity about the unfamiliar or some sort of identity with humankind beyond their own national borders. Sometimes purposes are subtle, as when your travel or entertainment of visitors from abroad is a way to acquire status from your friends and neighbors.

Analysis becomes more complicated when you recognize that your purposes, and those of people from other countries with whom you have contact, often are not identical. They simply may want friendship and have curiosity about your country and culture, but you may primarily want to make money or they may see you as a potential source of money for acquiring desperately needed food, clothing and shelter for their family, whereas you may simply be curious about their culture. Sometimes differences in purpose provide an opportunity for exchange that is helpful to both parties, but lack of understanding of differences may lead to disappointment and misunderstanding.

It is not uncommon for people in rich and powerful countries (like the United States) to be insensitive to the perceptions that people in poor and weak countries have of their relationships with people in rich and powerful countries. An example might be the way in which tourists from Columbus are perceived by those who serve them during their travel abroad. The pleasure experienced by the Columbus traveler as he enjoys the cultural treasures of Northern Europe may produce a surge of international awareness and identity with humankind. Although the Spanish, Portuguese and North African migrant workers who serve him may have their international awareness increased, their 'resentments of affluent tourists, compounded with their second-class status in Northern Europe, may trigger extreme nationalistic sentiments.

An individual's assessment of his personal international involvement provides opportunity for extending awareness and for participatory learning that leads to more probing evaluation of personal activity. This will eventually lead to inquiry into larger social processes. For example, those who befriend an immigrant

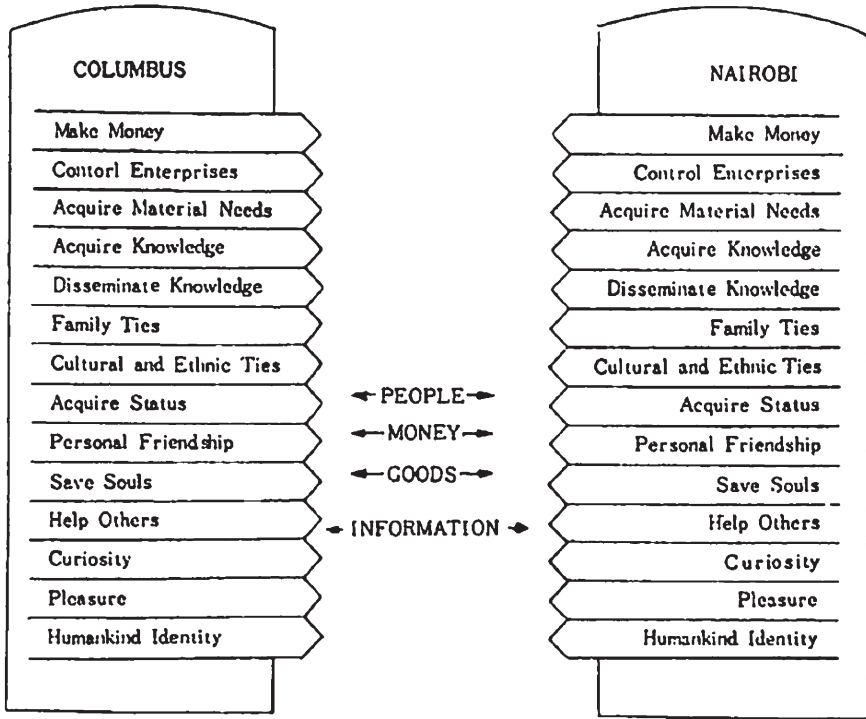


Fig. 2.14 Purposes for international activity

Nigerian doctor should be proud that they have given him a warm welcome into their community and helped him to find a job with a public health facility. But probing evaluation of this involvement will lead to concern for the factors that cause doctors to emigrate from cities where health care is [of lower quality to cities where health care is of higher quality. Should a city refuse to accept a doctor from an area where doctors are in short supply? If they would not wish to infringe on this individual's freedom of movement, should they instead provide compensatory training or medical assistance to the country losing this doctor's services? This, of course, leads to consideration of the connection between individual activities and responsibilities and larger social programs and organizations.

Each participant in international activities is helping to create a global future. Whether aware of it or not, you are shaping a global future as you consume gas, detach the emission control device from your automobile, and tacitly or overtly approve growing arms expenditures along with comparatively minute contributions to United Nations programs. People who have an explicit vision of the kind of global future they would like to have will have a better chance of helping to build this kind of world than those who do not. A preferred global future is a necessary part of growing self-conscious participatory involvement in the development of a better world. It offers a concrete goal.

Of course, we may find it hard to believe that anything we personally do can really affect the likelihood of achieving a preferred global future. Figure 2.14 provides a framework in which you can think about this problem as it portrays a bridge between the present international involvements of your local community and a preferred global future. It is helpful to think of transition stages to global futures, in order to break them up into achievable parts. For example, the World Health Organization program that has virtually wiped out smallpox, set feasible incremental targets for 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, etc. In this way the program specified a number of transition stages toward a preferred future—one they have now virtually achieved. Since even these incremental targets for the globe may seem to present overwhelming tasks for most people, the figure suggests that they be broken down into transition stages for local communities. For example, if a preferred global future were the elimination of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, a global transition stage might call for a 5 % reduction each year between 1980 and 2000. Since production would have to be phased out ahead of elimination, the goal for your city might be a 10 % reduction in arms related production in your city each year between 1980 and 1990.

Linking the preferred futures for a local community, or specific activities in a community, into a preferred global future provides a broader context so that more local futures are not provincial and irrelevant to the global processes to which local communities are tied. But what shall be the criteria, the principles, or the values out of which global futures are built? One answer would be the criteria through which you judge your relationship with any person. Whether the criteria for judgment come from the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Koran, Marx, or Bertrand Russell, the new geography of time and space makes it virtually impossible to justify geographic limits on the application of these values that stop short of all humankind (Fig. 2.15).

But we all know that the noblest of guides to human action have often been used for ethnocentric purposes by individuals, movements and nations. For this reason it would seem advisable to search for criteria that are least susceptible to more provincial definition—criteria that are developed out of dialog that is global in scope, with inputs from a diversity of interpreters of the basic values of humankind. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), and Civil and Political Rights (1966) would seem to be a prominent source. Drafted by the United Nations General Assembly, these documents reflect a growing common moral denominator for humankind, rooted in religious precepts, humanistic thinking and human experience within the context of a diversity of cultures and traditions. The United Nations is the great arena for this synthesis—not the inventor.

The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights includes right of self-determination (economic, social and cultural) of peoples, just and favorable conditions of work, right to form and join trade unions and to strike, right to adequate food, clothing, housing, physical and mental health, education and enjoyments of the benefits of scientific progress and its applications. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights includes rights to political self-determination of peoples, to life, to freedom from torture and slavery, to equality before the law, to freedom

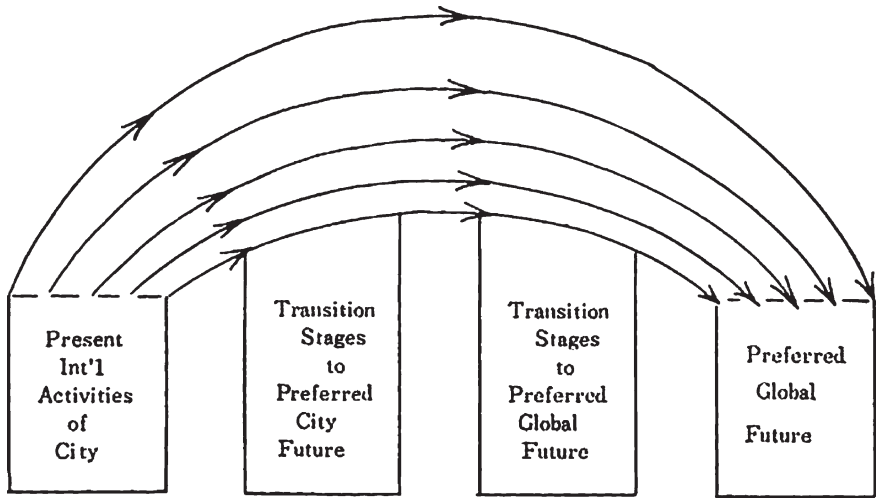


Fig. 2.15 Bridge to preferred future

of thought, to conscience and religion, to association and to enjoy one’s own culture and language. Both covenants spell out these rights in greater detail than the Universal Declaration. Once again the notable aspect of these covenants is the diversity of the religious, cultural and national origins of the authors and the synthesis they have provided of basic principles for relationships among humankind.

Recent declarations on environment, trade and development have extended the evolving common moral denominator for humankind into new problem areas. This has produced conflict about which rights should have priority. Recognition of the need for a synthesis of concern for human dignity, economic development, environmental and self-determination values led to “The Cocoyoc Declaration” (1974) by a symposium jointly sponsored by the UN Environment Program and the UN Conference on Trade and Development:

Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop man.

We believe that 30 years of experience with the hope that rapid economic growth benefiting the few will “trickle down” to the mass of the people has proved to be illusory. We therefore reject the idea of “growth first, justice in the distribution of benefits later.”

Development should not be limited to the satisfaction of human needs. There are other goals, and other values. Development includes freedom of expression and impression, the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus.

Above all development includes the right to work, by which we mean not simply having a job but finding self-realization in work, the right not to be alienated through production processes that use human beings simply as tools.

The ideal we need is a harmonized cooperative world in which each part is a center, living at the expense of nobody else, in partnership with nature and in solidarity with future generations.³

³ International Organization, Summer 1975, pp. 893–901.

This succinct statement would make an excellent beginning point, for a community wishing to develop criteria for evaluating their international social and economic policies.

Much has been written about the failure of national governments to ratify or act in accordance with human rights declarations, covenants and conventions. But this failure does not necessarily prevent nongovernmental organizations, groups and individuals from using them as guides to action. The Universal Declaration appeals to “every individual and every organ of society.” The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights both have identical appeals:

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant.

The “Cocoyoc Declaration” carries the appeal to individual responsibility much further. The declaration is fearful that individuals involved in “the international power structure” will perpetuate “economic dependence” with centers “exploiting a vast periphery and also our common heritage, the biosphere.” They appeal to these individuals:

“To those who are the—tools of such designs—scholars, businessmen, police, soldiers and many others—we would say: “refuse to be used for purposes of denying another nation the right to develop itself.” To the natural and social scientists, who help design the instruments of oppression we would say: “The world needs your talents for constructive purposes, to develop new technologies that benefit man and do not harm the environment.”

There would be alternatives to UN declarations and covenants as sources of criteria for evaluation with a global view. Some churches might wish to evaluate themselves according to normative statements issued by the World Council of Churches. Teachers and scholars might wish to evaluate their performance in the light of ‘standards set by their respective global organizations. But care would have to be taken to ascertain that the organizations that developed the standards were truly global in scope.

2.10.1 Conclusion

So there you have it. This is what we have achieved after three and one-half years in our participatory learning experiment in Columbus, Ohio, along with some speculation into the future.

We are learning where in the world we are.

We are gradually providing more opportunities for *participatory international learning* in our own community.

We are discovering that the cobweb of humanity offers us many more *routes for participatory learning* than we thought possible.

We are striving to learn more about the basic values and aspirations of all humankind.

We are wondering how we can develop a *future image of our community* in the world that integrates the needs of our community with those of all humankind.

We would like *everyone in our community* to take part in this process of participatory learning.

We are encouraged that people in other cities, proceeding both from our example and by their own perception of need, are engaged in similar endeavors—Boulder (Colorado), Lincoln (Nebraska), Oshkosh (Wisconsin), Philadelphia and Scranton (Pennsylvania), Richmond (Virginia), San Diego (California), in a network of cities in the state of New York, and in several cities in Japan. Soon there will be many more.

Finally, now that you have our report, you may think the title somewhat inappropriate. Since our experience in Columbus has literally destroyed the traditional distinction between local and international, the term “Foreign Policies” seems inadequate. It is a concept that was born in an era with a different geography of time and space. Since we are all participants in global processes, perhaps the title of this chapter should have been: “Global Citizenship Begins at Home.”

Chapter 3

The Impact of Cities on International Systems

At first glance, the impact of cities on international systems may seem to be a trivial, or at least a marginal, subject—particularly when compared to factors of such overwhelming importance as the \$400 billion annual military expenditures of the national governments of the world. But the subject becomes more interesting when we consider the fact that 38 % of the world’s population lives in cities (Population Reference Bureau 1976). In fact, most of the international relations of the world can be viewed as relations among cities. As people living in cities pursue their interests and needs in banking, education, manufacturing, medicine, recreation, and research, to name only a few, these activities and their repercussions flow across national boundaries. The national border crossings involved in this activity are far more numerous than those of national governments. Even people who don’t live in cities usually are dependent on the international facilities in cities, such as air terminals, ports, customs, and banks.¹

It can be said, for example, that “such activities, even though quantitatively more numerous, are not as important as the activities of national governments. National governments decide matters of war and peace and also can regulate all other border crossings.” But there are widespread exceptions to this kind of generalization. For example, multinational corporations (MNCs) have an obvious and widely reported impact on national governments. And most national governments must compromise with the desire of their citizens for products produced abroad even when it undermines national economic planning. This is why an increasing number of scholars are devoting attention to nongovernmental international relations, usually under the label “transnational relations.” This work is gradually providing more complex models for understanding international phenomena than simplistic nation-state paradigms.

¹ This text was first published as: “The Impact of Cities on International Systems,” in Krishna Kumar (ed.), *Bonds Without Bondage: Explorations in Transcultural Cooperation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1979. Also published in *EKISTICS*, Vol. 44, No. 264, November 1977, 243–253, and in Polish in *Studia Nauk Politycznych* (Studies in Political Sciences). The permission to republish this text was granted on 24 September 2012 by the University of Hawaii Press.

There is yet another reason why the international relations of cities is worthy of our attention. Invariably, the seats of national governments are located in cities. Their policies are influenced by their locale, particularly in the case of foreign affairs, traditionally more under the control of the central government than other issues. In cases where the seat of a national government is in a city that is dominant in the country, the foreign policy of that government may be simply an extension of those policies through which the elite in the city dominate the country itself. Thus, some national governments might more correctly be conceptualized as cities.

This examination of the impact of cities on international systems will be divided into two parts. First, recent changes in the paradigms that guide international relations research will be illustrated. This will reveal the difficulty that scholars are having in freeing themselves from the “billiard ball” model. It will offer insight into why cities in international systems are a neglected subject of inquiry. Second, an effort will be made to provide some conceptual tools for observing and analyzing cities in international systems along with illustrative examples.

While much in this chapter is speculative and argues by example rather than by proof adduced from many cases, the views put forth emerge out of an effort to research the international relations of a mid-American city—Columbus, Ohio—over a three-year period, and to share with the people information on the surprising depth of involvement of their city in international systems—in agriculture, medicine, religion, research, trade, banking, arts, and many other areas.

3.1 Evolving Paradigms for International Research

The “billiard ball” model (Wolfers 1962, p. 19) has long guided research and teaching. It assumes that nation states are unitary actors in international systems. It also assumes that nation states are the most important actors, deeming unnecessary any attempt to subject this as assumption to empirical testing. These assumptions have received serious challenge from empirical examination of foreign policy making and execution by national governments in research under the labels “bureaucratic politics” (Allison 1971), “linkage groups” (Rosenau 1969), an “issue areas” (Deutsch 1966). As a result of this work, the foreign policies of governments are no longer assumed to be unitary. Across variety of issues such as energy, health, population, and trade, policy may sometimes be integrated and coordinated. Conflicting interests and priorities of different branches of government, however, under pressure from different interest groups and regional priorities in the country, may produce uncoordinated and even contradictory policies.

3.1.1 *The World Politics Paradigm of Keohane and Nye*

Increasing research and interest in what is called transnational relations has also provided a substantial challenge to the “billiard ball” model (Fig. 2.1). Angell (1969) helped to provide a holistic conceptualization of this activity in

Fig. 3.1 Actors in world politics. *Source* Keohane and Nye, *transnational relations in world politics*, p. 730. A + C, actors in the state-centric paradigm; B + D, actors in transgovernmental interactions; E + F, actors in transnational interactions

	Position		
	Governmental	Intergovernmental	Nongovernmental
Maximal central control	A States as units	C International organizations as units	E Transnational organizations as units
Minimal central control	B Governmental subunits	D Subunits of international organizations	F Subunits of transnational organizations; also certain individuals

an integrated review of the scattered literature on transnational relations in education, business, religion, and so on. Keohane and Nye (1971) provided readings on different transnational activity, such as MNCs, the Catholic Church, foundations, and labor unions (Fig. 3.1). This work also helped to create a holistic view of a scattered array of activities, most of which had received slight attention from international relations scholars. Their “world politics paradigm” includes not only states as units but also intergovernmental organizations and transnational organizations (i.e., international nongovernmental organizations, and MNCs). Taking into account the fact that these units are not always unitary actors, they include in their scheme the subunits of each of these three categories. This sixfold table is reproduced as Fig. 3.1. The states as units (cell A) would include the “formal foreign policy structure of the state.” Governmental subunits (cell B) are included because “subunits of governments may also have distinct foreign policies which are not all filtered through the top leadership and which do not fit into a unitary actor model” (Keohane and Nye 1971, p. 730). This might include cultural programs or collaboration among national weather agencies. The subunits of international organizations and transnational organizations are defined in similar fashion. With this extension of the statecentric paradigm, Keohane and Nye (1971) assert that they have broadened the conception of actors to include transnational actors and have broken down “the hard shell of the nation-state” by including governmental subunits. In their terminology, they have added to the actors in the statecentric paradigm (cells A and C), actors in *transgovernmental interactions* (cells B and D), and actors in *transnational interactions* (cells E and F).

The potential interactions between these six kinds of actors produce thirty-six possibilities, as represented by Keohane and Nye in Fig. 3.2. They classify these thirty-six possibilities into their three categories: *interstate*, *transgovernmental*, and *transnational*.

This “world politics” paradigm gives us an analytic framework for data collecting and theory building that reflects more adequately the world we are trying to understand. It can handle, for example, multifaceted aspects of the international relations of the Allende government in Chile: the influence of ITT on the Chilean government (C, A), the influence of the U.S. government on the Chilean government (A, A) and on certain international lending institutions (A, C), and so on.

Fig. 3.2 Bilateral interactions in world politics. *Source* Keohane and Nye, transnational relations in world politics, p. 732. IS, interstate interactions; TG, transgovernmental interactions; TN, transnational interactions; TG + TN, transnational relations; TG + TN + I, world politics interactions

	States as units	Governmental subunits	International organizations as units	Subunits of international organizations	Transnational organizations as units	Subunits of Transnational organizations; also certain individuals
Actor	A	B	C	D	E	F
A States as units	IS	TG	IS	TG	TN	TN
B Governmental subunits	TG	TG	TG	TG	TN	TN
C International organizations as units	IS	TG	IS	TG	TN	TN
D Subunits of international organizations	TG	TG	TG	TG	TN	TN
E Transnational organizations as units	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN	TN

The paradigm is nevertheless puzzling in the greater differentiation it provides for governmental activity in contrast with nongovernmental activity. This can be discerned most easily in Fig. 3.1, where boxes A, B, C, and D differentiate governmental activity, and only E and F differentiate nongovernmental activity. Left out of nongovernmental differentiation are national nongovernmental organizations as units, and their subunits. These have been added to Fig. 3.3 as boxes X and Y. These would be comparable to states as units and governmental subunits on the governmental side. As an example, the “world politics” paradigm cannot handle the international relations of the AFL-CIO, a national nongovernmental organization (labor) in the United States, as effectively as it handles the international relations of the national government of Malta.

The “world politics” paradigm also does not provide analytic distinction for subnational territorial units. For example, with respect to governments, overlooked are efforts of state (province) governments in the United States to attract foreign firms

Fig. 3.3 Extending Keohane and Nye’s differentiation of nongovernmental actors. A + C, actors in the state-centric paradigm; B + D, actors in transgovernmental interactions; E + F + X + Y, Actors in transnational interactions

	Position			
	Governmental	Intergovernmental	Nongovernmental	Inter nongovernmental
Maximal central control	A States as units	C International organizations as units	X National organizations as units	E Transnational organizations as units
Minimal central control	B Governmental subunits	D Subunits of international organizations	Y Subunits of national organizations	F Subunits of transnational organizations; also certain individuals

and foreign investment, and the international relations of the Quebec separatist movement. These cannot be handled as effectively because the “billiard ball” model has only been replaced in the relations between units that are national in scope. The nation-state unit continues to be the organizing principle for the paradigm. As a result, the only governments delineated are national governments and entities that consist of collectivities of national governments (intergovernmental organizations). Why not regional, state (province), and city and metropolitan governments? With respect to nongovernmental actors, the “world politics” paradigm skips from “certain individuals” to subunits of transnational organizations—units in between are ignored! Omitted are the international programs of regional (subnational) church bodies, sister cities (town twinning), and relief efforts that originate from a variety of subnational territorial units. Adequate reflection of these kinds of subnational activities would require the addition in Fig. 3.3 of categories for subnational units.

These omissions may flow from Keohane and Nye’s (1971, p. 730) definition of “world politics” as

political interactions between any “significant actors” whose characteristics include autonomy, the control of substantial resources relevant to a given issue area, and participation in political relationships across state lines. Since we define politics in terms of the conscious employment of resources, “both material and symbolic, including the threat or exercise of punishment, to induce other actors to behave differently than they would otherwise behave,” it is clear that we are positing a conception of world politics in which the central phenomenon is bargaining between a variety of autonomous or semiautonomous actors.

Thus, actors are only included that (1) are significant, (2) are autonomous (or semiautonomous), (3) control substantial resources relevant to a given issue area, and (4) employ material and symbolic resources (including threat or exercise of punishment) across nation-state lines.

If we accept Keohane and Nye’s definition of “world politics,” should subnational actors be included? There is no doubt that subnational organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, for example, move substantial resources and employ material and symbolic resources across nation-state lines, particularly when activity is aggregated for a specific subnational territorial unit. It is difficult, however, to decide whether they meet the criteria of significance and autonomy, because these are not clearly defined by Keohane and Nye. Whatever the definition might be, I question the logic of an approach that leaves out the voluminous international transactions of subnational actors. Only if they are included will it be possible to investigate which ones are significant and which ones are autonomous or semiautonomous. We do not now have an adequate knowledge base for making these judgments.

It can be suspected that the omissions from the “world politics” paradigm flow from the imprisoning hold that the nation-state unit of analysis has on even those who are trying to reconceptualize world politics. To paraphrase General McArthur: “Old paradigms never die, they only fade away.” This unit of analysis has evolved out of specific historic conditions in which *some* nation states have in fact been very significant and autonomous in contrast to all other international actors. But it has also evolved out of an ideology which affirms that nation states *should* be significant and autonomous international actors. It has been difficult

to separate the empirical fact from ideology so long as the nation-state unit of analysis has prevailed. The “world politics” paradigm provides the possibility of moving toward testing empirically the assumption of nation-state preeminence vis-a-vis international governmental and nongovernmental organizations. But it does not provide the analytic possibility of challenging the assumption of nation-state preeminence with respect to subnational actors.

As quantitative studies have become an increasingly important part of inquiry, the very data that are supposed to help us see and analyze world politics have also screened certain phenomena from view. Many of these data were originally collected by national governments. To a large degree, our view of the world has been dictated by national government statisticians who have gathered national statistics to fill specific purposes of national governments. But the availability of these statistics has lured international relations researchers into perpetuating the nation-state unit of analysis even when gathering their own data, though this unit of analysis excludes important alternative units of analysis from view. Thus it is a vicious circle. Using the nation-state unit of analysis, we collect data on nation states and then we say that they are the most important actors because that is all we can see. It would be the same were we to put on pink eyeglasses, cast our gaze into a field of daisies, and report that we see pink daisies.

Commenting on this problem, John Burton (International Studies Association 1974, p. 8) has written:

To what extent have our own creations, our own pre-theories and notions of human institutional behavior, our own expectations of behavior, resulted in that behavior?
To what degree have our images of reality, which could be false, made a reality of our imagination?

Burton further suggests the “cobweb” model as a better image to guide inquiry than one based on nation states, and perceives the world “like millions of cobwebs superimposed one upon another, covering the whole globe.” He urges: “The starting point is man, and his social behavior, and the special study is this behavior at an inter-communal, international, or inter-state level.” Elsewhere (1968, pp. 8–9) he frankly admits the value bias of his paradigm:

The value orientation is explicit: it is those of man, not those of institutions; the development of man, not the preservation of institutions for their own sake.

3.1.2 The Global System Paradigm of Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert

In their paradigm, Mansbach et al. (1976) move one step further away from the “billiard ball” paradigm. Like Keohane and Nye, they include interstate governmental actors, interstate nongovernmental actors, and nation states. But they extend their paradigm to include governmental noncentral (regional, provincial, or municipal governments), intrastate nongovernmental (OXFAM, Turkish and Greek

Cypriot communities, the Irish Republican Army), and individuals (see Fig. 3.4). They assert (1976, p. 41) that governmental noncentral actors are generally only “peripherally concerned with world politics or, at most, have an indirect impact on the global political system” but specifically cite secessionist movements of provincial officials (e.g., Katanga and Biafra) as important exceptions. Although admitting that intrastate nongovernmental actors are “generally thought of as subject to the regulation of a central government, at least in matters of foreign policy,” they note (1976, p. 41) that groups “ranging from philanthropic organizations and political parties to ethnic communities, labor Unions, and industrial corporations may, from time to time, conduct relations directly with autonomous actors other than their own government.”

Instead of providing special categories for centrally controlled and subunit controlled actors (as Keohane and Nye do), they divide the activity of each actor by four issue areas: physical protection (protection from coercive deprivation), economic development and regulation (activities intended to overcome the constraints imposed on individual or collective capacity for self-development and growth), residual public interest tasks (activities that are designed to overcome constraints other than economic, such as disease or ignorance), and group status (bind the individual to others, provide him with psychological and emotional security). Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert’s matrix of interaction possibilities, like Keohane and Nye’s, has thirty-six cells (Fig. 3.5), but this would be extended to 4×36 in the context of the four issue areas. By setting forth separate categories for *governmental noncentral*, *intrastate nongovernmental*, and *individuals*, Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert have begun to break the *internal structure* of the “billiard balls” into pieces.

Of course, matrices of actors are only shopping lists for the researcher. They don’t necessarily tell you what the world is like but only tell you where to look. Fortunately, Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert have used their matrix in coding international events data from the *New York Times* for three geographic areas (Middle East, Latin America, and Western Europe) in three time periods

Fig. 3.4 Actors defined by membership and principal task. *Source* Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert, the web of world politics, p. 42

	Physical Protection	Economic	Public Interest	Group status
Interstate Governmental	NATO	GATT	WHO	British Commonwealth
Interstate Nongovernmental	AI Fatah	Royal Dutch Petroleum	International Red Cross	Comintern
Nation State	Turkish Cypriot Government Officials	U.S. Dept. of Commerce	HEW	Biafra
Governmental Noncentral	Confederacy	Katanga	New York City	Quebec
Intrastate Nongovernmental	Jewish Defense League	CARE	Ford Foundation	Ibo tribe
Individual	Gustav von Rosen	Jean Monnet	Andrew Carnegie	Dalai Lama

Fig. 3.5 Alignments in a complex conglomerate system. *Source* Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert, *The Web of World Politics*, p. 44

	Interstate Governmental	Interstate Nongovernmental	Nation State	Governmental Noncentral	Intrastate Nongovernmental	Individual
Interstate Governmental	UN NATO (1950)	UN International Red Cross (Palestine)	EEC Franco-phone African states	OAU-Biafra	Arab League-Al Fatah	Grand Mufti of Jerusalem- Arab League
Interstate Nongovernmental	UN-International Red Cross (Palestine)	Shell Oil-ESSO (1972)	USSR-Comintern (1920's)	IBM Scotland	ITT-Allende opposition (Chile)	Sun Yat-sen Comintern
Nation State	EEC-Franco phone African states	USSR-Comintern (1920s)	"traditional alliances (NATO)	Belgium-Katanga (1960)	North Vietnam- Viet Cong	U.S.-James Donovan
Governmental Noncentral	OAU Biafra	IBM-Scotland	Belgium-Katanga (1960)	N.Y. Mayor-Moscow Mayor (1973)	Algerian rebels-French Socialists (1954)	South African mercenaries-Katanga
Intrastate Nongovernmental	Arab League-Al Fatah	ITT-Allende Opposition (Chile)	North Vietnam- Viet Cong	Ulster-Protestant Vanguard (1970)	Communist Party USSR-Communist Party German Democratic Republic	George Grivas-Greek Cypriots
Individual	Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Arab League	Sun Yat-sen Comintern	U.S.-James Donovan	South African mercenaries-Katanga (1960)	George Grivas-Greek Cypriots	Louis de Conde-Gaspard de Coligny (1562)

(1948–1956, 1956–1967, and 1967–1972). This is not the appropriate place to report their research, but one paragraph from their findings (1976, p. 276) is of particular interest:

Without doubt, nation-states through their governments are still the primary actors involved in global politics if we take *‘involvement’ to mean the appearance of a given actor as *either* the actor or target in a dyad. Nation-states appeared in almost 89 % of all dyads. Yet nonstate groups appeared in about two-thirds as many, or 56 %.

The usefulness of the broader paradigm is demonstrated by the presence of meaningful events in all categories. But the conclusion that “nation-states through their governments are still the primary actors involved in global politics,” *insofar as it is based on the evidence the authors provide*, is questionable. There are three possible reasons why national governments (the authors use the label nation-state) are involved in 89 % of the reported dyads: (1) This may be empirically true, although it is unlikely, because nonnational government actors far outnumber national government actors; (2) those reporting and editing events in the *New York Times* are indeed perceiving the totality of “global politics,” subnational as well as national and nongovernmental as well as governmental, but are reporting and printing only what they consider to be most significant; (3) the press is perceptually imprisoned in the “billiard ball” model, at least to the extent that actions are only perceived to be events if they involve at least one national government actor.

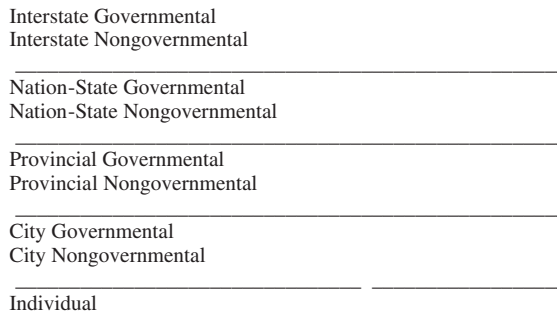


Fig. 3.6 Extension of the Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert paradigm

While we can only guess, there is a strong probability that (3) is the explanation for why national government actors are involved in 89 % of the dyads. Journalists, like scholars, require several cycles of reconceptualization, broader observation, learning, and reconceptualization before they will shed outmoded assumptions about which actors are involved and which actors are significant in world politics. They, too, have pink glasses!

It is symptomatic of the hold of the nation-state unit on world politics thinking that the Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert paradigm is also significantly constrained by this unit of analysis. With respect to governmental actors, they enumerate: interstate, nation-state, and noncentral (i.e., within state). The noncentral category ranges from cities to within-state nations such as Scotland. With respect to nongovernmental actors, they enumerate individuals, intrastate nongovernmental and interstate nongovernmental. Unlike Keohane and Nye, they add intrastate governmental. But puzzling is the failure to differentiate national nongovernmental activities from subnational nongovernmental activities. For example, in the United States the national YMCA has extensive relations with national YMCAs in other countries (national nongovernmental), but YMCAs in a number of cities also have relations with YMCAs in other countries through a variety of exchange programs (city nongovernmental).

It is also notable that Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert preserve some of the mythology of the nation state—using this term instead of “national governmental.” “Governmental” or “nongovernmental” are terms used to describe all other actors (with the exception of individual).

Figure 3.6 represents an effort to fill in the gaps of the Mansbach, Ferguson, Lampert paradigm by providing both governmental and nongovernmental actors with respect to nation states, provinces, and cities.

Some readers may think that the extended paradigm adds useless complexity by differentiating insignificant actors in world politics. But the answer to this question is uncertain until we observe the world through the eyes of the extended paradigm, partly because of the special way in which the traditional nation-state paradigm has limited our perception over a long period of time.

3.2 Impact of Research Paradigms on Public Participation in International Affairs

Thus far, the argument for extending the world politics paradigm has been based on increasing capacity for understanding the world—that is, on scientific grounds. A second reason why a richer paradigm is needed stems from the impact of the nation-state paradigm on public participation in foreign policy making—both governmental and nongovernmental. It tends to inhibit widespread public participation. First, the “nation-state actor” concept assumes that these actors are acting for the entire society within a specified boundary. This mystique is intensified when these actors use terms such as “national interest” to justify their policies. Were these actors simply labelled “national government,” this would leave the issue of in whose interests the government is acting an open question. But the “nation-state actor” concept carries with it a mystique that inhibits raising the question. Even in countries that claim to be democracies, public impact on foreign policy making is normally very limited. Even the legislative branches of democratic governments often have little impact. In many countries, the so-called nation-state actor could far better be described as an urban elite, using the nation-state myth as a means for preserving and aggrandizing the interests of this elite—within nation-state boundaries as well as externally. Thus, the “nation-state actor” concept is highly value laden, tending to give unquestioned legitimacy to such actors. This legitimacy is enhanced even further by membership of this elite in the United Nations—a “trade union” of “nation-state actors” that carefully refrains from intruding on the so-called internal affairs of each other. It is a very exclusive club, admitting only one actor from each nation state.² All that is required for membership is the capacity to maintain internal order from *one* center and carry out relations in the form prescribed by the union.

A second way in which the nation-state unit of analysis limits public participation is the inability of most people to perceive a participatory link between themselves and foreign policy making. It is literally *unthinkable* because the “nation-state actor” myth suggests that foreign policy making is esoteric and difficult and requires unique knowledge different from all other realms of human affairs. It is simultaneously unthinkable because it necessarily deals with “distant” events that must be handled at the border. The larger the country, or the less it is developed, the more difficult it is for people to perceive linkages between themselves and foreign policy—or linkages with people in other nation states.

So the nation-state unit of analysis has an exceptionally influential hold on the capacity of humankind to perceive a changing world, to participate in this changing world, and to think about alternatives to the present organization of the world.

² This is, of course, a partial fiction, to the extent that the United Nations system has a diversity of agencies concerned with a diversity of issues. Across this range of issues there is a variety of “nation-state actors” for each nation state, sometimes responsive to different interests and, particularly in larger countries, having conflicting and sometimes even contradictory policies.

Since we tend to see only nation states, it is unthinkable that we participate in anything but nation states and we cannot think of a future world whose basic units are anything but nation states.³

3.3 Cities as Units of Analysis

Meanwhile, technological development is fundamentally changing the ways in which people living in different nation states are linked to each other. Trade, travel, communication, and migration are nothing new. Humans have always linked to other parts of the world—as distant as their knowledge of other worlds and technology of travel and communication permitted. But in the past this activity “took off” from border cities. While many individuals were linked to distant people through their use of salt, sugar, spices, or gold, these linkages were mediated by border cities. But air travel and satellite communication have fundamentally changed linkages in two senses. First, the traditional border cities are now too congested to serve adequately any longer the needs of inland cities, and these cities now have adequate traffic to support direct flights abroad—for example, the Civil Aeronautics Board in the United States recently approved nonstop European service from Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Denver, Kansas City, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Tampa. For the same reason, companies in Columbus, Ohio are turning to Columbus banks for their international banking needs. Second, air travel and satellite communication have fundamentally altered the notion of border. For the traveller who clears customs in Columbus, Ohio, this is the border. For the banker who makes a transaction by Telex or satellite from Indianapolis, Lyon, or Nagoya, these are the borders.

From this perspective, to ask what the impact of cities is on international systems is far from trivial—in the sense that it is not an unimportant question. It may seem trivial in another sense—in terms of being so obvious that it may seem unnecessary to raise the question. This is analogous to asking what the impact of the flow of water is on a river, since the flow of water *is* the river. In similar fashion, transactions between cities in different countries *are* international systems. Certainly, national governments attempt to control and do control some of these transactions in their interest. But nongovernmental actors also impact governments through their activities—such as through consumer demands, foreign exchange manipulations, hijackings, and so on. Also, that part of national governments involved in foreign affairs can often be conceptualized as a city. Of course, it is a special kind of headquarters city for international activity. But so are Detroit (General Motors), Rotterdam (Unilever), and Turin (Fiat).

We can conclude that cities have two values as units of analysis in world politics. First, linkages among people in different countries are clustered in cities because

³ These ideas are developed in greater detail in Alger (1977).

cities provide the facilities that put people, money, goods, and information into orbit across national boundaries. The city unit of analysis reflects more faithfully than the nation-state unit who is linked to whom, for what purposes, and with what effects. If for some purposes it is deemed necessary to sum data on cities to larger units—such as provinces, regions, or nation states—this can be done. But the reverse is not possible. Present national statistics cannot normally be disaggregated to smaller units. Second, the city unit of analysis is close to people and can make involvement and participation in foreign policy making seem thinkable to them.

The impact of cities on global systems can be viewed from at least four vantage points. First, cities are the *creators of new technology and culture* that eventually flow around the world. Second, cities are *nodes* in international systems, providing the facilities that link international systems. Third, cities are *headquarters* from which both governmental and nongovernmental international systems are controlled. Fourth, *people identify with cities* and turn to them for protection and support.

First, the city “historically has been the main source of change, both in the international system and in all aspects of the social system, as it has produced new ideas, new ideologies, new philosophies, and new technologies” (Boulding 1968, p. 1122). Cities provide storehouses of knowledge and the “synthesis and synergy of the many separate parts” of society that produce these changes. They provide the milieu in which science and technology are able to produce atomic energy, supersonic aircraft, and satellite communication. National governments utilize and even support these developments, but they are dependent on knowledge processes that are independent of government. And they are propelled into utilization and support by a variety of individual, group, and organizational interests in cities that are external to government. In cities are also to be found the originators and purveyors of fast foods, pop music, and dress fads that spread rapidly to all continents. Much of this is transmitted by youth, presumably the least powerful in terms of the measures of power used by international relations specialists. Yet these cultural artifacts permeate borders with guard towers, barbed wire, and landmines. For example, jeans are now manufactured around the world by private and governmental factories that found home production an inevitable response to the smuggling and blackmarket purchase of jeans.

Second, cities are the *nodes* in a diversity of global and subglobal systems—with respect to manufacturing, medicine, banking, research, arts, sports, and so on (Fig. 3.7). These activities tend to be clustered in cities. Even when they are not (as in the case of agriculture and extractive industry), cities provide the transportation and communication facilities that permit international exchange. These facilities move people, money, goods, and information that link cities in the same country, and in different countries into these systems. Taking medical activity as an example, hospitals in Columbus, Ohio attract doctors and nurses from many parts of the world because of relatively high pay and good working conditions. Columbus corporations produce drugs for export, and also import drugs. Research institutes in Columbus are dependent on global information systems in their medical research. These institutes provide technical assistance abroad, and private voluntary agencies also provide medical aid abroad.

Minneapolis	Manufacturing Extractive Industry Banking Insurance Teachers Students Researchers Ethnic and Racial Medicine Religion Arts Sports Mass Media Consumers Tourists Agriculture Labor	Stockholm
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Fig. 3.7 Activities providing international links between cities

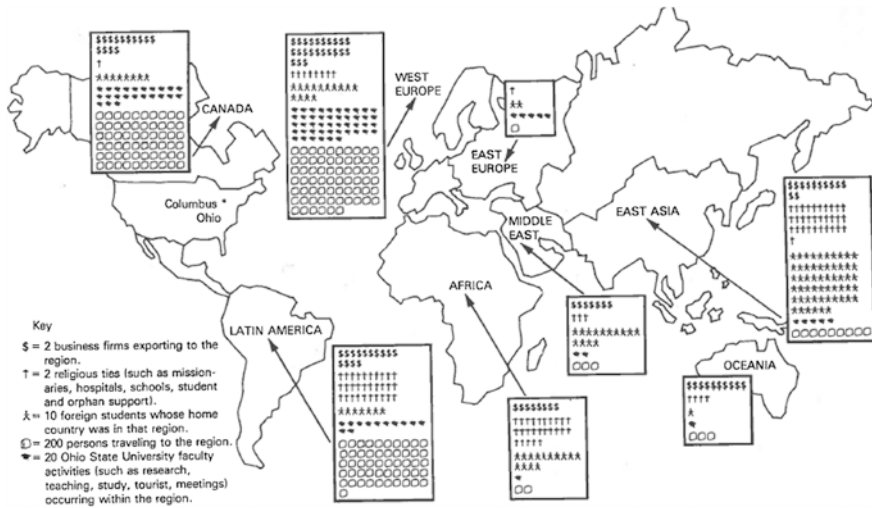


Fig. 3.8 A bird's eye view of Columbus, Ohio in the world. One way to get a perspective on the international involvement of a city is to "map" how its specific sectors "reach" to various regions of the world

As an example, Fig. 3.8 portrays data, primarily acquired through mail questionnaires, on the international links of Columbus, Ohio.⁴ It reveals that exports are primarily directed toward Europe, that travel is mainly distributed between Latin America and Canada, that foreign students at Ohio State University are largely from East Asia, but that religious ties are largely in Latin America and Africa. Figure 3.9 portrays a more detailed image of the international links of one institution in

⁴ Unfortunately, space does not permit presentation of data from Watanuki (1976)

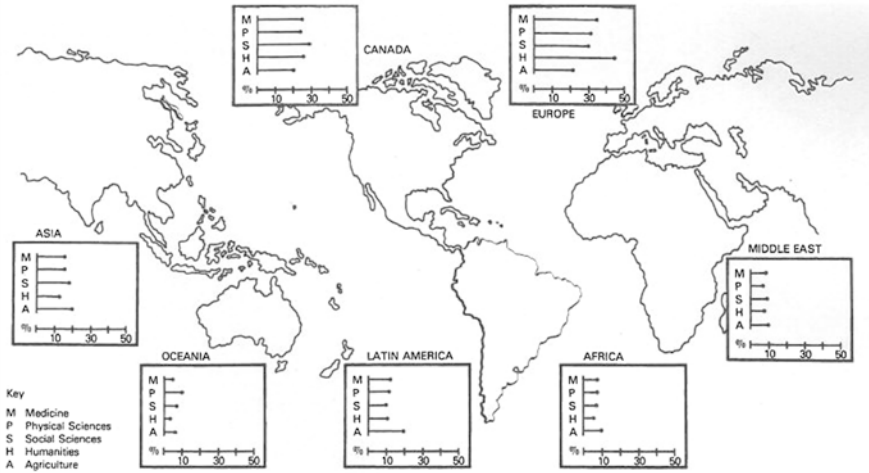


Fig. 3.9 Regional distribution (in percent) of faculty ties for selected colleges of Ohio State University

Columbus—The Ohio State University. It summarizes all university activity targeted on specific foreign areas—teaching, research, conferences, organizational memberships, and so on. As a whole, the greatest attention is focussed on Europe and Canada, yet there are pronounced differences across colleges. For example, the humanities are more strongly oriented toward Europe than any other college. And the school of agriculture leads all colleges in its attention to Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Third, cities provide the *headquarters* for virtually all international systems. These include national governmental and nongovernmental activities and headquarters for international governmental and nongovernmental organizations. For example, the *Yearbook of International Organizations* reports that some 2,750 international organizations (governmental and nongovernmental) had some 4,000 headquarters and! secondary offices. Twenty cities accounted for 2,168 of these in 1972 (Table 3.1). It is notable that fifteen of these cities are national capitals, underlying the very prominent role these cities play in international! systems.

Cities also are the headquarters for multinational corporations. Table 3.2 provides illustrative data on the headquarters city of European and U.S. corporations with subsidiaries and associations in twenty-six or more countries. Less than one third of these firms are located in national capitals.

Fourth, cities are units with which citizens identify and to which they turn for assistance with problems such as roads, education, and garbage collection and to which they turn for protection from fire, robbery, or personal assault. But there is no doubt that identity with nations has certain respects been stronger than that with cities in the twentieth century. In modern times, providing protection from (and utilizing) large-scale violence has become almost the exclusive prerogative of the national government. And in the twentieth century, people have increasingly

Table 3.1 Location of international organization offices: headquarters plus secondary (top twenty cities, 1960–1972). *Source* adapted from yearbook of international organizations, 1974 (brussels: union of international associations)

Cities	1960	1972	Cities	1960	1972
Paris	374	520	Stockholm	21	44
Brussels	148	480	Copenhagen	22	34
London	199	283	Buenos aires	19	33
Geneva	111	153	Berne	25	30
New York	85	94	Cairo	–	30
Washington	43	80	Mexico (DF)	25	30
Rome	48	79	New Delhi	12	29
Zurich	49	65	Tokyo	10	27
The Hague	36	60	Amsterdam	16	26
Vienna	20	46	Milan	–	25

Table 3.2 Number of headquarters by city for business enterprises with subsidiaries and associations in twenty-six or more countries. *Source* adapted from yearbook of international organizations, 1968–1969 (brussels: union of international associations)

City of headquarters	Number of companies	City of headquarters	Number of companies
New York	29	Rochester, NY	1
London	14	Ivrea, Italy	1
Basel	2	Eindhoven, Netherlands	1
Chicago	2	Rotterdam	1
Akron OH	2	Lidingo, Sweden	1
Paris	2	Vasteras, Sweden	1
Berlin	2	Jonkoping, Sweden	1
Stockholm	2	Brentford, Middlesex	1
Copenhagen	1	Hayes, Middlesex	1
The Hague	1	Leyland, Lancaster	1
Dayton, OH	1	Dearborn, MI	1
Leverkusen, FR	1	Massachusetts	1
Germany			
Frankfurt/M	1	St. Paul, MN	1
Rome	1	Detroit, MI	1
Sandviken, Sweden	1	Kansas City, MO	1
Goteborg, Sweden	1	Boston, MA	1
Hull, Yorkshire	1		

looked to national governments for standard setting and financial port for social services, if not for direct carrying out of these services.

Increase in social services has generated larger and larger national bureaucracies that are often unable to deliver services effectively to people in their neighborhoods and cities. Particularly in Europe and North America, this has brought impetus for decentralization of social service delivery. At the same time, the inability of national governments to protect their citizens from the ravages of war in the twentieth century has brought declining confidence in the traditional means for providing national security—national government employment of weapons of mass

destruction. One response has been efforts to collectivize violence through the use of collective security arrangements in international governmental organizations. Another response has been efforts to dissipate the causes of hostility among nations by building cooperation on issues such as health, ecology, and space that transcend national boundaries. Partly in response to the assumptions of functionalism (Mitrany 1966), and in part simply in response to the need for new institutions for solving problems, the number of international governmental and nongovernmental organizations has rapidly grown to some 2,800 since World War II (according to the 1974 edition of the *Yearbook of International Organizations*). And in the United States, one list includes over eight hundred voluntary transnational exchange programs with a U.S. base. Many of these programs are viewed as means for people-to-people contact that will dissipate hostility and make the nation-state system work better. While many have strong local chapters and activity, most do not have self-conscious concern for the role of cities in global systems.

Sister City and Mundialization programs are explicitly designed to link cities in different countries and create consciousness with respect to cities as international actors. Sister City (or Town Twinning) programs link city officials in two cities as well as people in a variety of the professions and other walks of life. The Town Affiliation Association lists over four hundred U.S. cities with over five hundred affiliations with cities in nearly seventy countries. European cities are affiliated with over one thousand cities throughout the world. These relationships provide for cultural exchange and for a variety of collaborative projects.⁵

“Mundialization” attempts to help a city to establish an identity with the whole world. This program encourages people to ask their city government to pass a law declaring that:

1. The city is a “world city”—a fragment of world territory linked to the community of man and wishing to live in peace with other local communities under a world system of enforceable world law.
2. The United Nations flag will fly daily beside the national flag at City Hall.
3. The city will establish a Sister City relationship with another “world city” in another country. Either through voluntary contributions or the city budget, 0.01 % of tax levies will be contributed to the United Nations.

Mundialization began in the form of a “world city” declaration in the 1950s in Japan and Europe. It was developed into its present form in Canada and has spread to a number of Canadian cities. (Newcombe and Clark 1972; Newcombe and Newcombe 1969).

⁵ For an intensive analysis and evaluation of selected Sister City programs, see David Horton Smith, Ann LeRoy, and Valerie Kreutzer, “U.S. Sister City Programs and International Understanding,” sponsored by the Town Affiliation Association of the U.S. (Washington, D.C.: Center for a Voluntary Society, February, 1974). For an analysis of a program relating Jaipur and Calgary, see T. K. N. Unnithan, “Sociological Implications of Town Twinning as a Transnational Programme with Reference to a Case Study of the Twinning of the Cities of Jaipur and Calgary,” ISA VHIth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada, August 19-25, 1974.

Programs such as these provide people in cities with personal links to people in other cities and help them to perceive their city as one city in a global network of cities with many common problems and goals. As such, they may provide participatory learning experiences that help people to begin to rethink the actual and potential impact of their cities, and themselves, on international systems.

In 1967, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church adopted “Guidelines for Development of Strategy for Metropolitan Mission,” including a section on “Peace: The International Dimensions of Metropolitan Mission.”

Every metropolitan area is linked with the rest of the world through a network; of business, economic, academic, political, communication, friendship and other ties. Through these links each metropolitan judicatory has mission opportunities to work for peace among nations. There is growing importance that mission responsibilities in relation to the international character of metropolitan life be given appropriate attention in the development of metropolitan mission strategy. The presence of foreign students and professors, foreign tourists, government representatives, business representatives and firms, cultural visitors from abroad, foreign ships and seamen, and foreign commerce Evidence the impact of other nations on the metropolis. Equally significant is the impact of persons, events and actions of a metropolitan area on persons, events and nations abroad. Its residents travel and work abroad in many (capacities for business, or government or for pleasure. The policies and actions of industry, business, and banking centered in a metropolis may have profound effects on the life of people in other nations. Moreover, as citizens, metropolitan residents have responsibility for the wide and deep implications of our nation’s foreign policy. Metropolitan mission strategy must include appropriate ministries of the Church in relation to persons, issues, and structures having some of these international ramifications.

This illustrates a desire by some private institutions to stimulate citizens to play a more self-conscious role in *local* international participant and decision making—with respect to multinational corporations, international education policies in universities, foreign policies of churches, and so on.

3.4 Cities as International Actors

These kinds of programs have not yet provoked cities as a whole into active pursuit of their interests—as cities—in international systems. They fall far short of Kenneth Boulding’s motto: “Cities of the World unite, you have nothing to lose but your slums, your poverty, and your military expendability.” Two international organizations active in Europe, however, do have more ambitious aims for cities as actors in international systems.⁶ The International Union of Local Authorities

⁶ The 1968 *Yearbook of International Organizations* lists seventeen other organizations concerned with cities. Nine of these have a regional focus, such as Europe (3), Inter-American (3), Nordic, Ibero-American, and Commonwealth. Eight, including some of the regional ones, have a specific issue focus, such as planning, hygiene, underground town planning, conferences, development, statistics, and engineering. United Towns links those cities involved in Sister City (Town Twinning) programs. All of these organizations emphasize contact and exchange between towns with common cultures or common problem interests.

(IULA), headquarters in The Hague, desires to ‘Promote local autonomy [and] promote the idea of participation of the population in civic affairs. (*Yearbook of International Organizations* 1974, p. 496). Even more assertive are the aims of the Council of European Municipalities (CEM), with headquarters in Geneva. The CEM desires to “achieve and defend municipal autonomy...ensure freedom of municipal action and contribute to its prosperity...develop a European outlook within local communities with a view to promoting a Federation of European States, based on their municipal autonomy; ensure their representation in European and international organizations; integrate the representative Assembly of municipalities and local communities in future European institutions*” (*Yearbook of International Organizations* 1974, p. 93).

Members of the CEM and the European members of the IULA are active in the European Conference of Local Authorities (ECLA) of the Council of Europe, an outgrowth of the Council of European Municipalities, formed in 1950. ECLA documents provide an exciting dialogue on the problems and the potential of cities in a rapidly changing Europe. The General Report of the Tenth Session of ECLA (1974) asserts that “it is the duty of the Council of Europe to remind, us of the final goal of European construction, which economists and politicians dealing with daily contingencies sometimes lose sight of: the pre-eminence of man and the defence of human rights, participation by all in the commonweal in an organic democracy offering as large a measure as possible of selfmanagement, and the free circulation of men and ideas” (Lugger and Evers 1974, p. 1). Ironically, while common adherence to democratic values is one factor spurring European unification, the transfer of authority to European institutions may undermine the achievement of these values, says the report:

The risk is all the greater as the transfer of authority from national to European level means that decision-makers are even more remote and gives more power to administrators who are less and less accessible—whereas the measures taken in every field have an immediate impact on daily life. Even the direct election of the European Assemblies by the populations concerned would only partly remedy this situation, which is already to be found in the individual countries despite the fact that national parliaments are elected by a universal franchise. (Lugger and Evers 1974, p. 2)

The rapporteurs (the mayor of Innsbruck and the executive director of the Central Association of Norwegian Municipalities) conclude: “Information and participation for and by local authorities are therefore essential to the cause of European unity and even more so for the institutionalised Europe of tomorrow. Municipalities must be given a share in preparing and implementing all measures which concern them” (Lugger and Evers 1974, p. 2).

As a consultative body to the Conference of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly, ECLA is in an uneasy position as it attempts to generate new norms for direct city and regional involvement in the affairs of an organization that is legally composed of national governments. In keeping with the aspirations of ECLA, the authors of the report believe the “ideal solution” would be for all ECLA delegates to be local or regional elected representatives. But presently the “irreplaceable life-blood” of the conference are members of local authorities

organizations having consultative status with the Council of Europe. These members of CEM and IULA are viewed as “the ‘political parties’ of the local authorities and regions and play a major role both in the preparation of elections and in the preparation of Conference reports and decisions” (Lugger and Evers 1974, p. 24).

ECLA documents often reflect the frustrations of participants in their subordination to the Committee of Ministers, a status shared with the Consultative Assembly. Martini (1972, p. 29), deputy secretary general of the Council of European Municipalities, expressed it this way in the ninth session (1972) of ECLA: “For this reason, the Conference’s work, in spite of all it has done, has not produced any specific effective results. The proposals of the local representatives...in the Conference have often been frustrated by the resistance of the Committee of Ministers and so achieved nothing more than bearing witness, even if valuable as such.”

Regionalism is a strong theme in ECLA. On one hand it is seen as “a guarantee against nationalist adventurism and a brake on fanatical patriotism” (Chevallaz 1970). This is similar to the conclusion of a Japanese historian, Miwa (1974, p. 68), who argues that “the excesses of militaristic nationalism” in Japan were made possible by the rejection of localism and “the centripetal force of political centralization and cultural standardization.” On the other hand, regionalism is advocated in the search for political units through which people can directly cope with the problems of modern society. Miwa (1974, p. 68) also observes that “many of the problems that confront highly centralized modern Japan” could better be “resolved by the restoration of localism.”

Two themes dominate the regional approach of ECLA: the problems of peripheral regions and the problems of national frontier regions. While ECLA documents do not explicitly reject the nation-state unit of analysis in their evaluation of growing European unity, in actuality they imply it. European unification, particularly among the ten, is viewed as really a union of some cities and regions, largely in the interests of these cities and regions, and neglectful of the interests of other cities and regions—particularly the periphery and border areas. Professor Roger Lee, University of London, is quite explicit about this in a report to the First Convention of European Peripheral Regions, held in Galway in 1975. He observes (1975) that “the city, or rather the system of cities, is a vital element in the process of European integration. From one standpoint the links between market, industrial and urban subsystems are seen as ‘one of the clues of *European homogeneity*’ and the town is regarded as “the expression of the fundamental structure and the essential channel of European territory.” He notes “trends toward locational centralization.” This centralization is the explicit concern of the Galway Declaration of the First Convention of the Authorities of European Peripheral Regions.⁷

⁷ The convention brought together over two hundred representatives of sixty periphery regions and countries of the Council of Europe: Apulia, Aquitaine, Basilicata, Bavaria, Land of Berlin, Brittany, Corsica, Cyprus, Emilia-Romagna, England, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Greece, Land of Hambourg, Iceland, Ireland, Languedoc-Roussillon, Marche, Midi-Pyrenees, Lower Normandy, North Jutland, Norway, Pays de la Loire, Poitou-Charentes, Sardinia, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Scotland, Sicily, Veneto, Wales.

Everything is happening as if the construction of Europe was the concern of; some privileged regions situated around the large capitals and large conurbations of North-West Europe, from London to Milan, from Paris to Hamburg, and could not interest to the same extent the peripheral regions, distant provinces, at the edges of Europe...Therefore around Europe in antithesis to the polygon of large urban republics where population, political power and financial means are concentrated, a sort of *second Europe* is tending to emerge.⁸

The Galway Declaration complains that the regional policy of the European Community is not a policy that will lead to the “balanced development of regions, but policy *designed to assist States* in carrying out their *national development policies*” (Council of Europe 1975, p. 2). The periphery regions emphasize a need for transportation and communication links that free them from the feudal structure that links them to the world only through the centers that control emerging European institutions. This would consist of trunk transport and communication to? peripheries, links among peripheries, deconcentration of harbor traffic to more ports, and increased telecommunications linkages to peripheries. In addition, they ask for common policies on the sea, for protection of periphery regions, for studies of the costs of concentration in central regions, for regional development funds, and for protection of the; languages and cultures of periphery areas. Finally, the Declaration asks “that regions be regarded as the political partners of the States and their European institutions...through proper representation, in the decisions of both.” Toward this end, “at a moment when the European Parliament is to be elected by universal suffrage,” they ask for “an in*! stitutionalized collective representation of all the regions of Europe, representation which can take the form of a second Assembly—a European Assembly of Regions” (Council of Europe 1975, p. 5).

Frontier regions are, of course, a special kind of periphery region. In 4 report to the Council of Europe, P. Orianne of the Catholic University of Louvain points to the threefold handicap of frontier regions:

1. Usually they are farther away from the centre (capital or regional cem: tre);
2. Their most favourable trading area is largely abroad;
3. Some of the local authorities which by their nature are called upon to operate with them, are in another country.

In short, to use a familiar expression, to a certain degree they have their backs to the wall...[because] frontier municipalities and regions are themselves without the means of dealing with their counterparts abroad, to the extent that competence in the field of ‘foreign policy’ is the exclusive preserve of the supreme authority. (1973, pp. 1–4)

Professor Orianne eloquently concludes: “Time and mankind patiently strive to put together again what treaties and systems of law once tore asunder to meet the requirements of a particular type of political organization.” (1973, p. 4)

⁸ Council of Europe, “Galway Declaration Unanimously Adopted on 16 October 1975.” First Convention of the Authorities of European Peripheral Regions, Galway, Ireland, 14-16 October 1975, p. 1. For a far-ranging set of papers on periphery regions, see Institute of International Sociology, Gorizia, *Boundaries and Regions: Explorations in the Growth and Peace Potential of the Peripheries*, ed. Raimondo Strassoldo (Trieste: LINT, 1973).

Local authorities in border regions see the need for collaboration between local authorities on different sides of national frontiers in matters such as public transport, environmental protection, water supply and drainage, energy supply, hospitals, firefighting, public services, and the movement of workers across frontiers. The Final Declaration of a 1972 European Symposium on Frontier Regions asks ECLA to create a committee for frontier regions as a means for moving toward “participation of representatives of local and regional communities in the activities of the Conference of Ministers of Regional Planning in this field” (Orianne 1973, p. 28). Professor Orianne urges the development of model legal instruments relevant to border areas:

1. Standardization of the rules of private law.
2. Model regulations for integrated committees or intermunicipal associations.
3. Model agreement between local authorities in frontier areas, for example on the problems of frontier workers, mutual aid in case of need, and certain types of services.

Europe is one remarkably illuminating laboratory for examining evolving relationships among people who identify with a variety of territorial units.⁹ Some people in peripheral and border regions of Europe view European politics as a growing confrontation between two transnational networks of regions and cities, the first being the cities and regions which control the European Community and the second being the cities and regions in peripheries. They see through the Emperor’s new international governmental clothes, and are perceiving underneath an elite serving the interests of elites in specific cities and regions. To these people in periphery and border regions, *all* cities and regions must be *overt* constituent elements in a Europe that is to be truly shaped in conformity with Europe’s democratic heritage.

International relations scholars have not made their task easy. Not only have they not provided conceptual and theoretical insight for these pioneers in international institution building, their analytic frameworks and the traditional foci of their work prevent them from seeing what these advocates of direct city and regional participation in European institutions are actually doing. Even the futurists among international relations scholars offer no models for these pioneers. Hopefully, it will not be long before international relations scholars will catch up with the practitioners in ECLA, liberating themselves too from the lingering tyranny of the nation-state unit to the point where they can perceive the changing role of cities and regions in the world. Then they will be able to help others, including journalists, perceive these changes. Only then will they be able to participate in the design of models for future worlds that really explicate participatory links for the public—in the context of places where people live and with respect to the global systems they experience in their everyday lives.

⁹ For an application of the approach of this chapter to the third world and third world relations with the industrialized world, see Alger (1978).

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Chapter 4

Perceiving, Analysing and Coping with the Local–Global Nexus

Dramatic changes in the technology of transportation, communications, and production, as exemplified by the jet engine, communications satellites, and transnational production of automobiles, have significantly changed the ways in which people in human settlements are linked to people in distant settlements. As a result, most people in the world now live their lives in a sea of worldwide transactions, as consumers of products and resources from throughout the world, as workers for transnational corporations and for other enterprises that must compete with them, as unemployed whose jobs have taken flight, and as consumers of global fads in music and dress. At the same time many people who travel are fearful of state and anti-state terrorism, and they attempt to overcome children’s fears, and their own, that bombs from thousands of miles away may at any time incinerate their city.¹

4.1 Barriers to Perception and Understanding

Although people throughout the world are in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with worldwide relationships in their daily life, the social sciences are not of much help. Inhibiting research, and even perception, of the linkages between human settlements and worldwide phenomena, is a view of the world as a system of states. This has created a division of labour between those who study connections between states and those who study behaviour within states. Thus international relations scholars are inclined to aggregate activity that crosses state borders into state totals. Their state paradigm inhibits them from following this activity to its roots in specific human settlements. At the same time, scholars focusing on various

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kinds of human settlements have been prevented from following the threads of local activities as they cross state borders. The results justify Crawford Young's assertion that the state system serves as a 'cast-iron grid (that) exercises a transcendent despotism over reality' (Young 1976, p. 66).

Nevertheless, there are a few scholars in several disciplines who are undeterred by the tyranny of state system ideology over the mainstream of their discipline. World historian William McNeill helps us to put present encounters between human settlements and the world into historical perspective, thereby overcoming the widespread belief that these linkages are totally new. Says McNeill, 'I deplore the effort to dissociate humanity's deeper past from the contemporary encounter with the world' (McNeill 1963, p. 5). He dates the first 'closure of ecumene' around 200 A.D., which is to say that by that date, there was more or less continuous contact and exchange among civilizations that stretched from Spain and North Africa (in the Roman Empire) to the China Sea (the Han Empire), primarily by land but also by sea. Liberation from the state paradigm is also to be found in Braudel's 'deep-down history', as exemplified by his account of the movement of the centres of the world economy, from Venice, to Genoa, to Amsterdam, to London, to New York City (Braudel 1977, pp. 85–9).

A growing number of anthropologists are criticizing the tendency of their colleagues to study local communities as though they were isolated from the world. 'The central assertion' of Eric Wolf's analysis of the world since 1400 is 'that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and (that) inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and fail to reassemble it falsify reality. Concepts like "nation", "society", and "culture" name bits and threaten to turn names into things' (Wolf 1982, p. 3). Another example is Adams' (1970) study of social structures in Guatemala from 1944 to 1966, offering penetrating understanding of the ways in which the lives of Guatemalan farm labourers and coffee farmers are intertwined with actors ranging from local coffee buyers, to political party headquarters, to the Pentagon, international labour organizations and the Vatican.

Contributions from sociology have two starting points. One is the remarkably influential world systems movement stimulated by Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World System*, in 1974, describing the emergence of a capitalist world-economy in Europe. Initially the only territorial entities in this view of the world were states, grouped into core, semi-periphery and periphery, but more recently, this constraint has been overcome by research on the world system context of urban areas (Timberlake 1985), and of households (Smith et al. 1984). At the same time, sociologists focusing on urbanization have begun to view the city as a node in global systems of production, distribution and exchange, which Richard Child Hill prefers to label as urban political economy. From his point of view, perhaps the most important contribution urban political economists are making today is their effort to 'refine the thesis that the crucial issues now facing cities emanate from their sociospatial location as nodes within a global capitalist system undergoing economic transition' (Hill 1984, p. 131). Thus, 'urban political economists reject the notion of an autonomous urban realm. Rather, they attempt to relate

patterns of urban development to the development of societies and the international order as a whole' (Hill 1984, p. 127). Galtung, who contributes to this issue, offers the greatest challenge to the state paradigm by explicating steps for arriving at a world where 'each part is a center' and where there are 'tasks for everybody' (Galtung 1980, pp. 393–429).

While the mainstream of political science research on international relations has almost totally ignored sub-national political units, the 'complex conglomerate model of Mansbach et al. (1976) does provide for 'governmental noncentral actors. Another exception is Ivo D. Duchacek, whose research on federalism has led to concern for three major forms of 'trans-sovereign relations' conducted by noncentral governments: (1) influencing external relations from within, (2) trans-border regionalism and (3) direct contacts with foreign centres of power (Duchacek 1987). Yet another exception is this author's work which commenced with an extensive study of the linkages of Columbus, Ohio to the world and continues with efforts to explicate possibilities for more efficacious, and self-conscious, participation in world affairs by people in local communities (Alger 1977, 1978–1979, 1985).

Because this work is on the periphery of the several disciplines, it has not made a significant impact on university or pre-collegiate education. Therefore, the inhabitants of the human settlements of the world must deal with the worldwide involvements of daily life as best they can, despite their lack of knowledge needed to enable them to perceive, understand and cope. Nevertheless, they are confronted with plant closings, declining wages, migration to overcrowded cities, 'terrorism', poverty, human rights violations and fear of nuclear weapons, and have responded with policies for enhancing trade and investment from abroad, for helping local producers to cope with foreign competition, for converting from military production to consumer goods, for combating apartheid in South Africa, for offering sanctuary to refugees, for excluding nuclear weapons from their territory and even for offering assistance to distant human settlements. These efforts, particularly as they transcend the possible as prescribed by scholarly paradigms, merit the attention of those who wish to comprehend the realities of world politics today.

This article is in some respects a progress report on an ongoing effort (Alger 1984–1985) to identify islands of enquiry into the local–global nexus, and this issue of the *International Social Science Journal* is an effort to enlist the support of colleagues from several disciplines in this enterprise. This line of enquiry has led the author, a political scientist specializing in international relations, into unfamiliar fields of knowledge. No doubt there are many yet to be covered, but it is hoped that this report may encourage others to join the enterprise. Our enquiry thus far permits two main themes to be developed. The first draws primarily on research explicating the consequences of transnational production and the emerging New International Division of Labour for (1) cities, (2) rural areas, (3) households and (4) women. This section concludes with a discussion of pleas for more research on the responses of local people to intrusions by transnational economic enterprises. Our second theme focuses on growing local efforts to respond to foreign policy issues that have emerged out of the state system and that have traditionally been

perceived as strictly issues to be handled by national governments. This includes local responses such as creating nuclear free zones, conversion of military production to peaceful uses, anti-apartheid and human rights campaigns and programmes for overcoming poverty abroad.

In the first theme the prime target of concern tends to be powerful external production and financial organizations that are affecting the quality of life in city, town and countryside. In the second theme, the prime target of concern tends to be the ‘foreign policies’ of states, and their actual and potential impact on the quality of life in human settlements. Each theme offers insight on how old paradigms that inhibit understanding of the place of human settlements in the world are beginning to disappear in the face of both penetrating scholarship and creative local response to intrusions on local space.

4.2 The Global Context of Cities

Taking a world-systems perspective, Timberlake notes that ‘urbanization processes have typically been studied by social scientists as if they were isolated in time and explicable only in terms of other processes and structures of rather narrow scope, limited to the boundaries of such areas as nations or regions within nations.... Specifically, processes such as urbanization can be more fully understood by beginning to examine the many ways in which they articulate with the broader currents of the world-economy that penetrate spatial barriers, transcend limited time boundaries, and influence social relations at many different levels’ (Timberlake 1985, p. 3). Of particular concern to those analysing urbanization in the Third World has been ‘overurbanization’ produced by the migration of people from the countryside to Third World cities. As portrayed by Wellisz (1971, p. 44); cited by Timberlake and Kentor (1983, p. 493), ‘overurbanization, in short, stands for a “perverse” stream of migration sapping the economic strength of the hinterland without correspondingly large benefits to urban production. Instead of being a sign of development, overurbanization is a sign of economic illness’. In trying to understand the causes of overurbanization, world systems analysts have turned to the involvement of Third World cities in the world economy.

In a data-based study, Timberlake and Kentor (1983) found support for the proposition that dependence upon foreign capital leads to overurbanization, defined either as the proportion of a country’s population living in cities relative to level of growth or the balance of workers in the service and manufacturing sectors. At the same time, they found that increases in overurbanization are consistently accompanied by relative declines in per capita economic growth, though the effects of higher levels of overurbanization do not appear to impede economic growth.

Other scholars have focused on the impact of transnational production systems, as in the case of Richard Child Hill’s study of automobile manufacturers, focusing on Toyota’s production system centred in Toyota City and Nissan’s,

directed from Tokyo to Yokohama. These production systems are a collection of operating units that involve thousands of firms that 'range in size from enormous transnational companies to family workshops; and they are all interlinked in a system which functions over regional, national and international space with varying degrees of logistical precision and efficiency' (Hill 1987, p. 2). Hill draws on the work of Sheard (1983, p. 53) in revealing that the average Japanese car manufacturer's production system comprises 171 large firms (300 or more workers), 4,700 medium firms (30–299) and 31,600 small firms (1–30). These production firms link 'together in one system the most highly automated engine and final vehicle assembly plants in the world and crowded backyard workshops where families turn out small stampings on foot presses ten hours a day, six or seven days a week' (Hill 1987, p. 6). Hill concludes that 'it would be quite fallacious to view firms in Japan's auto production system as if they were independent actors engaging in market exchange relations with a major car manufacturer. Rather, it makes more sense to view each firm as a cog in a total production system organized around a transnational parent company' (Hill 1987, p. 10). Naturally, the goal of the parent company is the accumulation of profits at headquarters. 'Therein lies the basis for a structured conflict between regional development concerns of local and national governments and the production strategies of transnational corporations' (Hill 1987, p. 16).

While world system scholars have tended primarily to focus on the impact of capitalist enterprises on Third World cities and countries, Hill notes that the local impact of transnational production systems 'is as true for Great Lakes or West Midlands governments ... as it is for development planners in Malaysia or People's China' (Hill 1987, p. 17). Ross and Trachte have underlined this point in studies of the impact of 'global capitalism' on labour in Detroit and New York City. They attribute the decline of economic life in Detroit (Trachte and Ross 1985) to increased mobility of capital and specifically to the transfer of production facilities from Detroit to areas where there are lower wages. They note how both the transfer of production facilities and the threat to transfer them have contributed to high rates of welfare dependency, declining income of workers and unemployment. These changes in old industrial cities indicate that a New International Division of Labour (NIDL) has replaced the old which was characterized primarily by the production of manufactured goods in Western Europe, the United States and Japan, and the production of raw materials by the remainder of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The NIDL reflects several transformations in the world economy. First is the international spread of manufacturing. Second is the international spread of corporate-related services, including multinational banks, law firms, accounting firms, advertising firms and contracting firms. Third is the development of a system of international financial markets less subject to regulation by national-based banks, but tied to the needs of major international firms and large multinational banks (Cohen 1981). The NIDL arose not merely from the desire of firms to utilize less expensive sources of labour and more profitable situations for production, but also to obtain more flexible control over operations in the light of geopolitical

uncertainties, to respond to the growing bargaining power of some developing countries to cope with growing international competition and to escape the constraints of organized labour and government regulations.

One consequence of the rise of transnational production is the emergence of a hierarchy of cities, with global cities at the pinnacle (Cohen 1981). Ross and Trachte's study of New York City places it in a class of 'global cities' in which are located the command centres of financial and corporate decision-making. Cities such as New York, London and Tokyo 'concentrate the production of cultural commodities that knit global capitalism into a web of material and symbolic hierarchy and interdependence'. In these cities are to be found 'the headquarters of great banks and multinational corporations that radiate a web of electronic communications and air travel corridors along which capital is deployed and redeployed and through which the fundamental decisions about the structure of the world economy are sent'. But there is a paradox in global cities, 'the contradictions, of the existence of such physical concentration of capital and control over it and the condition of the working class resident in such places' (Ross and Trachte 1983, pp. 393–394). Globalization of capital has produced an outflow of manufacturing jobs from New York City, with over 50 % of manufacturing jobs lost since 1950. Hence, wages in manufacturing have declined steeply relative to their position in the US 30 years ago, renters have lost purchasing power, a growing proportion of renters is poor, and there are in New York City areas of high infant mortality more typical of conditions in the periphery than in the core. Thus, they conclude: 'in the global city, one finds jobs, wages, and levels of living reflecting the range of working-class life and work throughout the world, including the world's poor regions' (Ross and Trachte 1983, p. 429). Saskia Sassen-Koob also applies the term paradox to the simultaneous occurrence of 'massive high-income gentrification' and a 'relentless (economic) decline in New York City' (Sassen-Koob 1984, p. 147).

Looking to the future, Cohen expects corporations to become increasingly global, producing a number of contradictions within the world hierarchy of cities. He expects that large multinational corporations and banks 'will undermine or contravene established government policy'. This will contribute to the 'erosion of certain traditional centres of government policy where corporate head offices or major financial institutions are not present in large numbers' (Cohen 1981, p. 308). He also expects conflicts between centres of finance that are centres of the Eurodollar market and older, more national ones. He predicts a particularly strong impact of the NIDL on cities in developing nations, resulting from accelerated creation of foreign subsidiaries of transnational corporations, aided by transnational banks. Drawing on the work of Friedmann and Sullivan (1975), he expects that 'the relatively high wage costs and subsidized capital investment in the corporate sector (will) lead to more capital-intensive development, decreasing the labour absorption capacity of this sector'. This will create 'urban crisis even when a nation's gross national product is expanding because of the inability of manufacturing companies to create enough new jobs, the destruction of jobs in the family-enterprise sector and the accelerating flow of people into the cities' (Cohen 1981, p. 309).

4.3 The Global Context of Rural Areas

Much that has been written about cities in the global political economy applies to rural areas as well. On the other hand, there is evidence that the rural context sometimes produces distinctive consequences, as in Aihwa Ong's study of the impact of the location of transnational corporation factories in the Malaysian countryside (Ong 1983, p. 431). Ong uses this example to challenge the widespread assumption that TNC factories in the Third World necessarily produce a 'labour aristocracy'. The Malaysian government has encouraged TNC to locate factories in the countryside, so that Malay peasant women can become industrial workers without leaving home, thus helping to prevent migration to urban centres. As a result, Malay villages offer 'a labour reserve army' for TNC factories but factory workers continue to rely on their home villages for social security. From Ong's perspective, these rural factories are producing the peasantization of wage employment rather than the widely assumed proletarianization of peasants.

A contrasting perspective on the location of factories in rural areas is provided in a study of the development of small scale factories in rural communities in Taiwan (Tai Li 1983). These family owned 'auxiliary factories are suppliers to larger export-oriented domestic factories or trading companies. Since 1970 some twenty small-scale factories have emerged in a single village, producing severe competition for subcontracting work. At the same time fluctuations in demand add to the uncertainties of families who have invested in machinery. In contrast with the Malaysian example, these small Taiwan factories have emerged spontaneously, without government planning, responding to some extent to the shortage of land for new urban factories. In times of declining demand these small-scale auxiliary factories are the first to suffer. Nevertheless, farmers say that 'doing work at home provides greater freedom' (Tai Li 1983, p. 403). On the other hand, these rural factories are undermining agricultural self-sufficiency. In the village studied by Hr Tai-Li, small-scale village industry has not strengthened workers' vulnerable economic position nor resolved problems of cyclical unemployment.

Still another rural perspective is offered in Rosemary E. Galli's four-country study (Colombia, Mexico, Tanzania and Bangladesh) of 'peasants, international capital and the state', in which 'each case study underscores the interaction between international, national and local structures' (Galli 1981, p. 1). Emphasized are (1) the interests of international capital (including development agencies and international investors), (2) requirements of national accumulation (as understood by the state, and dominant and exploited groups) and (3) a social structural (class) analysis of the rural area involved. Galli finds that low peasant productivity is not 'just a matter of a lack of land, capital and technology but also a reaction to social structures which inhibit development' (Galli 1981, p. 27). Galli concludes from the five case studies that national governments are not willing to give peasants the power to improve their productivity and situation. Instead she discerns that national governments and international agencies have mutual class interests in maintaining the existing social order (Galli 1981, p. 224).

Richard N. Adams' study of the Atlantic region of Nicaragua describes an effort by indigenous people to avoid involvement with the national government in pursuit of locally defined needs. As a result of failure to receive satisfying support from the 'Spanish' in Managua, the indigenous people of the Atlantic have found it necessary to create their own self-help organizations, as in the case of the *Alianza Para El Progreso del Miskito y Suma* (ALPROMISU) which was originally started, at least in part, as a means for marketing locally produced beans and rice. ALPROMISU eventually 'took on a more distinctive ethnic personality' and linked into a Regional Council of Indigenous Peoples through which it was linked to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. At the same time, as a result of support by local religious leaders, it established ties to the World Council of Churches. Adams concludes that the ALPROMISU 'had clearly emerged as the major political survival vehicle of the indigenous peoples of the northern part of the Atlantic zone (of Nicaragua) (Adams 1981, p. 15). On the other hand, the links of ALPROMISU to the World Council of Churches may have been part of an external strategy implemented by foreign religious missions. 'Thus, the ALPROMISU stands in a problematic light; it may be a vehicle that started out as coopted, but has over the years become more autonomous; and ... its members may just be waiting around to see how best to use it without themselves being used. Meanwhile, its leaders clearly find it useful' (Adams 1981, p. 18).

4.4 The Global Context of Households

In introducing a volume of readings on Households and the World Economy, Smith, Wallerstein and Evers observe that households of today 'are not "responses" to a capitalist world, but part and parcel of that world. Households are seen neither as isolates nor as small units of social organization related to national economies, but instead as basic units of an emerging world system' (Smith et al. 1984, pp. 7, 8). Consistent with this perspective is Friedman's view of households as an integral part of a transnational process, thereby challenging 'studies on the sociology of families, which view their "structure and function" as the consequence of a single straight line of development from the terminus of "industrialization"'. The 'relationship between households and labour-force patterns in the capitalist world economy would then be viewed as shaped by these long-term undulating economic transformations within which they are situated and to which they are in large measure a response' (Friedman 1984, p. 43).

As described by Friedman, the household became a concern of world system researchers when they observed 'two striking anomalies' in the global working force: (1) that only a minority of the world's population participate in the wage-labour force on a constant basis throughout their adult lives and (2) wages in areas of low wages are not adequate to sustain and reproduce the labour force over long periods of time. Efforts to understand the institutional arrangements and social relations that make it possible for the labour force to be replenished under

these conditions led to enquiry into the household, through which it was found that those receiving wages below that needed for lifelong support have access to support outside their own wages. Thus, in this context, the household ‘refers to the set of relationships between people that impose sharing obligations’ (Friedman 1984, p. 46). Generally, members of households live under one roof, but this is not always the case. Households may pool income from five sources: (1) wage labour, (2) work outside market relationships that results in direct consumable goods, (3) labour that leads to the sale of commodities on the market, (4) contractual relationships over the use of land, animals, equipment and (5) money that leads to rental income and gifts or subsidies. The boundaries of households are seen to be elastic, influenced by long-term changes in labour and productive processes, medium-term economic cycles and variations between and within zones of the world economy in which they are located.

Thus the household is seen as providing an indispensable service to world capitalism, by making available a flexible supply of labour that is sustained by the household until needed, as household members share both wage and nonwage sources of income.

The structures associated with the reproduction of low-wage labor are crucial in shaping the capitalist labor process itself. Thus there is a particular irony, as Baerga points out, that the needleworkers were isolated from a labor movement (in Puerto Rico) that sought to organize the sugar cane workers whose very labor was deeply dependent on the labor of their wives (needleworkers). Work that is short-term and cyclical, and that thus engenders high turnover rates, requires the presence of structures that keep the erstwhile wage workers alive during periods of unemployment (Smith et al. 1984, p. 10).

In this way the household makes possible great disparities in wages and a readily available supply of labour for entrepreneurs.

4.5 The Global Context of Women

Boserup (1970) places the present social and economic position of Third World women in the historical context of a decline caused by the combined intrusion of colonial officials and capitalist enterprises. Women had been the primary agricultural producers, but through the introduction of cash crops, men gained control over new agricultural technology, seeds and loans, and women were relegated to subsistence agricultural production. With the spread of market economic systems, labour was redefined so as to make it virtually synonymous with work for which cash or other forms of remuneration were paid. Other productive activity once recognized as work was eventually regarded as not quite ‘economic’ (Staudt 1984, p. 5). At the same time the colonial state imposed a public–private distinction which relegated women’s activities to the private sphere which was in turn delegated to religious missions. ‘Mission ideology and activities viewed and prescribed a reality with an extreme dichotomization of gender along the lines of antiquated Victorian norms’ (Staudt 1984, p. 16). With the introduction of raw

material extraction, the position of women became more tenuous as male workers were recruited away from farms, leaving subsistence agricultural work to women, children and older persons. Women were even further marginalized by the arrival of import substitution economic strategies after independence (Ward 1986, p. 3).

But in the next phase, beginning in the 1960s, women became the favoured workers as TNC turned to cheap labour in the periphery for assembly or finishing work, particularly in electronics and textiles. Many jobs that had been held by women in old industrial countries were transferred to the Third World, primarily to women between 20 and 24 years of age. In her studies of the migration of women to these jobs, Saskia Sassen-Koob takes a broader perspective than typical studies that focus on women's family situations and responsibilities. She has 'sought to add another variable linking female migration to basic processes in the current phase of the capitalist world economy' (Sassen-Koob 1984, p. 1161). As she describes it, 'in areas where new industrial zones have been developed, the large mobilization of women into the labor force has contributed to the disruption of unwaged work structures in communities of origin: the young men are left without mates and partners, the households are left without a key labor factor' (Sassen-Koob 1984, p. 1151).

And now, in still another stage in transnational manufacturing, Third World women are being recruited in old industrial countries to perform some of these same tasks. One example is Silicon Valley in the United States where 70,000 women make up the bulk of the production work force, holding from 80 to 90 % of the operative and labouring jobs on the factory floor. Of these, 45–50 % are from the Third World, particularly newly arrived Asians (Katz and Kemnitzer 1983).

Ward reports that some researchers argue that TNC employment has provided economic opportunities for women which lead to their liberation from economic marginalization and local patriarchal constraints (e.g. Tinker 1976; Lim 1983). These studies assert that women working for TNC enjoy better working conditions and wages than in local factories and occupations, thus gaining experience and status outside the family that permits delay of marriage and eventually better decision-making power within their family. But Ward also reports that other researchers argue that such employment simply moves women from one form of patri-archial control to another. 'In the short run, TNC employment enhances some women's economic opportunities. In the long run, however, these women have meagre employment opportunities because of the eventual effects of underdevelopment and the instability of industrial employment. Thus, in the long run, women's subordination is merely recomposed and reintensified by such investment and employment' (Ward 1986, p. 8).

In pursuing understanding of the incorporation of the Third World women into large-scale labour, Sassen-Koob encountered the 'theoretically unsettling' coexistence of high employment growth in certain Third World locations and high emigration from these same places to the United States. Sassen-Koob explains this apparent contradiction by noting that Third World industrial zones are incubators of emigration. She believes that 'incipient westernization in work zones' reduces the possibilities for women workers to return to their community of origin. At the same time, life in Third World industrial zones with a strong foreign presence

provides appealing information about life in ‘developed’ countries (Sassen-Koob 1984, pp. 1150–1152).

Sassen-Koob extends her analysis to the ways in which worldwide economic forces have produced conditions for the absorption of immigrant women into the work force in large cities in the United States. She emphasizes the growing need for low-wage labour produced by an increasing number of low-paying jobs in manufacturing that must be competitive with overseas plants. At the same time, she notes how ‘high income gentrification’ in the United States is also creating the need for low cost labour in the gourmet food stores and speciality boutiques that characterize high-income shopping areas. These contrast with the capital intensive, self-service operations of middle class suburbs.

4.6 Local Response to Global Intrusions

There is growing concern that the expansion of scholarly attention to the impact of global intrusions on local space has not been accompanied by adequate attentiveness to local response. Two anthropologists working in Central America are sensitive to this issue. Asking that local history in Guatemala be put in global context, Carol A. Smith criticizes anthropologists for recognizing global forces while neglecting ‘the way in which local systems affect the regional structures, economic and political, on which global forces play’. At the same time, she observes that scholars in the other social sciences ‘are even more likely to view local systems as the passive recipients of global processes’ (Smith 1985, pp. 109–110). Based on his work in Nicaragua, Richard Adams acknowledges the impacts of global capitalist expansion. Yet, he observes that it is necessary to recognize that local ‘life and culture continue to yield new emergent social entities, new adaptive forms brought into being in order to pursue survival and reproduction both through and in spite of the specific work of capitalism’ (Adams 1981, p. 2). Yet another anthropologist, John W. Bennett, writing in the context of ‘microcosm-macrocosm relationships’ in North American agrarian society, has warned against unfounded assumptions about the domination of the local community by external influences and directs attention to the ways in which ‘the local spatial system retains many of its “traditional” institutions and utilizes these to manipulate and control the external forces’ (Bennett 1967, p. 442).

Wallerstein notes that ‘the household as an income-pooling unit can be seen as a fortress both of accommodation to and resistance to the patterns of labour-force allocation favoured by accumulators’ (Wallerstein 1984, p. 21). His conclusion is supported by illuminating studies of households in Oaxaca, Mexico and Davao City, Philippines, that offer insight on the capacity of households to resist efforts by the state to ‘help’ marginal and poor workers to cope with the intrusion of worldwide economic processes into their daily lives. In this study, Hackenberg, Murphy and Selby criticize dependency theorists and, implicitly, most world systems theorists, by noting that their kind of theory is ‘less interested in the reactions and strivings of the

exploited than it is in delineating the, historical, sociological, cultural and economic forces that co adjust to exploit them'. Because dependency theory portrays the urban household as 'fairly, helpless', the authors 'take leave of dependency theory' and depict the household as a vital institution that endeavours to protect its interests by resisting state programmes that would undermine the integrity of the household by 'opportunities generated by development' which would exploit 'the desires of some household members to better themselves economically at the expense of other members' (Hackenberg et al. 1984, pp. 189–190).

After delineating household strategies employed for resisting external intrusion, the authors divide the population of Oaxaca into marginal, poor and middle economic categories and then apply a regression model that tests the effect of specific household strategies. The results tend to support the efficacy of household strategies that resist state programmes such as population reduction and education: (1) The key to raising household income in each economic category is increasing the number of household workers. (2) The key to survival for the marginal households is the insertion of workers into the informal economy. (3) While the poor and middle groups may do well to invest in education for the head of household, such investments are wasted on secondary workers in these groups, as they are for all those in the marginal category. (4) The key to effective deployment of a larger number of workers is household organization, specifically budget management that takes advantage of economies of scale in consumption. (5) Household organization involves the organization and even manipulation of kinfolk as well, especially sons and daughters-in-law. Thus the authors conclude that efforts by the Mexican government to reduce fertility in the belief that 'the small family lives better', is not valid in the light of contemporary distribution of income and wealth in Mexico:

the marginal and poor groups have but one recourse: to withdraw into themselves and organize themselves into large, closely related collectivities that work together in order to survive. Children and their begetting are important facets of this strategy ... the large household lives better, for good and sufficient reason (Hackenberg et al. 1984, p. 212).

At the same time the government encourages households to make sacrifices in order to educate their children. But this study reveals that 'to the degree that households in the marginal and poor groups embrace the "informal economy" strategy, education is largely wasted'. And this strategy seems prudent because the informal economy is expanding more rapidly than formal sector employment. Of course there are individuals who escape from poverty through education. 'But when educated members of households depart, they leave behind the ruins of the only strategy that could possibly have assisted their families out of the poverty they are themselves escaping (with luck and perseverance)'. In conclusion, under present conditions, the authors see 'a continuing hostile dialogue between the households of the majority and the apparatus of the state' (Hackenberg et al. 1984, pp. 212–213).

Still other scholars criticize their colleagues for not contributing knowledge that would be useful in creating political movements for overcoming local dependency. Richard Child Hill, in an overview of the 'emergence, consolidation and development' of urban political economy, makes this parting declaration:

If, as some scholars imply, the city has become the 'weak link' in the world capitalist system, then the most pressing urban research issues today center upon investigation of the conditions under which global-local contradictions... give rise to political movements and public policies directed toward changing the structure and dynamics of the translocal system (Hill 1984, p. 135).

Craig Murphy makes a similar criticism of world systems research in 'a plea for including studies of social mobilization in the world system research program', by asking for 'a theory of the role of political consciousness and social mobilization in the dynamics of world capitalism' (Murphy 1982, p. 1). Murphy asserts that Stavrianos' popular history of the Third World, *Global Rift* (1981) points the way because he 'tells the story of the Third World by constantly focusing on mobilization against capitalism ... But the broad strokes of Stavrianos' history need to be filled in by detailed studies of individual political movements, unique and repeated cases of people becoming convinced to act against capitalism ... the stuff of actual social mobilization' (Murphy 1982, p. 17).

Yet other scholars perceive that local movements that challenge dependency are already rising. In his analysis of Indian experience, the starting point of Rajni Kothari is similar to that of the world systems analysts, in that he perceives tendencies that seek, on the one hand, to integrate the organized economy into the world market and, on the other hand, remove millions of people from the economy by throwing them in the dustbin of history—impoverished, destitute, drained of their own resources and deprived of minimum requirements of health and nutrition, denied 'entitlement' to food and water and shelter—in short, an unwanted and dispensable lot whose fate seems to be 'doomed' (Kothari 1983, p. 598).

In response he sees 'grass-roots movements and non-party formations' springing 'from a deep stirring of consciousness and an intuitive awareness of a crisis that could conceivably be turned into a catalyst of new opportunities' (Kothari 1983, pp. 604–605). These new movements are attempting to 'open alternative political spaces' outside the traditional arenas of party and government. Kothari calls 'for a review of ideological positions that continue to locate "vested interests" in local situations and liberation from them in distant processes—the state, technology, revolutionary vanguards' (Kothari 1983, p. 615).

Kothari observes that the very content of politics has been redefined. Issues that 'were not so far seen as amenable to political action ... now fall within the purview of political struggle' (Kothari 1983, p. 606). These include people's health, rights over forests and other community resources, and women's rights. Not limited to economic and political demands, the struggle extends to ecological, cultural and educational issues. Examples include people's movements to prevent the felling of trees in the foothills of the Himalayas, the miners' struggle in Chhattisgarh (a predominantly tribal belt in Madhya Pradesh), an organization of landless activists in Andhra Pradesh, and a peasants' organization in Kanakpura, in Karnataka against the mining and export of granite.

While basing his analysis on Indian experience, Kothari sees these movements as part of a 'phenomenon (that) has more general relevance'. They are, in his view, responsive to

a new ... phase in the structure of world dominance, a change of the role of the state in national and subnational settings, and a drastically altered relationship between the people and what we (half in jest and half in deception) call 'development' (Kothari 1983, p. 613).

Kothari sees the emergence of these new grassroots movements as very 'important in shaping the world we live in, including the prospects of survival'. Therein, he says, 'lives hope'. Nevertheless, he cautions that 'No one with any sense of realism and any sensitivity to the colossal power of the establishment can afford to be an optimist, either for these movements or for any other transformative process at work' (Kothari 1983, p. 610).

4.7 Local Non-Governmental Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

Our second main theme illuminates how people are growing in their comprehension of how the foreign policies of states affect their local community and are attempting to mobilize local action in response to those policies. These efforts must struggle to overcome deeply rooted traditions that assume that action on 'foreign policy' issues are primarily matters to be dealt with by state authorities in the national capital. These traditions are perpetuated by prevailing paradigms of scholarship and teaching which serve to make local action on 'foreign policy' unthinkable. Nevertheless, local groups in Western Europe, North America and Japan are overcoming these constraints, often by proclaiming: 'Think Globally and Act Locally'. Underlying this slogan is understanding that the intrinsic character of a global issue is that it affects all human settlements. This being the case, it is assumed that it ought to be possible to act on a local manifestation of that issue, whether it be arms races, human rights, poverty or refugees. First we will describe briefly examples of local non-governmental action focused on (1) war prevention and disarmament, (2) poverty and (3) human rights. We will then indicate how local movements have succeeded in placing these issues on the agenda of local governments.

Local citizens have increasingly become informed about the relationship between military expenditures and the ability of a society to satisfy human needs and the explicit ways in which their own local community is a part of military production and deployment. They are learning how much local people are taxed to support military budgets, about specific local military contracts, about local production of military equipment and about the nature of activities at local military bases. Increasingly, local groups are developing strategies for making these local manifestations of military policy widely known. When feasible they are developing new strategies for bringing these local military activities into line with their personal values and policy preferences.

Local plans for conversion from military to civilian production appeal to the self-interests of workers by citing studies such as one by the US government indicating that investment of one million dollars in 'defence' production creates 76,000 jobs whereas the same investment in civilian production would produce over 100,000

jobs (US Department of Labor 1972, cited by Lindroos 1980). Perhaps the best known conversion effort was the Corporate plan published by the Lucas Aerospace Workers in the UK, in 1976. This 1,000-page plan identified 150 new products, with suggestions for reorganization of production. The goals of the plan were the safeguarding of jobs and the production of goods that are useful to society. Said the plan, 'our intentions are ... to make a start to question existing economic assumptions and make a small contribution to demonstrating that workers are prepared to press for the right to work on products which actually help to solve human problems rather than create them' (Wainright and Elliott 1982, p. 243).

Another local approach has been prevention of weapons deployment. Perhaps the most reported effort to prevent deployment of weapons has been the efforts of the Greenham Common women in the UK to blockade US bases. They have also brought a suit in the US courts charging that cruise missiles are unconstitutional, arguing that the missiles, capable of being quickly and secretly launched, deprive Congress of its right to declare war, threaten to deprive life and liberty without due process, in violation of the Fifth Amendment of the US Constitution, and violate several canons of international law because of their indiscriminate and long-lasting potential effects. Hundreds of US and British churches, disarmament groups and labour organizations joined the suit as 'friends of the court', but a US court dismissed the suit.

Still another local approach to military policy is the application of deterrence by citizens. In the Pledge of Resistance campaign people have agreed to engage in either legal vigils or nonviolent civil disobedience in case the US invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or significantly elevates its intervention in Central America. By January 1985 some 42,000 had * signed the pledge. Local groups have created local plans of action for civil disobedience and are already engaged in training for nonviolent action (COPRED Peace Chronicle 1985, p. 5).

Over the past two decades voluntary programmes in the industrialized countries aimed at relieving suffering in Third World countries have gradually evolved into programmes for overcoming poverty through long-term economic and social development. Participation in Third World development has in turn involved leaders of voluntary programmes in a complicated political process as they simultaneously attempt to raise funds from affluent people in industrialized countries and use these funds to serve the needs of the poor in the Third World. Lissner's *The Politics of Altruism* (1977) portrays graphically the tension between the expectations of many who donate to aid programmes and those administering the programmes overseas. As Lissner sees it, donors tend to think of aid in terms of 'resource aid' that improves the standard of living by means of various social services (e.g. education, health, agriculture) within the given economic and political structure. On the other hand, people involved in administering programmes in the Third World tend to see the need for 'structural aid', i.e. transforming the local socio-economic environment by 'conscientization through literacy training, establishment of rural credit institutions and rural co-operatives, support of trade unions and liberation movements' (Lissner 1977, p. 22). Even more difficult to communicate to affluent supporters is the discovery 'that many (but not all) of the problems of the low-income countries originate in and are sustained by factors and policies in the high-income

nations; and that many (but not all) of the governmental and voluntary aid efforts ‘out there’ are of little use, unless those root causes located within the high-income countries are tackled simultaneously’ (Lissner 1977, p. 10).

As a response to these difficulties, voluntary agencies involved in development programmes in the Third World have created ‘development education’ programmes in their home countries. Programmes for development education are most highly developed in Europe and also in Canada. In essence, development education is largely education in global political economy that provides a framework for understanding how people in local communities in both Third World and First World countries are linked to the global economy. This can open the way for specifying local policies in First World countries that are responsive to the needs of local communities in the Third World.

It is not surprising that some perceive a relationship between arms expenditures in the Third World and poverty. This, of course, has raised concern about sales of arms to the Third World by First World manufacturers and governments, as reflected in a November 1984 International Conference on the Arms Trade held in The Netherlands. In May 1985 the British Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) sponsored a ‘Bread not Bombs’ nationwide Week of Action publicizing the damaging affects of the arms trade on Third World countries. Focusing on the UK as the world’s fourth largest supplier of arms to the Third World, emphasis was placed on local action.

In conformance with the ideology of the state system, fulfilment of human rights as promulgated in the Declaration of Human Rights is normally perceived to be the task of states. Nevertheless, the two covenants drafted to fulfil the declaration (on civil and political rights and on economic, social and cultural rights) both assert in their preambles:

that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant.

One organization that endeavours to fulfil this responsibility is Amnesty International (AI), particularly its programme through which local AI groups in many countries work for the release of prisoners of conscience throughout the world. The primary approach of these groups is to bring pressure on foreign governments through publicity, other governments, letters, and phone calls.

The struggle against apartheid in South Africa has also been localized through local boycotts in a number of countries against banks and corporations doing business in South Africa and through efforts to change their policies by participation in shareholders’ meetings. There are also campaigns on many college campuses attempting to pressure boards of directors of colleges and universities to disinvest in corporations doing business in South Africa. In these cases the investments consist principally of endowment funds.

Another form of local human rights activity is efforts to provide new homes for refugees from political oppression, war and economic deprivation in other countries. Normally this means settling legal immigrants in local communities, but the Sanctuary Movement in the United States is offering sanctuary for illegal refugees

from El Salvador who the movement believes would suffer punishment or death if they returned home. Since 1981 over 200 religious congregations have declared themselves Sanctuaries. The movement claims that over 50,000 people are a part of the movement. Those in the Sanctuary Movement assert that they are acting legally under the Refugee Act of 1980 which provides asylum for those persecuted or having 'a well-founded fear of persecution in their own countries'. They see themselves as following a US tradition, as exemplified by the Underground Railroad which helped slaves to flee servitude during the Civil War. They note that then, also, those helping people to flee oppression were indicted and imprisoned.

Still another local form of human rights action has been the INFACT Campaign, in Western Europe and North America, against the Nestle Corporation and its marketing practices for infant formula in the Third World. INFACT action included local boycotts of Nestle products, disinvestment campaigns and national and international efforts to set standards for the marketing of infant formula in the Third World. This culminated in the approval of recommended standards by the Assembly of the World Health Organization. There was only one negative vote, cast by the representative of the United States. This led to the acceptances of the WHO standards by the Nestle Corporation.

4.8 Local Government Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

Perhaps the greatest challenge to traditional procedures for formulating 'foreign policy' has been the increasing efforts to put international issues on the agendas of local government and to put foreign policy questions before the electorate in local referenda. There have been* efforts to get city councils to make declarations and pass legislation on international issues, including anti-apartheid, nuclear weapons freeze, nuclear weapons free zones, nuclear test ban, Sanctuary, and conversion plans. Local anti-apartheid campaigns have sought divestment of city funds, mainly pension monies, invested in corporations with investments in South Africa. By 1986 the American Committee on Africa reported that 54 cities had divested. In addition, debates on apartheid in city councils, and testimony of citizens before councils are seen as a significant opportunity for local education on apartheid (Love 1985).

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) started the municipal nuclear free zone movement in the UK where 150 local councils have approved the proposal, over 60 per cent of the population. Nuclear Free America, Baltimore, Maryland (The New Abolitionist), reports that there are 2003 nuclear free zone communities in 16 countries: Argentina (1), Australia (92), Belgium (281), Canada (62), Denmark (8), United Kingdom (151), Greece (1), Ireland (117), Italy (53), Japan (385), Netherlands (71), New Zealand (98), Norway (106), Federal Republic of Germany (95), Spain (350), United States (132).

In Europe there is a movement for town councils to create policies for development cooperation, as reflected by a conference in Florence in October 1983

organized by the International Union of Local Authorities, the United Town Organization and UNESCO. Emphasis has been placed on ‘twinning’ cities in Europe and cities in the Third World and conscientization of local people to Third World problems. Says, the conference report: ‘Increased interest in these problems and the desire amongst local inhabitants to make their own contribution towards solving them has in many cases led to municipal councils being confronted with these matters. Development co-operation items appear on Town Council agendas more and more’ (IFDA Dossier, March/April 1984, p. 27).

The conference report cites examples of municipal Third World policies in Northern Europe. In Belgium there is a campaign to have an Alderman for Development Co-operation appointed in each municipality. In Bruges the Alderman for Development participates on a 15 member Third World committee composed of all organizations in Bruges involved in development co-operation. This committee advises the Bruges Town Council on matters pertaining to development co-operation, conducts awareness-building activities for the Bruges population and co-ordinates initiatives of the various local organizations involved in Third World activity. In the Netherlands, the Leiden municipality decided to make available in 1979 an annual amount of 10,000 guilders for informing people about Third World developments. In Tilburg, the Mayor and Aldermen in 1979 produced a draft ‘opinion’ on ‘foreign affairs’ examining the possibilities of municipal authorities contributing to local awareness about the inequality in the relations between industrial countries, such as the Netherlands, and countries of the Third World. This led to the creation of an Advisory Board in June 1980 composed of members of the Town Council and representatives of community organizations. After an inventory of local organizations involved in development co-operation it was decided that development education would be approached from two angles: (1) conditions in the Third World, (2) the domestic situation (textile workers). A fund has been established for local education and for programmes directly linked to a Third World situation. The Town Council annually contributes 50,000 guilders to this fund.

4.9 Conclusion

In our search for insight on the changing characteristics of the local–global nexus our first theme drew on literature that explicates the ways in which transnational production and the emerging New International Division of Labour are transforming the ways in which cities, rural areas, households and women are linked to the world. In our second theme, we described the ways in which local people in industrialized countries are devising strategies for exercising local control over policies with respect to their involvement in global issues such as the production and location of weapons, human rights and poverty. In this effort they challenge a tradition that has permitted state authorities to exercise control over these policies in the name of ‘national interest’ as defined in the capital. In the first theme, the literature has been criticized for illuminating the local impact of global economic

forces while neglecting the impact of local response. Other scholars have, however, offered some insight on grassroots Third World movements that are responding to their changing place in the global economy. In the second theme, evidence was drawn largely from fragmentary descriptions of locally based movements. The issues with which these movements contend have traditionally fallen within the domain of international relations and foreign policy. Because scholarship in these fields has focused on the policies and activities of state officials, there tends to be no place in scholarly paradigms for these local initiatives.

It is obvious that the traditional division of labour among those who study local phenomena and those who study international and global phenomena is inhibiting social scientists from providing knowledge that would help people to cope with the worldwide involvements of their daily life by not providing knowledge that would illuminate their worldwide linkages, by not identifying issues that emerge from these linkages, and by not discerning the potential for movements and institutions through which local people can cope with these issues. But despite education and socialization based on the 'cast iron grid', a growing number of people, by grappling with problems that intrude into their daily lives, have liberated themselves. There seems to be an important message here for social scientists. Perhaps we need more contact with people in the communities in which we live who are involved in local organizations and movements focused on worldwide issues. Perhaps they can help us to become more penetrating observers of the world on our doorstep.

At the same time, those who are interested in enhancing their competence to provide knowledge that is useful to people attempting to cope with the worldwide contexts of daily life, may wish to rethink their research and education methodologies in the light of the evolving approaches of colleagues working in Third World contexts. Particularly challenging are efforts to diminish the gap between research and participation, as reflected in Anisur Rah-ma's assertion that participation consists of investigation, reflection (analysis), decision-making and application of decision. Also provocative is Mamali's conclusion that 'just distribution of social knowledge cannot be reached unless its process of production is democratized' (Mamali 1979, pp. 13–14). At the same time LaBelle emphasizes the importance of linking educational programmes and application of learning by people in their daily lives (LaBelle 1976). What are the full implications of these challenges? Is people-centred development, in contrast to production-centred development, feasible without these kinds of changes in research and education—in both industrialized and Third World human settlements? Given the norms of the disciplinary and university contexts in which most social science researchers and educators work, dare we think seriously about such things? The Lokayan movement in India is an example of an effort to link research and action through interfacing researchers and activist groups. According to D.L. Sheth, Lokayan 'aims at changing the existing paradigm of social knowledge in India, the generation of new social knowledge and its use with a view of making it more pertinent to the issues of social intervention and transformation'. In this effort key participants in action groups are brought together 'with intellectuals, journalists and, when possible, even concerned public officials' (Sheth 1983, p. 11).

There is also the challenge of thinking through potential relationship between participants in our two distinctive themes for local involvement in the world, the one responsive to the increasing impact of worldwide economic forces and the other reacting to the local impact of ‘foreign policies’ of states. There is overlap between the Rhemes on issues such as social justice and human rights, although the middle class ‘foreign policy’ activists tend to be more concerned about the fate of distant people than they are about those in their own backyard. There is joint concern about jobs, although for the ‘foreign policy’ activists, creating more jobs through conversion is a means of controlling violence, whereas for those concerned with the impact of worldwide production, jobs are the main concern. There is some convergence in views, as reflected in the development education movement that has evolved out of earlier ‘foreign aid’ approaches. This is leading to comprehension of the similar circumstances, and interdependence, of the two Third Worlds—one in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the other in the periphery of industrialized cities.

What will be the future of growing efforts by local people to apply their increasing knowledge about their worldwide involvements? Writing out of experience with the Lokayan movement in India, D.L. Sheth perceives a new mode of politics arising across regional, linguistic, cultural and national boundaries. It encompasses peace and anti-nuclear movements, environmental movements, women’s movements, movements for self-determination of cultural groups, minorities and tribes, and a movement championing non-Western cultures, techno-sciences, and languages. This bears striking similarity to the vision of two Swedish economists, Friberg and Hettne (see their article in this issue) who see a worldwide ‘Green’ movement emerging that offers an alternative to the ‘Blue 7 (market, liberal, capitalist) and the ‘Red’ (state, socialism, planning). From the Green perspective, they see that ‘the human being or small communities of human beings are the ultimate actors’ (Friberg and Hettne 1982, p. 23).

Sheth concludes that a new politics is required that is ‘not constricted by the narrow logic of capturing state power’. Rather, he concludes:

It is the dialectic between micro-practice and macro thinking that will actualize a new politics of the future ... In brief a macro-vision is the prime need of these groups and movements, and this can be satisfied only by a growing partnership between activists and intellectuals in the process of social transformation (Sheth 1983, p. 23).

Rahnema, also a contributor to this issue, points to the emergence of informal networks that not only link ‘together the grass-roots movements of the South but also establish new forms of coaction between those and those of the North’ (Rahnema 1986, p. 43). He concludes:

To sum up, new ways and means are to be imagined, mainly to allow each different group to be informed, to learn about other human groups and cultures, in terms of their respective life support systems; in other words to be open to differences and learn from them. As such, only a highly de-centralized, non-bureaucratic, inter-cultural rather than inter-national network of persons and groups could respond to such needs (Rahnema 1986, p. 44).

Despite this challenging speculation about the potential of grassroots networks that transcend state boundaries, we would be justified in doubting their capacity to

overcome domination by the ‘peace’ and ‘development’ strategies of macro institutions, from states to IGOs, INGOs and TNC. Majid Rahnema voices this concern by asserting that the ‘future of any genuine development process ... depends more than ever on the manner in which governments and intergovernmental organizations choose to relate to grassroots initiatives’, concluding that they have ‘very little chance of immediate survival’ if authorities in power decide that they are ‘politically or otherwise dangerous to them’. But he also draws attention to those ‘dramatic cases’ where ‘the decision by seemingly powerful government to respond by violence to well-rooted peoples’ initiatives has only produced still more violent confrontations leading to revolutionary uprisings’ (Rahnema 1984, p. 50). On the other hand, Rahnema also perceives that both government and grassroots movements may benefit if governments can understand the importance of grass-roots initiatives, and establish between them a two-way process of learning and action. He concludes: ‘In establishing a two-way process of learning with such communities, a government can learn a lot about the dynamics of a genuinely people-rooted and participatory development process’ (Rahnema 1984, p. 51).

Finally, national and international officials, and scholars, who might be inclined to underestimate the competence of people at the grassroots to comprehend the local–global nexus might wish to ponder the following comment by a Jamaican woman with only a primary school education who was describing the ineptness of her factory manager in dealing with Jamaica’s role in international trade:

The tin line has been down two weeks now. Mr James (the manager) did not fill out the forms properly for to get the foreign exchange to buy the material. It come from Canada. The IMF man control the thing now, you know, so things have to be just so. And we workers suffer ‘cause production shut down’ cause we need those things. And Mr James, he a fool to play with it. We ask him where the material, and he say it’s coming. We know he mess it up. Jamaica don’t have the money no more. Each factory must wait a turn to get the money. I hear the tin is on the dock in Toronto, waiting to be shipped here (Bolles 1983, p. 155).

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Chapter 5

The World Relations of Cities: Closing the Gap Between Social Science Paradigms and Everyday Human Experience

People inhabiting the cities of the world are in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with the worldwide relations of daily life.¹ Although the mainstream of social science tends to ignore the world relations of cities, scattered scholarship in history, anthropology, sociology, and political science offers important insight on the growing involvement of human settlements in the world. The first main theme of this literature draws on scholarship of urban political economy and world systems which illuminates the changing impact of worldwide economic and social forces on the cities of the world and their inhabitants. In light of these changes, there is research urging that cities be freed from state constraints, research on new kinds of political movements, and advocacy of new approaches to research and teaching. The second main theme assesses the response of city government and local citizens movements to the perceived local impact of the foreign policies of states, with respect to issues such as war prevention and disarmament, world poverty, and human rights. There is both overlap and some contradiction between local issues raised by the two themes. This article will explore the implications for democratic theory, and for research and teaching in international studies, of the new world context of cities and the growing efforts of city governments and local people to deal directly with world issues.

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5.1 Barriers to Understanding the World Context of Cities

The cities of the world are inhabited by people in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with the multifaceted dimensions of the worldwide relationships of daily life. Unfortunately, the social sciences are of little help. Preventing study and even perception of the linkages between human settlements and worldwide phenomena is a view of the world as a system of states. This obstruction has encouraged a division of labor between those who study connections between states and those who study behavior within states. International relations scholars are inclined to aggregate activity that crosses state borders into state totals. The state paradigm inhibits them from linking this activity to specific human settlements. At the same time, urban scholars have been prevented from following the threads of urban behavior across state borders. The results justify Crawford Young's assertion that the state system serves as a "cast-iron grid [that] exercises a transcendent despotism over reality" (Young 1976, p. 66).

Nevertheless, a few scholars in history, anthropology, sociology, and political science are undeterred by the tyranny of state system ideology over the mainstream of their disciplines. Historians such as Fernand Braudel help us to put present encounters between human settlements and the world into historical perspective, thereby overcoming the widespread belief that these linkages are totally new. "Braudel places people, and the localities within which they operate and reproduce both themselves and their customs, at the center of the world" (Kirby 1986, p. 211). Conveying to the reader his excitement about the "structures of daily life," he asks: "Aren't these questions just as exciting as the fate of Charles V's empire or the fleeting and debatable splendors of the so-called French primacy during the reign of Louis XIV?" (1977, p. 12). He reminds us that cities "have existed since pre-historic times," and that "they are multicenturied structures of the most ordinary way of life. But they are also multipliers, capable of adapting to change and helping to bring it about" (1977, p. 15).

Some anthropologists are criticizing the tendency of their colleagues to study local communities as though they were isolated from the world. Among these is Eric Wolf, who declares that the central assertion of his analysis of the world since 1400 is "that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and fail to reassemble it falsify reality. Concepts like 'nation/'society,' and 'culture' name bits and threaten to turn names into things" (1982, p. 3). Another example is Adams' (1970) study of social structures in Guatemala from 1944 to 1966, offering penetrating understanding of the ways in which the lives of Guatemalan farm laborers and coffee farmers are intertwined with actors ranging from local buyers, to political party headquarters, the Pentagon, international labor organizations, and the Vatican.

Contributions from sociology have two starting points. One is the remarkably influential world systems movement stimulated in 1974 by Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World System*, which describes the emergence of a capitalist world-economy in Europe. Initially, the only territorial entities in this view of the world

were states, grouped as core, semi-periphery and periphery, but more recently this constraint has been overcome by work on the world system context of urban areas (Chase-Dunn 1985; Timberlake 1985). At the same time, some sociologists focusing on urbanization have begun to view the city as a node in systems of production, distribution, and exchange, in what Richard Child Hill prefers to label as urban political economy. From his point of view, perhaps the most important contribution urban political economists are making today is their effort to “refine the thesis that the crucial issues now facing cities emanate from their sociospatial location as nodes within a global capitalist system undergoing economic transition” (Hill 1984, p. 131). Thus, “urban political economists reject the notion of an autonomous urban realm. Rather, they attempt to relate patterns of urban development to the development of societies and the international order as a whole” (Hill 1984, p. 127).

While mainstream political science research on international relations has almost totally ignored cities, the “complex conglomerate model” of Mansbach et al. (1976) does at least provide for “governmental noncentral” actors. Another exception is I.D. Duchacek, whose research on federalism concerns three major forms of “trans-sovereign relations” conducted by noncentral governments: (1) influencing external relations from within, (2) trans-border regionalism, and (3) direct contacts with foreign centers of power (1987). Yet another exception is Alger’s work, which commenced with an extensive study of the linkages of Columbus, Ohio, to the world and continues with efforts to explicate possibilities for more self-conscious and efficacious participation in world affairs by people in local communities (1977, 1978–1979, 1985).

Because this work is on the periphery of the several disciplines, it has not made a significant impact on university or pre-collegiate education. Therefore, the inhabitants of the human settlements of the world must deal with the worldwide involvements of daily life as best they can, despite the lack of knowledge which would enable them to perceive, understand, and cope. Their efforts, particularly as they transcend the possible as prescribed by scholarly paradigms, merit the attention of those who wish to comprehend the realities of world politics today.

The purpose of this article is to pull together scattered attempts to understand the growing involvement of human settlements in the world and the increasing impact of these involvements on the human condition. Creating a comprehensive overview of these fragments is not easy, and we could continue with a review of efforts in individual disciplines. But this seems inadvisable as it would inhibit comprehension of the fact that a new field of research is arising in which scholars with origins in several disciplines are coping with phenomena that cannot be perceived in the conventional paradigms of their discipline of origin. Another approach might be to present the review in terms of a dichotomy, on the one hand the work of scholars whose point of origin has been local and on the other the work of scholars whose point of origin has been world relations. But this too might tend to preserve old assumptions about the separateness of domains, inhibiting progress in overcoming false isolation of the “micro” from the “macro” (Alger 1984–1985).

We will take a third approach which will address two themes. The first will focus on the changing worldwide social context of cities and social movements

that are responsive to the local impact of worldwide social and economic processes. These movements are concerned about issues such as unemployment, wages, working conditions, the homeless, destruction of local culture, pollution, and local control over resources. Our second theme will focus on growing efforts in cities to respond to foreign policy issues that have emerged out of the state system and that have traditionally been perceived as exclusively in the domain of national government. This includes issues such as nuclear free zones, conversion of military production to peaceful uses, the struggle against apartheid, human rights, and foreign aid. In the first case, the prime target of concern tends to be powerful external production and financial organizations that are affecting the quality of life in the city. In the second case, the prime target of concern tends to be the “foreign policies” of states and their actual and potential impact on quality of life, both in cities within their own borders and in human settlements in the rest of the world. One justification for this distinction is the fact that the two domains tend to have different constituencies, with local workers affected by changes in the global economy at the core of the first and middle class “internationals” at the core of the second.

Obviously, a limitation of this approach is that a false separation may be created between issues such as the effect on employment of arms production and the effect on employment of international trade. We shall try to discern connections between our two themes in the conclusion. Meanwhile, our approach will illuminate how old paradigms for comprehending the place of cities in the world are crumbling as a result of two kinds of assault, one breaking down false boundaries concerning the local impact of worldwide social and economic phenomena and the other shedding light on the local consequences of the traditional “foreign policy” agenda.

5.2 The Worldwide Economic and Social Context of Cities

Timberlake notes that “urbanization processes have typically been studied by social scientists as if they were isolated in time and explicable only in terms of other processes and structures of rather narrow scope, limited to the boundaries of such areas as nations or regions within nations. However, within the past 15 years, the study of large-scale social change has been transformed by the emergence of the world system theoretical perspective.” According to Timberlake, “The fundamental lesson” of this perspective is “that social scientists can no longer study macrolevel social change without taking into account world-system processes. Specifically, processes such as urbanization can be more fully understood by beginning to examine the many ways in which they articulate with the broader currents of the world- economy that penetrate spatial barriers, transcend limited time boundaries, and influence social relations at many different levels” (1985, p. 3).

Although much of the literature tends to emphasize the newness of the worldwide relations of cities, an Argentine scholar who conceptualizes the world economy as “integrated through urban systems” asserts that it can only “be understood

from a historical perspective as a dynamic process” (Penavla 1988, p. 3). The French historian Braudel provides useful historical context as he describes the “centerings and decenterings” of the European world economy, observing that this economy centered on Venice in the 1380s, shifting to Antwerp around 1500, to Genoa between 1550 and 1560, and to Amsterdam where it remained for two centuries. Behind Amsterdam, he notes, the “United Provinces were but a shadow government” (Braudel 1977, p. 95). Portes and Walton also underscore the significance of historic roots in their study of urbanization in Latin America: “The study of determinants of the current forms of urban poverty in Latin America must start with the colonial beginnings of present cities. Spanish and Portuguese cities in South America were “centers of conquest and political control” in unknown and often hostile territories. By 1580 “the creation of a continent-wide urban scheme was completed” (Portes and Walton 1976, pp. 7, 10).

5.2.1 Local Articulation of World Production and Markets

But even those who emphasize the importance of a historical perspective would probably agree with Friedmann and Wolff that since World War II there has been a great acceleration in “the processes by which capitalist institutions have freed themselves from national constraints and have proceeded to organize global production and markets for their own intrinsic purposes” (1982, p. 310). In listing the attributes contributing to “the spatial articulation of the emerging world system of production and markets through a global network of cities” (1982, p. 309), they begin with the transnational corporation and the fact that capital has become almost instantaneously mobile over the entire globe. Facilitating this mobility are technological breakthroughs that link urban areas through computers, communication satellites and wide-bodied jets. Flowing through these facilities are worldwide networks of services for transnational corporations: financial, advertising, construction, real estate, hotels, restaurants, entertainment, luxury shopping, private police, domestic services, and labor recruitment. At the same time, research and development have transformed production such that “the simple transformation of raw materials into final products is more and more left to robotized labour and to assembly operations dependent on unskilled labour of young women and minorities” (1982, p. 316). This has significantly transformed the structure of employment in the cities of the world and left them with problems associated with widespread unemployment and labor migration.

Although each city is unique, Penavla notes that “the internationalization of the city supposes a certain standardization, and therefore each international city must be highly equipped so as to respond to the requirements deriving from its part in the world system” (Penavla 1988, p. 20). An integral part of this standardization process is what Friedmann and Wolff call a “‘new class’ of technocrats,” such as accountants, lawyers, engineers, architects, and information specialists, whose “chief characteristic is a willingness to serve the interests of transnational capital

in its global expansion (Friedman and Wolff 1982, p. 318). As a result the urban area tends to become an arena of conflict between these transnational elites and local interests.

David Harvey writes graphically of the conflict between “place-bound loyalties” and “the communities of money and capital” which he says are “communities without propinquity.” Observing that cities are “definite places within which a definite patterning of social economic and political processes—and hence consciousness—occurs,” he notes in contrast that for “communities of money and capital, such places are no more than relative spaces to be built up, torn down, or abandoned as profitability dictates” (1985, p. 255).

The migration of people from the countryside is responsive to the flow of money and capital to cities, creating “overurbanization,” a phenomenon of particular concern to those analyzing urbanization in the Third World. Overurbanization is a term applied to cities that have far larger populations than can be employed, in countries with much larger urban populations than the present developed countries had at a similar stage of development. As portrayed by Wellisz (1971, p. 44); cited by Timberlake and Kentor (1983, p. 493), “Overurbanization, in short, stands for a ‘perverse’ stream of migration sapping the economic strength of the hinterland without correspondingly large benefits to urban production. Instead of being a sign of development, overurbanization is a sign of economic illness.” In trying to understand the causes of overurbanization, world system analysts have turned to the involvement of Third World cities in the world economy.

In a data-based study, Timberlake and Kentor (1983) found support for the proposition that dependence upon foreign capital leads to overurbanization, defined either as the proportion of a country’s population living in cities relative to level of growth or the balance of service to manufacturing workers. At the same time, they found that increases in overurbanization are consistently accompanied by relative declines in per capita economic growth, though the effects of higher levels of overurbanization do not appear to impede economic growth.

Other scholars have focused on the impact of transnational production systems, as in the case of Richard Child Hill’s study of Japanese automobile manufacturers, which focuses on Toyota’s production system centered in Toyota city and Nissan’s directed from Tokyo-Yokohama. These production systems are a collection of operating units that involve thousands of firms that “range in size from enormous transnational companies to family workshops; and they are all interlinked in a system which functions over regional, national and international space with varying degrees of logistical precision and efficiency” (Hill 1987, p. 2). Hill draws on the work of Sheard (1983, p. 53) in revealing that the average Japanese automaker’s production system comprises 171 large firms (300 or more workers), 4,700 medium firms (30–299 workers) and 31,600 small firms (1–30 workers). These production firms link “together in one system the most highly automated engine and final vehicle assembly plants in the world and crowded backyard workshops where families turn out small stampings on foot presses 10 h a day, six or seven days a week.” (Hill 1987, p. 6). Hill concludes that “it would be quite fallacious to view firms in Japan’s auto production system

as if they were independent actors engaging in market exchange relations with a major automaker. Rather, it makes more sense to view each firm as a cog in a total production system organized around a transnational parent company” (1987, p. 10). Subcontractors secure the benefits of stable markets, access to investment funds, stable supplies of raw materials, and technical and managerial guidance from the transnational corporation. But, says Hill, this enables the company to exercise a variety of forms of control, including “constant and harsh demands for decreases in the price of...products” from suppliers (1987, p. 9). Citing Jacobs (1984), Hill notes that “the spatial concentration and growth of operating units knit together in production systems is what generates urban and regional development.” Naturally, the transnational production system has another goal, the accumulation of profits at headquarters. “Therein lies the basis for a structured conflict between regional development concerns of local and national governments and the production strategies of transnational corporations.” (1987, p. 16).

While world-system scholars have tended to focus primarily on the impact of capitalist enterprises on Third World cities and countries, Hill notes that the impact of transnational production systems “is as true for Great Lakes or West Midlands governments...as it is for development planners in Malaysia or People’s China” (1987, p. 17). Ross and Trachte have underlined this point in their studies of the impact of “global capitalism” on labor in Detroit and New York City. In their study of Detroit (Trachte and Ross 1985) they attribute the decline of economic life in Detroit to increased mobility of capital and specifically to the transfer of production facilities from Detroit to areas where there are lower wages. They note how both the transfer of production facilities and the threat to transfer them have contributed to high rates of welfare dependency, declining income of workers and unemployment.

In their study of New York City (Ross and Trachte 1983) they place it in a class of “global cities” in which are located the command centers of financial and corporate decision-making. They note that cities such as New York, London, and Tokyo “concentrate the production of cultural commodities that knit global capitalism into a web of material and symbolic hierarchy and interdependence.” In these cities are to be found the headquarters of great banks and multinational corporations that radiate a web of electronic communications and air travel corridors along which capital is deployed and redeployed and through which the fundamental decisions about the structure of the world economy are sent.

But the main point of the New York study is to direct attention to a paradox, “the contradictions, of the existence of such physical concentration of capital and control over it and the condition of the working class resident in such places” (1983, pp. 393–394). They note how globalization of capital has produced an outflow of manufacturing jobs from New York City, with over fifty percent of manufacturing jobs lost since 1950. Hence, wages in manufacturing have declined steeply relative to their position in the U.S. thirty years ago, renters have lost purchasing power, a growing percentage of renters is poor, and there are in New York City areas of high infant mortality rates more typical of conditions in the periphery

than in the core. Thus, they conclude: “in the global city, one finds jobs, wages, and levels of living reflecting the range of working-class life and work throughout the world, including the world’s poor regions” (1983, p. 429). Saskia Sassen-Koob also applies the term paradox to the simultaneous occurrence of “massive high-income gentrification” and a “relentless [economic] decline in New York City” (Sassen-Koob 1984, p. 147).

5.2.2 The Hierarchical Order of Global/World Cities

As early as 1973, Harvey drew attention to the differences between historical and contemporary forms of urbanization, emphasizing that the present global economy “is hierarchically ordered with global centres dominating lesser centres, and all centres outside of the communist nations being ultimately subordinate to the central metropolitan areas in North America and Western Europe” (Harvey 1973, p. 262).

R. B. Cohen attributes this hierarchy to the rise of a new international division of labor (NIDL) replacing the old, which was characterized primarily by the production of manufactured goods in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan and the production of raw materials by Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This NIDL reflects several transformations in the world economy. First is the international spread of manufacturing. Second is the international spread of corporate-related services, including multinational banks, law firms, accounting firms, advertising firms, and contracting firms. Third is the development of a system of international financial markets less subject to regulation by nationally based banks but tied to the needs of major international firms and large multinational banks. This integration of production and corporate services on a world scale has drawn increasing numbers of people into complex hierarchical systems of qualitatively different types of laborers with different levels of work experience, varied types of social backgrounds, and vastly divergent types of labor organizations. The NIDL arose from the desire of firms not merely to utilize less expensive sources of labor and more profitable situations for production, but also to obtain more flexible control over operations in light of geopolitical uncertainties, to respond to the growing bargaining power of some developing countries, to cope with growing international competition and to escape the constraints of organized labor and government regulations (Cohen 1981, pp. 288–289).

Cohen discerns a hierarchy of cities, at the top of which are “a series of global cities which serve as international centers for business decision-making and corporate strategy formulation. In a broader sense, these places have emerged as cities for the coordination and control of the NIDL” (1981, p. 300). These global cities have not only become centers for international decision-making by major firms but also have become centers for corporate services such as banks, law firms, accounting firms, and management consulting firms who have expanded their international skills and overseas operations to serve the needs of transnational corporations.

“Even the international activities of firms headquartered outside these cities [are] increasingly linked to financial institutions and corporate services located within them.” In the United States, Cohen observes, New York and San Francisco are now at the top of the U.S. city hierarchy: “As a result, cities which had been important centers of business in an earlier, more national-oriented phase of the economy began to lose economic stature to these global cities. Jobs related to international operations did not develop as extensively in places like Cleveland, St. Louis, and Boston, as they did in New York and San Francisco” (1981, p. 301). Cohen supports these observations with a “multinational index” for U.S. cities which compares the percentage share of a city’s Fortune 500 firms in total foreign sales to their percentage share of total sales (1981, pp. 301–302). Sassen-Koob (1984, p. 151) believes that a more composite index should be developed and that it would “bring Los Angeles ahead of San Francisco today.”

Friedmann applies the term “world city” to those cities that “are used by global capital as ‘basing points’ in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets.” Taking a different approach than Cohen, he offers a suggestive mapping of the hierarchy of world cities, although the data to verify it are still lacking. As shown in Fig. 2.1, he locates all world cities in either core or semi-periphery areas and classifies them as either primary or secondary. All of the primary cities are located in the core except Sao Paulo and Singapore. At the same time, Friedmann discerns three distinct sub-systems of world cities: an Asian sub-system centered on the Tokyo-Singapore axis [see also Rimmer (1986)], with Singapore playing a subsidiary role as a regional metropolis in Southeast Asia; an American sub-system based in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, linked to Toronto, Mexico City, Caracas, and the Caribbean; and a West European sub-system focused on London, Paris and the Rhine valley axis, and linked to Johannesburg and Sao Paulo.

Looking to the future, Cohen expects corporations to become increasingly global, producing a number of contradictions within the world hierarchy of cities. He expects that large multinational corporations and banks will undermine or contravene established government policies, particularly in “certain traditional centers of government policy where corporate head offices or major financial institutions are not present in large numbers” (1981, p. 308). He also expects conflicts between centers of the Eurodollar market and older, more national centers of finance. He predicts a particularly strong impact of the NIDL on cities in developing nations, resulting from the accelerated creation of foreign subsidiaries of transnational corporations, aided by transnational banks. Drawing on the work of Friedman and Sullivan (1975), he expects that “the relatively high wage costs and subsidized capital investment in the corporate sector [will] lead to more capital-intensive development, decreasing the labor absorption capacity of this sector.” This will create “urban crisis even when a nation’s gross national product is expanding because of the inability of manufacturing companies to create enough new jobs, the destruction of jobs in the family enterprise sector and the accelerating flow of people into cities” (Cohen 1981, p. 309, Fig. 5.1).

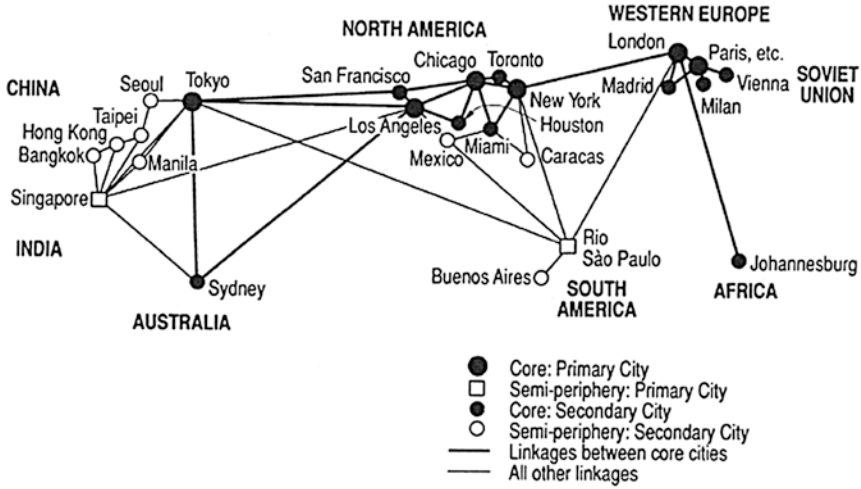


Fig. 5.1 The hierarchy of world cities. *Source* John Friedmann (1986) ‘The World City Hypothesis (Editor’s introduction),’ *Development and Change*, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 74

5.3 Responses to the Worldwide Economic and Social Context of Cities

What recourse do people have who live in cities in the vortex of intertwined processes of overurbanization, transnational production and finance systems, and decisions emanating from headquarters in global cities that may produce Third World conditions even in cities at the apex of the world city hierarchy?

5.3.1 Free Cities from State Constraints?

In a refreshing frontal assault on conventional economic assumptions, Jane Jacobs advocates that cities be freed from the constraints that states place on their economic activity, enabling them to be more autonomous units in the worldwide economy. In *Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life* (1984), Jacobs ignores the work of world systems scholars and focuses her attention on the limitations that states place on the capacity of cities to pursue their economic interests in the world economy. Recognizing that “nations” are political and military entities, she observes that “it doesn’t necessarily follow from this that they are also the basic, salient entities of economic life.” Indeed, “the failure of national governments and blocs to force economic life to do their bidding suggests some sort of essential irrelevance.” Nevertheless, says Jacobs, despite the fact that

nations are “not discrete economic units...we pretend that they are and compile statistics about them based on that goofy premise” (1984, pp. 31–32). Significant to Jacobs is that “nations include, among other things in their economic grab bags, differing city economies that need different corrections at given times, and yet all share a currency that gives all of them the same information at a given time” (1984, p. 162).

If economic development were to be defined in one word, Jacobs would choose “improvisation.” She sees development as a process of continually improvising in a context that makes the injection of improvisations into everyday economic life feasible. This context is created by volatile trade between cities. The cycle of a vigorous city is stimulated by the buildup of a critical, unstable mass of potentially replaceable imports. This provokes a period of vigorous import-replacing which Jacobs sees “at the root of all economic expansion” (1984, p. 42). Eventually challenge from other cities requires a repeat of the cycle. From Jacobs’ point of view, cities require different phases of one another’s cycles in order to “intersect constructively at their different phases” (1984, p. 171). Thus, Jacobs concludes that “among all the various types of economies, cities are unique in their abilities to shape and reshape the economies of other settlements, including those far removed from them geographically” (1984, p. 32).

The way to avoid the negative impact of national economic policies on cities according to Jacobs would be to free cities to maximize their economic advantages by dividing single sovereignties into a family of smaller sovereignties. “A nation behaving like this would substitute for one great life force, sheer survival, that other great life force, reproduction” (1984, p. 215). She sees this as a “theoretical possibility” rather than a likely eventuality. Yet she observes that the separation of Singapore from Malaysia offers at least one concrete example, and wonders whether pioneers may arise who have sufficient confidence in “their culture and capacities” and political inventiveness to “dispose of centralized control and problem solving” (1984, p. 219). Meanwhile, she concludes that “things being what they are, we have no choice but to live with our economically deadly predicament as best we can...Societies and civilizations in which the cities stagnate don’t develop and flourish further. They deteriorate” (1984, pp. 220, 232). Unfortunately, Jacobs’s creativity in diagnosing the problem is not matched by insight on sources of change.

Taking a dramatically different approach, Harvey would “curb interurban competition and search out more federated structures of interurban cooperation...certainly those forms of interurban competition that end up generating subsidies for the consumption of the rich at the expense of the social wage of the poor deserve instant attack” (1985, p. 275). Although he does not present a concrete strategy for achieving these goals, Harvey emphasizes the importance of severing “the tight connection between self-realization and pure consumerism,” and of distinguishing between money (and the individualism enhanced by money) and capital (and the use of money power to procure privileged access to life chances). He advocates a new kind of urban consciousness based on an alliance of progressive forces which Harvey admits would be difficult to achieve.

5.3.2 *Political Movements*

Critics of both urban political economy and world systems research look to political movements as the source of city resistance to the intrusions of global capital. Richard Child Hill, in an overview of the “emergence, consolidation and development” of urban political economy, makes this parting declaration:

If, as some scholars imply, the city has become the “weak link” in the world capitalist system, then the most pressing urban research issues today center upon investigation of the conditions under which global–local contradictions...give rise to political movements and public policies directed toward changing the structure and dynamics of the translocal system (Gilbert and Ward 1984a, p. 135).

Craig Murphy makes a similar criticism of world systems research in the title of a 1982 paper: “Understanding the world-economy in order to change it: A plea for including studies of social mobilization in the world system research program.” As we have seen, powerful actors in transnational production systems and in global cities do understand the world economy and they are changing it. But Murphy has a different concern, noting that “the trouble comes when world systemists are asked to define what dynamic role, if any, Third World cultures have in the transformation of capitalism.” But before this can be done Murphy sees the need for “a theory of the role of political consciousness and social mobilization in the dynamics of world capitalism” (1982, p. 1). Murphy believes that Stavrianos’ popular history of the Third World, *Global Rift* (1981), points the way because he “tells the story of the Third World by constantly focusing on mobilization against capitalism...But the broad strokes of Stavrianos’ history need to be filled in by detailed studies of individual political movements, unique and repeated cases of people becoming convinced to act against capitalism...the stuff of actual social mobilization” (1982, p. 17).

Some insight into the “stuff of actual social mobilization” is to be found in studies of grassroots movements in the Third World. Snow and Marshall offer particularly acute observations of the way in which Islamic movements have been provoked by “cultural degradation and desecration” caused by the “market expanding efforts of Western multinational corporations” (1984, p. 146). Not very encouraging is Gilbert and Ward’s study of community action among the poor in Bogota, Mexico City, and Valencia (Venezuela) (1984a and b). They found that regimes in each city were successful in deflecting opposition by making concessions, by providing services, and by co-opting leaders. But they report that “service provision in each city is shaped more by governmental constraints and needs than by local or settlement conditions.”

This conclusion is discouraging if not unexpected... The truth seems to be that in Bogota, Mexico City and Valencia the state has developed highly effective methods of channeling and controlling participation. There is certainly little sign of participation in the sense of growing control by poor people over the resources and institutions that determine their quality of life. The state in each city has been successful in containing discontent. (Gilbert and Ward 1984b, p. 921).

The results of Gilbert and Ward’s study would tend to confirm the conclusion of Manuel Castells, based on his cross-cultural study of grassroots urban social movements, that

“the state has become an overwhelming, centralized, and insulated bureaucracy...local communities are, in reality, powerless in the context of world empires and computerized bureaucracies” (Castells 1983, p. 329).

Basing his analysis on Indian experience, Rajni Kothari is somewhat more encouraging. His starting point is a view similar to that of the world systems analysts, in that he perceives tendencies,

that seek, on the one hand, to integrate the organized economy into the world market and, on the other hand, remove millions of people from the economy by throwing them in the dustbin of history—impoverished, destitute, drained of their own resources and deprived of minimum requirements of health and nutrition, denied ‘entitlement’ to food and water and shelter—in short, an unwanted and dispensable lot whose fate seems to be “doomed.” (Kothari 1983, p. 598).

In response he sees “grass-roots movements and non-party formations” springing “from a deep stirring of consciousness and an intuitive awareness of a crisis that could conceivably be turned into a catalyst of new opportunities” (1983, pp. 604–605). These new movements are attempting to “open alternative political spaces” outside the traditional arenas of party and government.

Kothari observes that the very content of politics has been redefined. Issues that “were not so far seen as amenable to political action...now fall within the purview of political struggle” (1983, p. 606). These include people’s health, rights over forests and other community resources, and women’s rights. Not limited to economic and political demands, the struggle extends to ecological, cultural, and educational issues. Examples include people’s movements to prevent the felling of trees in the foothills of the Himalayas, the miners’ struggle in Chattisgarh (a predominantly tribal belt in Madhya Pradesh), an organization of landless activists in Andhra Pradesh, and a peasant’s organization in Kanakpura, Karnataka, against the mining and export of granite.

While basing his analysis on Indian experience, Kothari sees these movements as part of a “phenomenon [that] has more general relevance.” They are, in his view, responsive to “a new...phase in the structure of world dominance, a change of the role of the state in national and sub-national settings, and a drastically altered relationship between the people and what we (half in jest and half in deception) call ‘development’” (1983, p. 613). Kothari sees the emergence of these new grassroots movements as very “important in shaping the world we live in, including the prospects of survival.” Therein, he says, “lies hope.” Nevertheless, he cautions that “No one with any sense of realism and any sensitivity to the colossal power of the establishment can afford to be an optimist, either for these movements or for any other transformative process at work” (1983, p. 610).

5.3.3 New Approaches to Research and Education

There is increasing recognition that traditions in research and education prevent people from coping with problems, and possibly opportunities, presented by the local impact of world wide production and financial organizations, and the local

“development” strategies of states and international organizations. Basing his reflections on grassroots experience in Bangladesh, Rahman (1985) emphasizes the development of the creativity of the people through their own thinking and action. For him, participation consists of investigation, reflection (analysis), decisionmaking, and application of decision. Korten and Klauss reach compatible conclusions in emphasizing the difference between “people-centered development” and production-centered development, with the former having three prime characteristics: (1) creation of enabling settings which encourage and support people’s efforts to meet their own needs, (2) development of self-organizing structures and processes, and (3) local control of resources (1984).

Emphasis on development based on local initiatives and power has intensified interest in nonformal education. “If one seeks to find education that does more than legitimize and reinforce gross inequalities in life chances, then one must look outside formal schools to the educational activities of reformist collective efforts seeking individual and social renewal” (Paulston and LeRoy 1980, p. 20). This requires nonformal education that is much more than an adjunct of the system of formal schooling. In a study of seventy nonformal education programs in ten Latin American countries, Thomas LaBelle found that they had limited potential for social change because they were “man-oriented” rather than “system-oriented.” In focusing on change in attitudes and behavior of individuals they neglected change in the socioeconomic structures and processes which prevent individuals from implementing new attitudes through new kinds of actions. Among other principles, LaBelle emphasizes the importance of involving people in their own learning, with a maximum of control over their own learning activities. He also stresses the importance of making direct links between educational programs and application of learning by people in their daily lives (Labelle 1976).

Catalin Mamali has succinctly described the connection between research and participation by observing that “the conscious participation of the members of a social community in its evolution process, *also depends upon the level and quality of the participation of its members (specialists and laymen) in knowing the reality they live in.*” Pointing out that each member of a community has a double cognitive status, that of observed and that of observer, he notes that prevalent research practice inhibits “the subjects’ natural observer status.” Thus he concludes that a “*just distribution of social knowledge cannot be reached unless its process of production is democratized*” (1979, pp. 13–14).

Numerous efforts are in progress to bridge the gap between research and grassroots movements. For example, the Lokayan movement in India is striving to link research and action through interfacing researchers and activist groups. According to D. L. Sheth, Lokayan “aims at changing the existing paradigm of social knowledge in India, the generation of new social knowledge and its use, with a view to making it more pertinent to the issues of social intervention and transformation.” In this effort key participants in action groups are brought together “with intellectuals, journalists and, when possible, even concerned public officials” (Sheth 1983, p. 11).

A limitation on research and education that might empower people to cope with the impact of worldwide economic and political systems on their communities

is the absence of theory—or even penetrating descriptions—of how local communities are linked to the world. In response, some scholars studying grassroots movements in the Third World are attempting to gain insight on what some refer to as the micromacro dynamic. Perceiving “macro” and “micro” as “only differential expressions of the same process,” Kothari calls “for a review of ideological positions that continue to locate ‘vested interests’ in local situations and liberation from them in distant processes—the state, technology, revolutionary vanguards” (Kothari 1983, p. 615). Writing out of experience with the Lokayan movement in India, D.L. Sheth concludes that a new politics is required that is “not constricted by the narrow logic of capturing state power.” Rather, he concludes:

It is the dialectic between micro-practice and macro-thinking that will actualize a new politics of the future... In brief a macro-vision is the prime need of these groups and movements, and this can be satisfied only by a growing partnership between activists and intellectuals in the process of social transformation. (Sheth 1983, p. 23).

He perceives a new mode of politics arising across regional, linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries. It encompasses peace and anti-nuclear movements, environmental movements, women’s movements, movements for self-determination of cultural groups, minorities, and tribes, and a movement championing non-Western cultures, techno-sciences, and languages.

This bears striking similarity to the vision of two Swedish economists, Friberg (1982), who see a worldwide “Green” movement emerging that offers an alternative to the “Blue” (market, liberal, capitalist) and the “Red” (state, socialism, planning). From the Green perspective, “the human being or small communities of human beings are the ultimate actor” (1982, p. 23). Rahnema, too, points to the emergence of informal networks that not only link “together the grass-roots movements of the South but also establish new forms of co-action between those and those of the North” (Rahnema 1986, p. 43). He concludes:

To sum up, new ways and means are to be imagined, mainly to allow each different group to be informed, to learn about other human groups and cultures, in terms of their respective life support systems; in other words to be open to differences and learn from them. As such, only a highly de-centralized, non-bureaucratic, inter-cultural rather than international network of persons and groups could respond to such needs (1986, p. 44).

5.4 Local Non-Governmental Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

As the global context of cities has been transformed, changes have been taking place in the ways in which local people attempt to cope with the foreign policy issues of states. Although these changes are not necessarily confined to specific parts of the world, the most obvious changes seem to be centered in Europe, North America, and Japan. Those involved tend to be a small minority of middle class people who have had some international education and sometimes some kind of international experience that sustains their concern for international issues. The

traditional activities of these local “internationals” in the United States has been of three main types: relief and aid, exchange programs, and international education.

Overall these traditional international programs for local citizens have been in the spirit of creating positive background conditions for a peaceful and humane world. They have operated comfortably within the context of the state system and its ideology, permitting a tacit division of labor in which the state makes foreign policy and voluntary organizations create favorable background conditions which will help the state system to run smoothly. Most local international programs have tended to avoid taking positions on foreign policy issues. Certainly individual local leaders of international programs have often disagreed with national foreign policy, but in the past they have tended not to form local movements to push their views. They also have had a tendency to defer to the expertise of national foreign policy leaders.

But dramatic changes are now taking place in the willingness of local people to become actively involved in “foreign policy” issues. The fact that some employ the slogan “Think Globally and Act Locally” is one indicator that people are becoming aware that the intrinsic character of a global issue is that it affects all human settlements. This being the case, it ought to be possible to act on the local manifestation of that issue, whether it be distrust of the “enemy,” military bases, lack of concern for distant poverty and suffering, or callousness to deprivation of human rights. An overview of these local movements can be approached through brief descriptions of activities in the context of (1) war prevention and disarmament, (2) poverty, and (3) human rights.

5.4.1 War Prevention and Disarmament

As we have stated, traditional citizen exchange activity has had the purpose of creating a general background of intersocietal relationships that facilitate peace-making among states. Some exchange programs have now evolved into activity more specific to foreign policy issues. An example is the Citizen Exchange Council (CEC), which was founded in 1962 as a response to U.S. Soviet tensions that resulted in the Cuban Missile Crisis. Each year the CEC sends hundreds of US people to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The CEC believes that “the experience sharpens participants’ abilities to analyze daily news reports and discern rhetoric from fact. Better understanding of Soviet society passes to participant’s neighbors, friends, students, or classmates, helping more Americans make informed judgments about international events.” Other examples of more issue focused exchanges are Peace Pilgrimage to the USSR, Peace Study Tour to Russia, the Volga Peace Cruise, and the Iowa Peace.

A Scandinavian counterpart has been the peace marches of Scandinavian women. In 1981 they walked to Paris, in 1982 to Moscow, and in 1983 to Washington. In 1985 they planned to walk to all countries in Europe that belong to the United Nations, where they would put basic peace questions to their governments (Warner and Shuman 1987).

Somewhat similar are the numerous programs in which U.S. citizens have visited Central America, particularly Nicaragua. Many of these visits have been arranged by church related organizations. As a result, leaders in churches and voluntary organizations in many communities throughout the country have observed conditions in Central America for themselves and are offering information and policy advice to local people that supplements the normal sources of information and opinions on foreign policy issues—the national government and the media. It is reasonable to conclude that this first-hand citizen experience contributed to widespread citizen resistance to the U.S. government's efforts to escalate U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua.

Thus the evolution of adult exchange programs into issue-focused investigations is adding a new element to local dialogue on foreign policy issues—local people who have had significant issue-related experiences abroad. In a sense, these people can be viewed as a “people's foreign service” that does not accept the traditional state system assumption that people should defer to the experts in Washington on issues such as Soviet and Nicaraguan relations.

One form of “citizen diplomacy” is the city twinning movement, now including efforts directed toward the development of sustained relationships through which people from the two cities attempt to cope with issues that have created animosity between their national governments. Lofland (1987) study of these city twinning efforts places them in the context of social movements, classifying them as consensus movements as distinguished from conflict movements. A key feature of consensus movements is that their programs of action imply conflict with certain aspects of social policy, but they “phrase their aims and programs...in ways that achieve a facade of consensus” (1987, p. 3). Thus they are able to obtain mainstream community support from politicians, media, business, and churches. From Lofland's perspective, “the prime aim of consensus movements [is] the alteration of awareness rather than of social conditions” (1987, p. 32). He concludes that consensus movements “*mystify social causation and social change* by portraying social problems as merely isolated matters of incorrect awareness, ignorance, and lack of direct or personal relationships” (1987, p. 39). Although Lofland's critique raises penetrating questions, we are inclined to believe that he does not give adequate attention to those city twinning programs which serve as an alternative “foreign service,” one that links cities (not states) and one that links a great diversity of occupations (not just the professional foreign service). Unlike conflict movements within societies, whose primary goal is to change government policies, the city twinning movement is establishing its own transnational institutions. One example is the eighty-five U.S. sister city programs (Trubo 1988) in which citizens from U.S. cities deliver humanitarian aid and at the same time acquire first-hand knowledge of conditions in Nicaraguan cities. Another example is the over thirty sister city programs which are developing sustained ties between U.S. and Soviet cities (Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy 1987, 1989). Of course, a long-term goal of these programs is also to change the policies of national governments.

As local citizens have become more knowledgeable about military strategy, arms races, and arms production, they have also become increasingly informed

about their personal support of military production and deployment, the conflict between military expenditures and the ability of a society to satisfy human needs, and the explicit ways in which their own local community is a part of military production and deployment (Arkin 1985). They are learning how much people in their local community contribute to military budgets through taxes, about specific local military contracts, about local production of military equipment and about the kinds of activities at local military bases. (Center for Economic Conversion 1984). Increasingly local groups are developing strategies for making these local manifestations of military policy widely known. When feasible they are attempting to develop strategies for bringing these activities into line with their personal values and policy preferences.

Local plans for conversion from military to civilian production appeal to the self-interests of workers by citing studies such as one by the U.S. government indicating that investment of one million dollars in “defense” production creates 76,000 jobs, whereas the same investment in civilian production would produce over 100,000 jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 1972), cited by Lindroos (1980). The U.S. trade unions most active in studying conversion have been the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and the United Automobile Workers’ Union. Groups in numerous cities have developed conversion plans (Gordon 1984; Christodoulou 1970) Perhaps the best known conversion effort was the Corporate plan published by the Lucas Aerospace Workers in England, in 1976. In some one thousand pages the plan identified 150 new products along with suggestions for reorganization of production. The goals of the plan were the safeguarding of jobs and the production of goods that are useful to society. Said the plan, “our intentions are...to make a start to question existing economic assumptions and make a small contribution to demonstrating that workers are prepared to press for the right to work on products which actually help to solve human problems rather than create them” (Wainright 1982, p. 243).

Another local approach has been prevention of weapons deployment. Perhaps the most reported effort to prevent deployment of weapons has been the efforts of the Greenham Common Women in the United Kingdom to blockade US bases. They have also brought a suit in the U.S. courts charging that cruise missiles are unconstitutional. They argue that the missiles, capable of being quickly and secretly launched, deprive Congress of its right to declare war, threaten to deprive life and liberty without due process, in violation of the Fifth Amendment, and violate several canons of international law because of their indiscriminate and long-lasting potential effects. Hundreds of U.S. and British churches, disarmament groups, and labor organizations joined the suit as “friends of the court.” A U.S. court dismissed the suit (Defense and Disarmament News 1985). In Nebraska a coalition of Western environmental and peace groups filed a legal suit to block the deployment of MX missiles, in *Western Solidarity v. Ronald Reagan*. Ground Zero in Bangor, Washington, has blockaded a local naval base in a campaign against the Trident submarine which they perceive to be a first strike weapon. In April 1985, community organizers in eight U.S. cities pledged their resistance to deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). Most of the representatives came from

cities which the Navy had considered as possible homeport sites for battleship surface action groups. These ships; have the potential to carry the Tomahawk SLCM (Disarmament Campaigns 1985).

A final local approach to military policy is the application of deterrence by citizens. In the Pledge of Resistance campaign people have agreed to engage in either legal vigils or nonviolent civil disobedience in case the U.S. invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or significantly elevates its intervention in Central America (Butigan et al. 1986). By January 1985 some 42,000 had signed the pledge. Local groups have created local plans of action for civil disobedience and are already engaged in training for nonviolent action (COPRED Peace Chronicle February/April 1985, p. 5).

Perhaps the greatest significance of these local approaches to military policy is not in their success or failure but in the way in which people are reconceptualizing both] targets of action and strategies for achieving goals. Instead of demonstrating only against distant officials, they have acted against manifestations of their policies in local neighborhoods. Instead of appealing only to these same officials for changes in relationships with other countries, they have established their own relationships with people in cities abroad. In so doing they are significantly challenging traditional norms for the participation of local people in world affairs, both by making the local community an arena of “foreign policy” action and by direct involvement abroad. These changes are also reflected in local activity with respect to poverty and human rights.

5.4.2 Poverty

Over the past couple of decades voluntary programs to relieve suffering abroad have gradually evolved into programs for overcoming poverty through long-term economic and social development. Participation in Third World development has in turn involved leaders of voluntary programs in a complicated political process as they simultaneously attempt to raise funds from affluent people in the United States and use these funds to serve needs of the poor in the Third World. Lissner’s *The Politics of Altruism* (1977) graphically portrays the tension between the expectadons of many who donate to aid programs and those administering the programs overseas. As Lissner sees it, donors tend to think of aid in terms of “resource aid” that improves the standard of living by means of various social services (such as education, health, agriculture) within the given economic and political structure. On the other hand, people involved in administering programs in the Third World tend to see the need for “structural aid” to transform the local socio-economic environment by “conscientization through literacy training, establishment of rural credit institutions and rural cooperatives, support of trade unions and liberation movements” (1977, p. 22). Even more difficult to communicate to affluent supporters is the discovery “that many (but not all) of the problems of the low-income countries originate in and are sustained by factors and policies in the

high-income nations; and that many (but not all) of the governmental and voluntary aid efforts 'out there' are of little use, unless those root causes located within the high-income countries are tackled simultaneously" (1977, p. 10).

Increasingly, voluntary agencies involved in development programs in the Third World have created development education programs in their home countries as a response to these difficulties. U.S.-based organizations such as CARE and CROP (Church World Service) now devote a specified portion of their budget to development education (Hampson 1989). Programs for development education are most highly developed in Europe and Canada, and U.S. programs are patterned after them (Pradervand 1982; Traitler 1984). Canadian efforts include development education centers in cities such as Toronto, London, and Kitchener-Waterloo. Although the development education movement is only in its infancy in the United States, it has great potential for transforming the species identity reflected in willingness to respond to famine and poverty into much deeper understanding of the long-term causes of these conditions. In essence, development education is largely education in global political economy that provides a framework for understanding how people in local communities in both Third World and First World countries are linked to the global economy. This can open the way to specifying local policies in First World countries that are responsive to the needs of local communities in the Third World.

It is not surprising that some people perceive a relationship between arms expenditures in the Third World and poverty. This, of course, raises concerns about sales of arms to the Third World by First World manufacturers and governments. Since 1974 the British Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) has been publishing a newsletter under the same name. In December 1984 they reported on an International Conference on the Arms Trade held in The Netherlands in November 1984. In May 1985 a CAAT-sponsored "Bread not Bombs" nationwide Week of Action, publicizing the damaging effects of the arms trade on Third World countries, focused on Britain as the world's fourth largest supplier of arms to the Third World. Emphasis was placed on local action. OXFAM, long active in Third World development programs, has issued a "Cultivating Hunger" report whose suggestions for action include: "Encouraging a transfer of spending from the Arms Race to Development. In particular: cutting out Government encouragement for arms dealing with the Third World, carefully restricting the export of repressive equipment and arms likely to be used for quelling internal disturbance caused by the anger of the hungry" (Campaign Against Arms Trade 1984).

5.4.3 Human Rights

In conformance with the ideology of the state system, fulfillment of human rights as promulgated in the Declaration of Human Rights is normally perceived to be the task of national governments. Nevertheless, the two covenants drafted to fulfill the declaration (one on civil and political rights and one on economic, social and

cultural rights) both assert in their preambles: "Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant." One example of local response to the spirit of this appeal is the promulgation of the UN International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in Burlington, Iowa, in an ordinance adopted by the city council (The Burlington Iowa Hawk Eye 1986). One organization that endeavors to fulfill this responsibility is Amnesty International (AI), particularly through its program in which local AI groups work for the release of prisoners of conscience throughout the world. The primary approach of these AI groups is to bring pressure on foreign governments through publicity, letters, and phone calls (Amnesty International 1986).

The struggle against Apartheid in South Africa has also been localized through local boycotts of companies and banks doing business in South Africa and efforts to change their policies by participation in shareholders meetings. There are also campaigns on many college campuses attempting to pressure boards of directors of colleges and universities to disinvest in corporations doing business in South Africa. In these cases the investments consist principally of endowment funds (Love 1985).

Another form of local human rights activity is the effort to provide new homes for refugees from political oppression, war and economic deprivation in other countries. Normally this means settling legal immigrants in local communities, although sometimes it can—either deliberately or unwittingly—involve assistance to illegal immigrants. Presently the sanctuary movement is offering sanctuary for refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala whom the movement believes would suffer punishment or death if they returned. But the U.S. immigration service has declared them to be illegal aliens whom it intends to return to El Salvador; in March 1989 the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the 1986 conviction of eight religious workers who gave sanctuary to aliens from Guatemala and El Salvador. The movement began in 1981 in Arizona and the San Francisco area when church people of many denominations began to assist, feed, and shelter refugees fleeing El Salvador and Guatemala. Since then over three hundred religious congregations have declared themselves to be sanctuaries in a movement involving over fifty thousand people. The sanctuary movement bases its efforts on the Refugee Act of 1980, which provides asylum for those persecuted or having "a well-founded fear of persecution in their own countries," and sees itself as following a U.S. tradition, as exemplified by the Underground Railroad during the Civil War. Then, too, those helping the slaves were indicted and imprisoned.

Still another local form of human rights action is the INFACT Campaign against the Nestle Corporation and its marketing practices for infant formula in the Third World. INFACT instigated local boycotts of Nestle products, disinvestment campaigns, and national and international efforts to set standards for the marketing of infant formula in the Third World. Its actions culminated in the approval of recommended standards by the Assembly of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1980. Only one negative vote was cast, by the representative of the United States, and the

Nestle Corporation accepted the WHO standards (McComas et al. 1985). Although INFACT field monitoring has detected significant violations of the WHO standards, it has found that marketing of baby food and hospital feeding practices for infants have changed substantially since the code was adopted (Infact 1984, cited by (Sikkink 1986, p. 822). In a study of this case that included field work in Central America, Kathryn Sikkink concluded that “the activities of nongovernmental groups, in particular transnational activist groups, were essential to the final outcome” (1986, p. 840).

5.5 Local Government Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

Perhaps the most challenging approach to local activism on “foreign policy” issues are efforts to put international issues on the agendas of city government and to put foreign policy questions before the electorate in local referenda (Shuman 1986–1987). Beginning with anti-Vietnam resolutions by city councils in the 1960s and 1970s, there have been increasing efforts to get city councils to make declarations and pass legislation on international issues, including the struggle against apartheid, a nuclear weapons freeze, nuclear weapons free zones, a nuclear test ban, sanctuary, and conversion plans. Janice Love (1985) study of anti-Apartheid campaigns in Michigan and Massachusetts reported that twenty-two local U.S. communities had withdrawn investments from corporations doing business in South Africa. By 1986 the American Committee on Africa reported that fifty-four cities had divested.

The nuclear weapons freeze campaign put much of its efforts into nuclear freeze votes by city, town and county councils and local referenda. The freeze called for a bilateral (U.S.-Soviet) freeze on the production of nuclear weapons. Based on figures from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse in St. Louis, Newcombe (1983) reported that 240 city councils, 466 New England town meetings, and 63 county councils passed freeze resolutions, for a total of 769. In addition, referenda were passed in over fifty cities and counties. This effort was followed by a comprehensive test ban campaign that had received support from 154 cities by 1987.

Cities have also declared themselves to be nuclear weapons free zones (Takayanagi 1983; Takahara 1987). The idea of a nuclear weapons free zone originated in the context of continents, such as Antarctica and Latin America, and regions, such as the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Middle East, Central Europe, and Scandinavia. Perhaps frustrated by lack of progress in obtaining the support of states for nuclear free zones over these large areas, the movement was moved to the grassroots. A nuclear weapons free municipality generally forbids the stationing and transit of nuclear weapons within its boundaries, including surrounding water and air space. It may also forbid the stationing, transit, or production of weapons systems associated with nuclear weapons. A few cities have extended the nuclear weapons free zone to a “nuclear free zone” which prohibits civilian nuclear power stations as well as nuclear weapons.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) started the municipal nuclear free zone movement in Britain, where 192 local councils have approved the proposal—representing over 60 % of the population, Nuclear Free America, Baltimore, Maryland (The New Abolitionist, October 1988), reports that there are 4222 nuclear free zone communities in 23 countries: Argentina (1), Australia (111), Belgium (281), Canada (176), Denmark (20), Finland (3), France (1) Great Britain (192), Greece (70), Ireland (117), Italy (700), Japan (1315), The Netherlands (100), New Zealand (105), Norway (140), The Philippines (21), Portugal (105), Spain (400), Sweden (7), Tahiti (1), the United States (155), Vanatu (1), and West Germany (200).

For those who view these local involvements in international issues from the standpoint of state system ideology, city meddling in issues such as the war in Vietnam, apartheid, the nuclear freeze, and nuclear free zones appear to be intrusions in affairs that should be handled in Washington, producing messy and confusing foreign policy that puts the “national interest” at risk. At the same time, these issues are perceived as diverting local officials from their appropriate local responsibilities. This argument has been made cogently in a resolution passed by the City Council of the city of San Buenaventura, California, in May 1971 (Hobbs 1985):

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved, by the City Council of the City of Buenaventura that they will continue to devote their time and efforts to considering and resolving only those matters of local concern of which they have elected responsibility; and further the City Council will use whatever means available to dissuade those groups or individuals who request their assistance on matters of national or international concern.

The reasons given for this resolution by the council are that (1) they were elected to represent the citizenry on matters of local concern, (2) the council does not have the authority to make decisions or to change goals on national and international issues, and (3) individuals bringing national and international issues to the council would better spend their time communicating with representatives elected to debate and resolve these issues.

On the other hand, some view these issues as intrinsically local in that the first victims of nuclear war would be cities. How then can it be said that citizen initiatives whose goal is to prevent nuclear war are not appropriately the concern of local government? Bitter experience motivates the extensive anti-nuclear activities of the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, exemplified by their personal lobbying efforts in the United Nations. Among many local officials sharing their view is Larry Agran, now on the city council of Irvine, California, and former mayor of the city. Viewing the nuclear threat as a local issue, he took the initiative in organizing mayors and council members in California through Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA). This organization supports the nuclear weapons freeze, arms reductions, reduction of U.S. military spending, and conversion of the funds to more productive civilian purposes. Other interesting indicators of the dynamic interest in municipal foreign policies centered in California are the emergence of the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, published by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (1986–1987) and the appearance of *Building Municipal Foreign Policies: An Action Handbook for Citizens and Local Elected Officials* (Shuman 1987).

In Europe there is a movement for town councils to create policies for development cooperation, reflected by a conference organized in Florence in October 1983 by the International Union of Local Authorities, the United Town Organization and UNESCO. Emphasis was placed on “twinning” cities in Europe and the Third World and sensitizing local people to Third World problems. Says the conference report: “Increased interest in these problems and the desire amongst local inhabitants to make their own contribution towards solving them has in many cases led to municipal councils being confronted with these matters. Development cooperation items appear on Town Council agendas more and more” (IFDA 1984, p. 27).

The conference report cites examples of municipal Third World policies in Northern Europe. In Belgium there is a campaign to have an Alderman for Development Cooperation appointed in each municipality. In Bruges the Alderman for Development participates on a fifteen-member Third World committee composed of representatives from all organizations in Bruges involved in development cooperation. This committee advises the Bruges Town Council on matters pertaining to development cooperation, conducts educational activities for the Bruges population, and coordinates initiatives of the various local organizations involved in Third World activity. In Leiden the municipality decided in 1979 to make available an annual amount of ten thousand guilders for informing people about Third World developments. In Tilburg, Netherlands, the mayor and aldermen in 1979 produced a draft “opinion” on “foreign affairs” examining the possibilities of municipal authorities contributing to local awareness about the inequality in the relations between industrial countries, such as the Netherlands, and countries of the Third World. This led to the creation of an Advisory Board in June 1980 composed of members of the town council and representatives of community organizations. After an inventory of local organizations involved in development cooperation it was decided that development education would be approached from two angles: conditions in the Third World, and the domestic situation (textile workers). A fund has been established for local education and for programs directly linked to a Third World situation. The Town Council annually contributes fifty thousand guilders to this fund.

Responding to a suggested outline of the Towns and Development Secretariat in The Hague, a number of European towns and cities have contributed case studies of their relationships with Third World counterparts. (As yet no case studies from Third World participants seem to be available.) Because no available document generalizes across the case studies, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the achievements of this program. On the other hand, it is significant that the number of participating towns and cities is growing. Very impressive is the forthright critical approach of the case studies in which both failures and successes are reported. Says Lode De Wilde of Brugge, “Linking with towns in developing countries is fated to be short-lived because of the great differences in mentality between local governments on both sides. The degree of bureaucracy in nearly all Third World countries inevitably confines you to official channels” (Kussendrager 1988: p. 17). A report on Oldenburg complains that the relationship with a town in Lesotho had not progressed between 1985 and 1988. More upbeat reports are

offered on links between Amsterdam and Managua and between Bremen and towns in Namibia, the Western Sahara, and Nicaragua. Gunther Hilliges, head of the Department of Development of Bremen, reports that Bremen is in an ambiguous position. "It is part of an economic structure, but it supports the critics of that structure," resulting in much opposition in Bremen to the development cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany (Kussendrager 1988, p. 72). Thus we have some evidence that the Towns and Development program offers a challenging arena for local "hands-on" experience in contending with the complexities of economic relationships between the First and Third Worlds.

5.6 Conclusion

We have drawn on studies in urban political economy and world systems to illuminate the dynamic impact of world-wide economic and social forces on the cities of the world. These works have emphasized "overurbanization," transnational production, and a world-wide hierarchy of cities, with "global cities" at the pinnacle. We have drawn primarily on Third World scholars for insight into the response of social movements to these developments, but we have also learned that conditions in the periphery of cities in the industrialized world bear some resemblance to those in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Drawing on examples from industrialized countries, we have described how people in cities are gaining insight into how the "foreign policies" of states affect their cities and other cities around the world, and how people are creating movements and institutions through which people and governments in cities can become involved in formulating these policies.

In this appraisal it has been necessary to draw on scholarship from anthropology, economics, history, and sociology, as well as from political science, largely by ferreting out fragments of work beyond the mainstream of these disciplines. The social science mainstream is still locked into that "cast-iron grid," the state system, that inhibits scholarship that would illuminate the full reality of city life today. We have drawn on resources that offer analysis and description of the struggles of people to cope with the intrusion on city life of both world-wide economic and social forces and the foreign policies of states.

As a result of this modest but still continuing effort, an authoritative judgment on relevant literature is not feasible, yet some impressions may be useful. We found the work of sociologists and anthropologists to be most useful, and that of political scientists to be much less so. On the other hand, political scientists have insightfully diagnosed problems which limit our capacity to respond to the changing boundaries of political phenomena. After criticizing the "realist" paradigm as a tool for gaining understanding of global politics, Mansbach and Vasquez propose an issue paradigm that encompasses "any individual or group that is able to contend for the disposition of a political stake" (1981). In thinking through the consequences of this approach they then find it necessary to offer "a rejection of the alleged dichotomy between 'international' and 'domestic' politics," and to

propose “a theory of politics...that reunites the disparate and artificial divisions among international, comparative, American, or other national theories of politics.” Clearly, people attempting to cope with the worldwide relations of everyday life desperately need views of the world that unite falsely separated ideas that in their everyday experience are linked together.

Dahl and Tufte arrived at a conclusion similar to that of Mansbach and Vasquez, although their starting point was a concern for the adequacy of democratic theory. In searching for the optimum size of a polity that would provide the greatest opportunity for citizens to participate effectively in decisions, they uncovered contradictions between their preference for small units and the reality of transnational units. This forced them to conclude that “theory, then needs to do what democratic theory has never done well: to offer guidance about the appropriate relations among units” (1973, p. 140). By this they mean:

Rather than conceiving of democracy as located in a particular kind of inclusive, sovereign unit, we must learn to conceive of democracy spreading through a set of interrelated political systems, sometimes though not always arranged like Chinese boxes, the smaller nesting in the larger. The central theoretical problem is no longer to find suitable rules, like the majority principle, to apply within a sovereign unit, but to find suitable rules to apply among a variety of units, none of which is sovereign (1973, p. 135).

Although it is not likely that they have read Dahl and Tufte, people attempting to create a foreign policy agenda for cities are implicitly responding to their appeal. In contrast, although political scientists have diagnosed the problem and although they now have produced a vast literature on processes and institutions that transcend state boundaries, they seem to be particularly constrained from focusing concern on the world-wide linkages and agendas of human settlements.

Although the literature on struggles of people to cope with a world-wide agenda in their own communities is still not highly developed, much of it being descriptive, it is vitally important. It draws attention to the inability of social scientists to provide knowledge that would help people to cope with the world-wide involvements of daily life—by failing to provide knowledge that would illuminate their worldwide linkages, by failing to identify issues that emerge from these linkages, and failing to discern the possibilities for movements and institutions through which people in cities can cope with these issues. But despite education and socialization based on the “cast iron grid/” a growing number of people, have devised their own ways for coping with problems that intrude on their daily lives. There seems to be an important message here for social scientists. Perhaps we need to be more involved with people in the communities in which we live who are attempting to cope with worldwide issues through local organizations and movements. They could help us to become more penetrating observers of the world at our doorstep and could suggest research questions responsive to their needs.

At the same time, those who are interested in enhancing their competence to provide knowledge that is useful to people attempting to cope with the world-wide contexts of daily life may wish to rethink their research and education methodologies in light of the evolving approaches of colleagues working in Third World contexts. Particularly challenging are efforts to diminish the gap between research and

participation, as reflected in Anisur Rahman's assertion that participation consists of investigation, reflection (analysis), decision-making and application of decision. Also provocative is Mamali's conclusion that "just distribution of social knowledge cannot be reached unless its process of production is democratized." At the same time LaBelle emphasizes the importance of linking educational programs and application of learning by people in their daily lives. What are the full implications of these challenges? Is people-centered development, in contrast to production-centered development, feasible without these kinds of changes in research and education—in both industrialized and Third World cities? Given the norms of the disciplinary and university contexts in which most social science researchers and educators work, dare we think seriously about such things?

Finally, there is the challenge of thinking through the relationship between the two themes of city involvement in the world, the one responsive to the increasing impact of world-wide economic and social forces and the other in reaction to the local impact of "foreign policies" of states. As we have said, the two domains tend to have different constituencies, with local workers affected by change in the global economy at the core of the first and middle class "internationals" at the core of the second. The themes overlap on issues such as social justice and human rights, although the middle class "foreign policy" activists tend to be more concerned about the fate of distant people than they are about those in their own backyard. Both share a concern about jobs, although for the "foreign policy" activists, creating more jobs through conversion is a means for controlling violence, whereas for those concerned with the impact of worldwide production, jobs are an end goal. There is some convergence in the two views, reflected in the development education movement that has evolved out of earlier "foreign aid" approaches. Increasingly this educational effort seeks to understand the relationship between local linkages with the world and poverty at home as well as abroad. This is leading to growing comprehension by some middle class "internationals" of the similar circumstances and interdependence of two Third Worlds—one in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the other at the periphery of cities in industrialized countries.

There is no doubt that the global context of cities is changing and that the self-conscious and organized responsiveness of people to these changes is growing. This will provide a significant new dimension to the future world polity. The nature of cooperation and conflict between the different constituencies of the two themes of response may profoundly affect the outcome. The emerging interdisciplinary network of scholars who are attempting to understand this dynamic change in world politics has the potential to contribute important enlightenment to the people involved.

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Chapter 6

Japanese Municipal International Exchange and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges

The purpose of this chapter is to examine present Japanese municipal international exchange and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific and to ponder its future potential. This paper should be seen as a preliminary effort which is based on material now available in English. We shall first provide a very brief overview of growing literature on the worldwide relations of cities. Second, we present information on the expanding institutional support for international activities of Japanese Cities. Third, we provide examples of intercity relations between Japanese cities and other Asia-Pacific Cities. Fourth, we discuss networks of cities in which Japanese cities are involved, first examining those limited to the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea, and then turning to more expansive networks extending to the larger Asia-Pacific region. After a summary, we attempt to draw conclusions about the relevance of municipal exchange and cooperation to more macro issues in world affairs.¹

6.1 Introduction

The cities of the world are inhabited by people who are in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with the multifaceted dimensions of the worldwide relationships of their daily lives. Unfortunately, the social sciences, are of little help. Preventing study, and even perception, of the linkages between human settlements and worldwide phenomena, is a view of the world as a system of states. Nevertheless, some scholars are undeterred by the tyranny of state system ideology over the mainstream of their disciplines. Historians such as Fernand Braudel

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help us to put present encounters between human settlements and the world into historical perspective, thereby overcoming the widespread belief that these linkages are totally new. “Braudel places people, and the localities within which they operate and reproduce both themselves and their customs, at the center of the world.” (Kirby 1986: p. 211) Conveying to the reader his excitement about the “structures of daily life,” he asks: “Aren’t these questions just as exciting as the fate of Charles V’s empire or the fleeting and debatable splendors of the so-called French primacy during the reign of Louis XIV?” (Braudel 1977: p. 12) He also reminds us that cities “have existed since pre-historic times,” and that “they are multicultured structures of the most ordinary way of life. But they are also multipliers, capable of adapting to change and helping to bring it about” (Braudel 1977, 15).

Some anthropologists have criticized the tendency of their colleagues to study local communities as though they were isolated from the world. Among these is Eric Wolf who declares that the central assertion of his analysis of the world since 1400 is “that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and fail to reassemble it falsify reality. Concepts like ‘nation,’ ‘society,’ and ‘culture’ name bits and threaten to turn names into things” (Wolf 1982: p. 3). Another example is Adams’ (1970) study of social structures in Guatemala from 1944 to 1966, offering penetrating understanding of the ways in which the lives of Guatemalan farm laborers and coffee farmers are intertwined with actors ranging from local coffee buyers, to political party headquarters, to the Pentagon, international labor organizations and the Vatican.

Some sociologists focusing on urbanization view the city as a node in systems of production, distribution and exchange, in what Richard Child Hill prefers to label as urban political economy. From his point of view, perhaps the most important contribution urban political economists are making today is their effort to “refine the thesis that the crucial issues now facing cities emanate from their sociospatial location as nodes within a global capitalist system undergoing economic transition.” (Hill 1984, p. 131) Thus, “urban political economists reject the notion of an autonomous urban realm. Rather, they attempt to relate patterns of urban development to the development of societies and the international order as a whole.” (Hill 1984, p. 127) There is now a growing focus on “world cities” which “articulate regional, national, and international economies into a global economy they serve as the organizing nodes of a global economic system.” Friedman’s list of 30 “world cities” includes 6 from the Asia-Pacific region: Tokyo, Singapore, Seoul, Sydney, Osaka- Kobe, and Hong Kong (Friedman 1995, pp. 24–25).

While the mainstream of political science research on international relations has almost totally ignored cities, the “complex conglomerate model” of Mansbach et al. (1976) does at least provide for “governmental noncentral” actors. Another exception is Ivo D. Duchacek, whose research on federalism led to concern for three major forms of “trans-sovereign relations” conducted by noncentral governments: (1) influencing external relations from within, (2) trans-border regionalism and (3) direct contacts with foreign centers of power (Duchacek 1987). Yet another exception is Alger’s work which commenced with an extensive study of the

linkages of Columbus, Ohio to the world and continues with efforts to explicate possibilities for more selfconscious and efficacious participation in world affairs by people in local communities (Alger 1977, 1978–1979, 1984–1985, 1995).

Because this work is on the periphery of the several disciplines, it has not made a significant impact on university nor pre-collegiate education. Therefore, the inhabitants of the human settlements of the world must deal with the worldwide involvements of daily life as best they can, despite the lack of knowledge which would enable them to perceive, understand and cope. Their efforts, particularly as they transcend the possible as prescribed by scholarly paradigms, merit the attention of those who wish to comprehend the realities of world politics today. These efforts tend to be of three kinds. First have been efforts through which people express their feelings of unity with people in distant human settlements, such as Sister City programs. These programs began primarily as exchange programs through which people from cities in different countries came together to celebrate their common human identity and to learn about their cultural differences. Second, transformations in the intentional political economy have fostered local efforts to overcome local impacts through movements concerned with issues such as unemployment, wages, working conditions, the homeless, destruction of local culture, immigration, pollution and local control over resources. Third, there have been growing efforts in cities to respond to foreign policy issues which have traditionally been perceived as exclusively in the domain of national government, but which are now perceived to have local impacts which demand local response. This includes issues such as the creation of local nuclear-free zones, conversion of local military production to peaceful uses, human rights, and offering local sanctuary to immigrants defined as “illegals” by the central government.

Evolving out of these main themes have been a number of approaches. In the Mundialization movement (Prenger et al. 1988, pp. 10–21) cities declare themselves global cities, celebrate their international attributes, and pledge support to the UN Charter. In the “Think globally Act Locally” movement local people endeavor to act responsibly in the light of the global consequences of “local” acts such as gas consumption, arms production, and soil erosion. In the European-based Towns and Development movement, “Northern” cities link with “Southern” cities in efforts to move development assistance to the “Southern” partner and provide education on the consequences of “North–South” economic linkages to citizens in the “Northern” partner. A more recent concept, originating also in Europe, can encompass most of these developments—Municipal International Cooperation (Schep et al. 1995).

6.2 Support for International Activities of Japanese Cities

Recent growth in international exchange and cooperation programs of Japanese local authorities is dramatically revealed by the budget increase of 4.9 % between 1988 and 1994. In the fiscal year 1994, there were 17,201 programs, with a budget

of over 120 billion yen (Menjju 1995, p. 53). Toshihiro Menjju of the Japan Center for International Exchange (1995) provides a very ‘useful overview of organizations created to facilitate local participation in international activity. All Japanese prefectural and major municipal governments have international affairs divisions and have established quasi-governmental “International Exchange Associations.” These Associations serve as clearinghouses for international activities in their respective regions. First created by prefectural and major city governments, they now have spread into smaller communities. In August 1994 there were 600 associations. In addition, most of the prefectural and major municipal governments have incorporated “international affairs polices” into their long-term regional strategy.

Supportive of these local efforts is the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), established in 1988 by the Ministry of Home Affairs, local governments and others. One of its main activities is the Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, a national effort “to internationalize local communities through foreign language education. CLAIR also collects information on local government issues from various countries and disseminates the findings towards both Japan and other countries.” It has six offices abroad for facilitating interactions between Japanese local governments and overseas counterparts. Menjju attributes these developments to the increasing interest in Japan on the part of grassroots citizens and local governments of neighboring Asian countries, and “increasing awareness and acceptance among [Japanese] citizens regarding the activities of NGOs related to developing countries” (Menjju 1995, pp. 51–52).

In 1992 the Japan Intercultural Academy of Municipalities was created, at the initiative of the Ministry of Home Affairs, to provide training on international affairs for municipal government staff throughout Japan. In 1994 it had 18 courses and provided training for 1235. In 1995 the Academy started a new program, International Cooperation Training Course. Also in 1995, again with the initiative of the Ministry, CLAIR established the Local Authorities Center for International Cooperation, staffed with 15 members in the CLAIR Tokyo office. It “is expected to play a pivotal role in furthering both international cooperation and exchange, including sister city affiliations among Japanese local authorities” (Menjju 1995, p. 54).

Particularly useful is “Local Autonomy Diplomacy in Japan,” by Tomino (1993), a former mayor of Zushi City, and now a professor at Shimane University. He has provided an overview of the “diplomatic” activities of Japanese cities/towns, arranging them into four categories:

- (1) Inter-city exchanges (Sister City agreements, economic exchanges and personnel exchanges) undertaken by entities other than the central government.
- (2) Mobilizing international public opinion and directly cooperating with the United Nations in commonly shared tasks through international inter-city networking or federations of cities.
- (3) Overseas Development Activities (ODA) and other direct and smallscale assistance.
- (4) Protecting human rights of foreign residents in Japan.

Because there is considerable overlap among these main themes, we find it useful to present the material on relations between Japanese cities and their

counterparts in the Asia-Pacific region in three categories: (1) Bilateral City Exchanges focuses on relationships developed by two cities. (2) Networks of Cities are divided into those limited to the Japan Sea and the East China Sea, and those covering the larger Asia-Pacific area. (3) Protecting the human rights of foreign residents of Japan deals with both the intracity and international consequences of deprivation of human rights based on citizenship and national origin.

6.3 Bilateral City Exchanges

According to Menjju, “Since the 1980s a new [Japanese] sister city link has been forming at the rate of almost every week.” In July 1995 Japanese cities had 989 sister city affiliations, and prefectures had 101, linking with a total of 55 countries and regions. In the 1950s and the 1960s Japanese sister city relationships had been predominantly with cities in the U.S. and other Western countries. In the 1970s there was a geographical widening to include regions in China, Brazil and Korea. “In the 1980s, “regional internationalization” had become a buzzword in Japan...” (Menjju 1995, pp. 51–52) “Since a Sister-City agreement was made between Otaru and Nakhodka (Russia) in 1966, more than forty cities and prefectures in Japan have joined in this kind of Sister-City relationship” (Sadotomo 1996, p. 3). “In the 1990s...unlike previous trends, Japanese local communities have begun to pay keen attention to developing countries, especially those located in the Asia-Pacific region...” (Menjju 1995, pp. 51–52).

Menjju attributes the increasing focus of sister city activity in the Asia Pacific region to two factors. First is the growing interest of Japanese grassroots citizens and local governments in neighboring countries. Now many cities in western Japan “identify themselves as being a gateway to other Asian countries.” Cities along the Japan Sea Coast are “attempting to develop networks among communities around the Japan Sea Rim Region.” Second, “there has been increasing awareness and acceptance” among citizens of the activities of NGOs in developing countries (Menjju 1995, p. 52).

Tomino notes that since the late 1970s, especially after the restoration of Japan–China diplomatic relations, local authorities in Japan have been frequently approached by their counterparts in Asia and the Pacific who wish to benefit from the strong Japanese economy by developing working relationships. But Tomino senses that these approaches to Japanese local authorities reveal a lack of understanding by their overseas counterparts of Japanese centralism in which “all the industry-related licenses and authorizations are controlled by the central government.” Thus, Japanese local authorities tend to “focus on trainee and other personnel exchanges as a major part of their exchanges” (Tomino 1993, p. 14).

Tomino observes that exchanges have gradually expanded from the initial culture and education focus to include “almost all the work relevant to local authorities” and the areas in which they have practical knowhow, such as technology, welfare, health and medicine, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, environment and community development. What began as an activity of larger cities in the 1980s has spread to smaller cities engaged in sister city activities in the form of staff exchange programs. Tomino concludes that these efforts at “exchanging

community development knowhow undertaken by Japanese local authorities emphasizing people's wellbeing...do embody zeal and passion for the international community on the part of the local autonomy." (Tomino 1993, p. 15)

Japanese local governments have provided programs for technical trainees from the "Third World" since 1978 under the Japan International Cooperation Agency (QICA). These include 201 sister city/prefecture linkages with China, with programs for trainees as the most typical program. Menjiu (1995, p. 53) For example, the city of Kitakyushu established the Kitakyushu International Training Association (KITA) in 1980 to provide technical training—especially environmentally related—for people from developing countries. After grappling with its own notorious air pollution from the iron industry, Kitakyushu is sharing its experience with communities in developing countries.

The Kagoshima Asia-Pacific Countryside Center, established in 1994 for Southeast Asian trainees, is cited as a project which produces "tangible benefits not only in developing countries but in Japan as well." The Center is a joint project of the Prefectural Government and a local NGO, the Karaimo Exchange Foundation. This Foundation started as a farmers' movement in 1982 to invite foreign students living in large cities in Japan to this rural area. Like other rural communities throughout Japan, Kagoshima is troubled by the lack of pride in their home towns of young people who are eager to leave the local region for the excitements of city life. "However, through becoming familiar with students from other Asian countries, Japanese rural farmers have been discovering that their heritage is not parochial but rather international.... Kagoshima farmers have been also amazed and gratified to hear foreign students observe that Kagoshima, unlike—Tokyo, is the real Japan with real people." (Menjiu and Toshihiro 1995, p. 55)

Following these experiences, farmers and residents of Kagoshima have visited the homes of these foreign students, including Thailand and the Philippines. Then Karaimo started to bring farmers from other Asian countries to Kagoshima, offering them training through working with Japanese farmers. This then led to the creation of the Asia-Pacific Intercultural Countryside Center by the Prefectural Government, "thinking that farmers in Kagoshima and the local community will be much reinvigorated by growing familiarity with other Asian farmers" (Menjiu and Toshihiro 1995, p. 55).

A similar example is a training project on traditional paper making, developed by Misumi-cho, a small town of 9,000 people. Suffering from a decline in its traditional paper making industry, the town developed a paper-manufacturing program for Bhutanese. This led to the discovery by people in Misumicho "that their almost fading tradition has become a powerful tool for the development of Bhutan." The mayor has visited Bhutan and has donated machinery for paper production. "Through these exchanges, the tradition of paper making in Misumicho has become much more appreciated by the nation as a whole." Menjiu concludes:

the above cases illustrate that Japanese rural communities, regardless of their size, have a great deal of potential for rural development of other developing countries through creating mutual benefit based on an equal footing. It is also important to note that "empowerment" can take place both in developing countries and Japanese communities as well. (Menjiu and Toshihiro 1995, pp. 55–56)

Our examples make it obvious that specific cities become involved in relations with cities abroad for a diversity of reasons and in response to a variety of stimuli. On occasions the catalyst has been the United Nations. In one case, Shiba Prefecture, the location of Japan's largest lake, held several conferences on water quality control to which it invited people from cities abroad. Relationships that evolved out of these conferences led to the establishment by the UN Environment Program (UNEP) of the UNEP International Environmental Technology Center in Shiga in 1995. Its purpose is to disseminate know-how on water quality control to cities around the world (Menjiu and Toshihiro 1995, p. 53).

Another example evolved out of a 1991 conference in which the World Health Organization and the Department of Public Health of Saitama Prefecture cosponsored a "Public Health Summit" in Omiya City, with participants from more than 50 countries. This has led to a project in the Bhaktapur and Nuwakot districts in Nepal to improve primary health services. The project is funded by Overseas Development Assistance funds of the Japanese Government, with staff temporarily hired by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). But Ebashi reports that "Saitama decides every phase of the project and JICA takes only the responsibility for financial aspects. This means that local governments have the chance to become one of the main actors of the ODA program" (Ebashi 1995, p. 3).

Finally, these examples of Japanese assistance to cities in the Asia Pacific region clearly reveal that Japanese cities have become extensively involved in overseas "development" activities. Some consider this activity as too ad hoc and would like to move toward a more sustained effort. For example, Tomino reported in 1993 of a Zushi City plan to convene an international symposium to formally propose to all the local authorities to spend 0.1 % of their annual budget for ODA programs "as a major part of the local autonomy diplomacy." The goal would be to replace sporadic aid by some cities with 3,000 cities/towns/prefectures coordinating "projects for better living of city residents throughout the world, with a view to attaining total security by Japan's peaceful international contribution" (Tomino 1993, p. 22).

6.4 Networks of Cities

6.4.1 *Sea of Japan and East China Sea*

Some networks of cities in the Asia-Pacific are limited to particular regions, such as the Japan Sea, and others spread across the entire region. We will turn first to the networks of more limited geographic scope. Reviewing past regional efforts, Tomino notes that even during the Cold War, in the 1970s and 1980s, efforts were made to create (1) an economic zone for resource development and investments linking Far East Russia and local authorities in Hokkaido, (2) a cultural and economic exchange zone by local authorities surrounding the Japan Sea, in North and South Korea, Far East Russia and Japan, and (3) a loosely linked economic exchange zone on the East China Sea, involving Taiwan, Hong Kong, South China

and Okinawa. He believes that “inter-city conferences and/or networking of local authorities will probably increase their importance as a platform where voices of local authorities can be heard internationally.” But he wonders how they will develop in the future in the light of continuing “unsolved questions” over human rights in China, nuclear development in North Korea, and the Russian-Japanese dispute over the Kurile Islands. But he notes that local authorities “could press states to take actions for relaxation of tensions” (Tomino 1993, pp. 17, 18).

Sadotomo draws our attention to intercity cooperation in areas surrounding the Japan Sea. Since 1970, Russo-Japan Mayor’s Conferences have been held every 2 years. Recently, more than 30 mayors from cities in Far East Russia and the West coast of Japan met to discuss regional economic cooperation, cultural exchange, tourism and environmental problems. In 1988, the Japan Sea Symposium, with participants from China and the Soviet Union, was held in Niigata, Japan (Sadotomo 1996, p. 3). The Niigata University Society for Japan Sea Rim Studies was established in 1989 and now has about 150 members from throughout Japan. The society sent a scholarly mission to five Russian cities in December 1990 which visited more than 20 scientific institutes in order to propose international cooperation. This effort produced the Japan Sea Rim International Academic Exchange Declaration. Now plans are underway to establish an Association for Japan Sea Rim Studies (Sadotomo 1996, p. 4).

Sadotomo reports on “cooperative frameworks” between TV/radio in Niigata and that in Russia and China, including Heilongjiang, Maritime Klai, Khabarovsk Klai, Sakhalin and Irkutsk. They cooperated in producing the program “Japan–China–Russia TV Summit” in September 1991. Also, 3 Russian, 3 Chinese and 3 Japanese editors of local newspapers met at the International Press Symposium on the Japan Sea Rim in Niigata “to promote grass-roots exchange and build cooperative networks bordering China, Russia, and Japan” (Sadotomo 1996, p. 5).

6.4.2 Asia-Pacific

We will focus on two Asia-Pacific networks of cities: (1) CITYNET is a local government-based network and (2) The Asian Coalition for Housing Rights is primarily an NGO network. CITYNET is a network of urban local governments, development authorities and nongovernmental organizations in the Asia-Pacific region. “CITYNET’s vision is to act as a focal point and facilitator in the Asia-Pacific region to promote the exchange of expertise and experiences among various urban actors, particularly local authorities and NGOs. It seeks to expand the concept of bilateral relationships into a multilateral network, in addition to contributing to self-reliant development and international understanding” (CITYNET 1996, p. 1). Priorities for 1996–1997 are municipal finance and administration, management of infrastructure and services, urban environment and health and poverty alleviation. Activities consist primarily of (1) documentation and dissemination of urban experiences, (2) seminar/workshops, (3) training, (4)

technical advisory services, and (5) study visits to successful urban development experiments.

In 1982 the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), jointly with the City of Yokohama, and the UN Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), convened in Yokohama the First Regional Congress of Local Authorities for the Development of Human Settlements. The Congress emphasized the importance of local authorities in the development of human settlements and the need for strengthening their responsibilities and capabilities. A Yokohama Declaration recommended effective linking of local authorities in the region and this was later endorsed by ESCAP. In pursuance of the Yokohama Declaration, and in the context of the UN's Year of Shelter for the Homeless in 1987, the Second Regional Congress of Local Authorities for Development of Human Settlements in Asia and the Pacific was held in Nagoya in July 1987, organized by ESCAP and the city of Nagoya. A Nagoya Declaration led to the creation of CIYNET. The first general meeting of CITYNET was then held in Shanghai in 1989 (Hosaka 1993, pp. 134–137). Beginning with 12 members, it has grown to an international organization with Full Members from 43 cities in 17 countries, (Australia, Bangladesh, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, P.N.G., P.R. China, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam). Forty-seven Associate Members consist primarily of NGOs, but also include several development authorities.

CITYNET is governed by a General Council of ninety members which meets every 4 years, and a ten member Executive Committee meeting at least once a year. The Secretariat is located in Yokohama. CITYNET endeavors to practice selfreliance through membership dues, inkind contributions, host member cities bearing costs of participants in activities such as regional seminars, and cost-sharing arrangements with external donors such as the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the Japan ESCAP Cooperation Fund. The City of Yokohama provides office facilities for the Secretariat and meets a major part of the costs of the Secretariat staff.

CITYNET is a meeting ground for a remarkable mix of actors: UN agencies (UNDP and UNHCS), a regional UN organization (ESCAP), city officials, local and national development agencies and local and national NGOs. Three French cities are Associate Members—Lille, Lyon and Nancy—adding to the potpourri. And, of course, states from the region have the capacity to assist, ignore, or restrain the activities of all of the other actors. One example of the way in which CITYNET functions to draw on the resources and experiences of multiple actors is the development of a training manual for promotion of community-managed development projects (UN, ESCAP 1991). The manual draws on the experience of the Orangi Pilot Project of Karachi, Pakistan and the Grameen Bank, which originated as a small action-research project in Jobra, a village near the Chittagong University in Bangladesh. The manual was prepared for ESCAP (Bangkok), and published by the UN (New York), with the support of UNDP. It is not a descriptive study of these projects but a manual on how to, survey needs, plan and implement a community development project which concludes with a field exercise. The

target group of the manual are operational staff of city governments and nongovernmental organizations who are involved in community development.

It should be expected that any organization engaging actors that range from the local to the global would encounter difficulties and conflicts in its efforts to define and execute its mission. Some of these are laid out by Mitsuhiko Hosaka, a member of the ESCAP Secretariat during the founding of CITYNET. He notes the tendency of “focal point” agencies in cities to limit projects to narrow technocratic issues. “It is hoped that CITYNET can provide a channel for citizens at large to learn about the situation of urban residents in other countries and about the possibility of citizen level technical cooperation and information exchange.” He also notes that there “have been critical observations of the ‘paternalistic’ attitudes of ESCAP.” While admitting that it was not healthy over “the long run,” he notes that “a space was kept for NGOs under the ‘tribuneship’ of ESCAP at the initial stage. Such space had to be protected against city authority members.” He also takes note of the fact that ESCAP, an agency of an interstate organization (the UN), “had to address the seats of governments to communicate with municipalities and NGOs.” This kind of communication flow may “reduce significantly the efficiency and effectiveness of liberalized contact.” Therefore, after the network was established, “ESCAP tried to establish direct contact with particular local authorities, and NGOs, with partial success. As CITYNET becomes independent of ESCAP, such formalities, procedural complications and central government dominance are expected to lessen (Hosaka 1993, pp. 137–138).

Hosaka offers another example of what he calls “local level regional networking” that again illuminates a complex network of boundary crossing actors, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights. It was established as a loosely structured, action oriented network in June 1988, by 16 NGOs from 10 countries in Asia, at a meeting in Bangkok. It represents the Habitat International Coalition, a global NGO alliance on human settlement issues, which decided to decentralize its organizational structure by having a network of local NGOs in each region. The Asian Coalition has these goals: (1) to influence and pressure national governments, when required, (2) to influence international agencies, (3) to act as spokespersons for the urban poor, such as taking up specific and urgent issues of eviction and displacement, and (4) to communicate and exchange ideas, experiences and knowledge to strengthen the network. Its small secretariat is located in Bangkok. Says Hosaka, it is “not an organization but a movement” (Hosaka 1993, p. 139). It has organized factfinding missions, regional meetings, a field based advisory project, and has published a newsletter, a book and a research study. It has also been involved in some inter-regional cooperation, as in a South African People’s Dialogue in Johannesburg in 1991.

The Asian Coalition approach has been to focus on community encouragement or “empowerment” through “transnational community-sharing from which a genuine local community process is expected to emerge” (Hosaka 1993, p. 140). It identifies and studies viable grassroots experiments and attempts to spread them throughout a region. The first major achievement of the Asian Coalition was a fact finding mission on evictions in Seoul in September 1988. Millions of citizens

had been scheduled to be displaced in favor of a large-scale urban redevelopment program. The Asian Coalition prepared a report and video that were distributed around the world, resulting in major changes in government housing policies.

Another example is assistance in community managed settlement improvement in Hiep Thanh, near Ho Chi Minh City, 1990–1991. As a follow-up to a seminar sponsored by CITYNET, the Asian Coalition began a field project to assist people and local authorities to undertake a participatory planning project which began with a four-day community workshop attended by participants from low-income settlements in Colombo and Bangkok. The community leader from Bangkok “had a profound impact on the perception of her counterparts in Ho Chi-Minh City who had never been exposed to the concept of the self-reliant community based approach distinct from government provided by top-down housing and settlement schemes...” (Hosaka 1993, p. 141). Among the products was a community piped water supply project carried out in accordance with priorities set by the people, partly financed by the Asian Coalition.

Hosaka sees that the Ho chi Minh effort suggests new forms of development experiences—sharing, or “Timing from Neighbors”: (1) Linking communities is an approach to development within, particularly by sharing among non-English speaking women leaders, thus encouraging local improvement without professional inducement from above. (2) Transfer of insights through networking, as development proceeds, through short-term advisory visits and study tours of the Coalition’s network of community leaders, but without a posted expatriate expert. Again demonstrating creative networking, the Asian Coalition was elected as a member of the Executive Committee of CITYNET in 1989. At the same time, through the global network of the Habitat International Coalition, the Asian Coalition endeavors to bring issues of housing rights to the agendas of other international organizations (Hosaka 1993, p. 142).

In principle, it is the intent of the Asian Coalition that proposals for regional action come from local NGOs. But Hosaka identifies problems which might limit satisfactory fulfillment of this goal. On the one hand, local NGOs may take advantage of the Coalition, using it as merely a funding channel for their local projects, without serious concern for making a contribution to other units in the network. On the other hand, careful judgments must be made in selecting projects to be given regional dissemination. “Visitors and information brought in from the outside, if not very relevant and timely, may endanger a localized problem-solving effort, unnecessarily diverting attention of people in the communities” (Hosaka 1993, p. 140).

Of course, cities in Asia and the Pacific are also involved in networks that transcend the Asia-Pacific region. For example, Tomino draws attention to the “Pan-Pacific Nuclear Free Local Authorities Conference” which had its third meeting in 1993. It was organized on the initiative of local bodies in Japan, Australia and New Zealand, in response to the call of the International Conference of Nuclear Free Local Authorities. Established first by an initiative of the city of Manchester, U.K., the International Conference succeeded in convincing 1600 Japanese local authorities—about half of the total—to adopt a nuclear free declaration. The

President of the Pan-Pacific Conference is the mayor of Fujisawa City. Tomino observes that “there is strong expectation from Japan, as a country most advanced in the nuclear free local authorities movement* for [leadership in] realization of a nuclear free Pan-Pacific region” (Tomino 1993, p. 19).

In the light of urbanization on a global scale, Tomino believes that collaboration of cities is needed for confronting problems such as environmental destruction, exploding urban population, expansion of slums and poverty, massive consumption of energy resources and Aids. He concludes:

Now that big cities are emerging one after another, whose magnitude of budgets, population and economic influence are comparable to those of countries, and are enhancing their comparative autonomy vis central governments, impacts of worldwide solidarity of cities will be important to the stability of the world. (Tomino 1993, p. 20)

6.5 Protecting Human Rights of Foreign Residents in Japanese Cities

Although our focus in this chapter is on programs designed to create new linkages between cities in the Asia Pacific region, it is necessary to recognize the importance of already existing intercity connections, as in the case of immigrants from other countries in the region. In some cases, problems of immigrants, even after many decades of residence, can poison relationships between both cities and states. One enduring example is the treatment of the many Koreans and Taiwanese in Japanese cities. The visitor to Japanese cities who interacts with local people concerned with international affairs is impressed with the fact that local treatment of Korean and Taiwanese residents is often high on their international agenda. Koreans and Taiwanese in Japanese cities were either forced to come, or voluntarily immigrated, before and during World War II and still live as foreign residents. The Foreign Registration Act, demanding finger printing at every registration and obligating every long-term resident to carry a passport at all times, is a remnant of a society that has traditionally perceived Koreans and Taiwanese to be inferior. Coping with human rights problems produced by these lingering traditions tend to be called “internal internationalization.” In one local response, Kawasaki City decided in 1985 not to indict a Korean resident who refused finger printing. Following a sharp response from the Korean government, the Japanese government significantly changed the law.

Local authorities have also strenuously resisted the Japanese government’s reluctance to apply social security programs to foreign residents, including health insurance, public pensions and livelihood protection, eventually bringing a change in this practice. A more recent issue is restriction on the employment of foreign residents as civil servants. Although there is no explicit legal prohibition, the central government claims that foreign nationals should not be hired as regular civil servants because of “fear that Japan may be dominated by a foreign country if foreigners enter the government” (Tomino 1993, 23). But in 1991 Zushi City

removed the nationality provision from qualifications for employment by the city. This was followed by employment of a career civil servant of foreign nationality who passed a regular examination, “perhaps the very first case in Japan” (Tomino 1993, p. 26). Among other cities that followed Zuchi City are Kamakura City, and Fujisawa City, followed by others who opened certain kinds of jobs to foreign citizens. Tomino believes that the provision of all rights to every resident irrespective of their nationality will require a very clearcut format in the city ordinances and/or City Charter (Tomino 1993, p. 26). He notes that Zuchi City has already begun drafting a city Charter which would do just that.

6.6 Summary

In summary, relations among cities in different countries is not something new, but technology has escalated the extent of linkages and the speed of their growth. Some historians, anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists are developing knowledge about these linkages, but it has tended not to permeate university or precollegiate education. As a result, most people living in human settlements are not prepared to cope with the world relations they encounter in their daily lives. Nevertheless, there have been an increasing number of programs through which local people are attempting to develop relationships with people in cities in other counties, such as Sister Cities, “Think Globally Act Locally,” Towns and Development, and Municipal International Cooperation.

Particularly in the last decade, a variety of institutions have been created for stimulating and supporting the involvement of Japanese cities in relations with cities abroad. This includes the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), the Japanese Exchange and Teaching Program, the Japanese Intercultural Academy of Municipalities and the Local Authorities Center for International Cooperation. Often with the support of the Ministry of Home Affairs, these developments have focused on training local government officials to cope with international issues and to design international programs. One result has been a dramatic increase in the number of international exchange and cooperation programs of Japanese local authorities.

Since the 1980s a new Japanese sister city linkage has been formed at the rate of almost one every week, reaching a total of 989 sister city affiliations and 101 prefecture links in 1995. Earlier focusing on links to the U.S. and Western countries, they are now increasingly focused on the Asia-Pacific Region. “Regional internationalization” has become a “buzzword” in Japan. Exchanges have gradually expanded from their initial culture and education focus to include virtually all of the functions of local officials—welfare, health and medicine, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, environment, community development, etc. Linkage with cities abroad has increasingly spread to smaller cities and towns. Links with rural communities in other countries has at times given rural Japanese pride in their heritage, as they come to know that it is shared with many people around the world.

Some networks of cities in the Asia-Pacific region have been limited to the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea, and others have spread across the entire region. Some of the former efforts emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. More recent ones include Russo-Japan Mayor's Conferences, a Japan Sea Symposium, a University Society for Japan Sea Rim Studies and cooperation among local press, TV and radio in Japan, China and Russia.

CITYNET is a network of urban local governments whose vision is to act as a focal point and facilitator to promote the exchange of expertise and experiences among various urban actors, particularly local authorities and NGOs. Its present priorities are documentation and dissemination of urban experiences, seminars/workshops, training, technical advisory services and study visits to successful urban development experiments. CITYNET is comprised of 43 cities from 17 countries spanning from Australia to Bangladesh. Its 47 associate members are primarily NGOs.

The Asian Coalition for Housing Rights is a loosely structured action network established by 16 NGOs from 10 countries in a meeting at Bangkok in 1988. It is the regional manifestation of the Habitat International Coalition, a global NGO. It has organized fact-finding missions, regional meetings, a field-based advisory project and has published a newsletter. Its first major achievement was a fact finding mission on evictions in Seoul in 1988 which resulted; in major changes in government housing policy. The Coalition emphasizes experience-sharing or "Learning from Neighbors." It is the intent of the Coalition that proposals for regional action come from local NGOs.

Another dimension of the intentional involvement of cities is a result of the presence of immigrants from countries and cities abroad. When these immigrants are denied privileges accorded to citizens, this can poison relationships with other cities and countries. One enduring example is treatment of immigrants to Japan from Korea and Taiwan, some forced, since World War II. Resistance to the Foreign Registration Act by one immigrant brought Kawasaki City to his support in 1995, causing the Japanese government to change the law. Another problem is Japanese reluctance to apply social security programs to foreign residents and restrictions on hiring immigrants as civil servants. Some cities are resisting these practices.

6.7 Conclusion

This has been a modest effort to gain insight on Japanese municipal exchange and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. Nevertheless, we have gained significant insight on growing efforts of people in local communities to engage in joint enterprises with their counterparts in other countries. Evolving out of earlier efforts in which people in different cities seemed to be motivated primarily with a desire to get to know, and to understand, people in distant cities, programs now tend to emphasize helping, and borrowing, from colleagues abroad. Significantly, these efforts

have spread broadly across a vast array of urban specialties, issues and problems. Important is the tendency for these activities to spread beyond local governments and involve a variety of kind of non-governmental organizations. Sometimes these NGOs, seem able to establish direct local relationships in cities abroad, making it possible for them to come to the rescue of those suffering from callous local and/or national governments.

The examples we have examined offer striking insights on relationships between “peripheries” in “developed” countries and rural people in “less developed” countries. External validation was required for Japanese rural farmers to learn “that their heritage is not parochial but rather international.” Their sense of personal worth was enhanced when foreign students told them that “Kagoshima, unlike Tokyo, is the real Japan with real people.” As a consequence, people in a very “powerful” country acquired “empowerment” at home through relationship with people in a “weak” country. Also challenging is the way in which networks can be used for spreading locally developed solutions to problems shared by people in other countries, rather than for bringing in “a posted expatriate expert.”

Exceedingly interesting is the way in which a diversity of kind of governmental and non-governmental entities have become engaged in specific programs—ranging from the local to the global. The results defy normal tendencies to separate local, provincial, state and inter-state governmental, or non-governmental, organizations into separate fields of activity. Actors in Japan include the Ministry of Home Affairs, national organizations such as the Council of Local Authorities and the Local Authorities Center for International Cooperation, local International Exchange Associations, and international affairs divisions in the governments of all prefectures and many cities. At the same time, involvement with local communities abroad has been spreading to smaller cities, and rural communities. UN agencies have also become involved, such as the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the UN Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Health Organization (WHO), by stimulating, and supporting, inter-city networks, conferences and projects.

Clearly, we are witnessing the emergence of new dimensions of global governance which are responsive to needs, problems, and opportunities created by the dynamic ways in which all human settlements are increasingly linked to the world political economy. Obviously people in distant cities see a need to cooperate with each other, help each other and learn from each other. As indicated by the supportive actions of the Japanese Ministry of Home Affairs, it seems to be in the interest of governments of states that local governments, and their constituents, establish certain kinds of direct involvements with cities in other countries. At the same time, UN agencies are finding that, in order to achieve their missions, they must work directly with local authorities. Indeed, an observer is inclined to see CITYNET as a laboratory in which local, provincial, national, regional and global organizations—both governmental and non-governmental—are experimenting with ways in which to blend their resources and competencies toward the end of collaborative problem-solving. Clearly organizations with territorial boundaries are required. Yet linkages which now transcend all of these boundaries make

earlier hierarchical assumptions about their relationships and prerogatives, to be dysfunctional. “Experiments” in laboratories like CITYNET, are developing new kinds of inter-organizational problem solving designs. It would seem that the challenge confronted by those working in these “laboratories” are accentuated by the need for different designs in confronting different issues.

Our examples have revealed resistance to the development of effective inter-organizational designs because of unsurprising tensions between traditional prerogatives of actors and problem solving needs. These are clearly illuminated in CITYNET, where local authorities resisted the involvement of NGOs, states required ESCAP to communicate with cities through them, and ESCAP was perceived to be “paternalistic.” Obviously we need more research on evolving networks for global governance that reach from the local to the global, toward the end of discerning what seems to be working and why. If actors are to abandon their traditional prerogatives, they need new, and reliable, visions of effective organizational relationships to guide their efforts. It is obvious that the old shibboleths used by actors in these inter-organizational dramas—such as local autonomy, sovereignty, and world government—are not helpful.

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Chapter 7

Searching for Democratic Potential in Emerging Global Governance: What Are the Implications of Regional and Global Involvements of Local Governments?

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7.1 Introduction

The research of this political scientist is focused on international organizations, with emphasis on the United Nations system. In recent years there has been escalating participation in the UN system of actors other than governments of States,¹ including NGOs/civil society, business, and local governments (Alger 2009). As a result, participants in international organizations now include those who have long been studied by separate academic fields. There is now a need to have scholars in these fields extend their agendas to include aspects of global governance. Toward this end, the purpose of this article is to provide an overview of growing involvement of local governments in international organizations in order to place these organizations on the agenda of scholars whose research is focused on the worldwide relations of cities.

¹ Throughout this article I use the term "State" to refer to those governments recognized as sovereign by other States, in order to avoid confusing use of this term, particularly by people in States (like the USA) where sub-units of this State are called states. In order to avoid this confusion, the terms "nation" and "nation-state" are frequently used. But this creates more confusion, because many States are multi-nation states, and many nations flow across the borders of States. Also, the term "country" is sometimes used. Of course, further confusion results from the title United Nations, an organization comprised of "member-states." I address this problem in this, and other publications, by using the term "State" for so-called sovereign states and "state" for sub-units of States.

Recent studies of the world relations of cities have added significantly to our growing understanding of the complexity of world relations. Here are six brief examples:

Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, 2006, “This book shows how some cities... have evolved into transnational ‘spaces’. As such cities have prospered, they have come to have more in common with one another than with regional centers in their own nation-states...Such developments require all those interested in the fate of cities to rethink traditionally held views of cities as subunits of their nation-states...” (Sassen 2006).

Joe R. Feagin, *The New Urban Paradigm: Critical Perspectives on the City*, 1998, “the first major book to deal centrally and empirically with how the development of large cities is linked to the world capitalist economy, its large multinational corporations, and its processes of economic restructuring across the globe” (Feagin 1998).

Paul L. Knox and Peter J. Taylor, *World Cities in a World-System* (1995), analyzes the nature of “world cities” and their relationships with one another and with the world economy, within various conceptual frameworks (World Cities in a World-System 1995).

Peter J. Taylor, *World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis*, 2004, “the focus is on inter-city relations, on dependencies and interdependencies between cities” (Taylor 2004).

John Rennie Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim, *Globalization and the City*, 1999, they “distinguish three related aspects of globalization”, economic globalization, cultural globalization, and political globalization, and conclude that “global processes lead to changes in the city and cities rework and situate globalization” (Short 1999).

H.V. Savitch and Paul Kantor, *Cities in the International Marketplace: The Political Economy of Urban Development in North America and Western Europe*, 2002, compares ten cities in Europe and North America, with a final chapter: “Conclusions: Cities need not be leaves in the Wind” (Preparing for the Urban Future 1996; Savitch 2002).

These six volumes, and numerous other books and articles, have greatly extended our knowledge of the increasingly complicated nature of relations among human settlements around the world. I am sure that these authors could offer very useful insights on emerging global governance by extending their agendas to include international organizations created by local governments, and their participation in the UN system.

Recently there has been growing concern about the threat that escalating globalization poses to local democracy (*Globalism and Local Democracy* 2002). On the other hand, the escalating participation of local governments in regional and global governance suggests that democratic potential could be emerging out of local responsiveness. This search for democratic potential in emerging involvement of local authorities in global governance is rooted in my long-held belief that we must reach beyond State models in our effort to comprehend governance reaching across State boundaries (Alger 1977). Among those offering significant theoretical insights have been David Mitrany and Ernst Haas. In a 1966 work on functionalism, Mitrany perceived cooperation across state borders as extending to more and more functions to the point that a “a web of international activities and agencies” will overlay political divisions (Mitrany 1966). In 1970 Haas criticized his earlier state-centered approach to regional integration in Europe by perceiving the emergence of “asymmetrical overlapping”, meaning that authority drawn from States “is distributed asymmetrically among several centers, among which no single dominant one may emerge with respect to “legitimacy in the eyes of citizens... the image of infinitely tiered multiple loyalties might be the appropriate one” (Haas 1970). But it was Dahl and Tufte who first prodded me, in 1973, to

ponder the democratic relevance of the growing “web of international activities and agencies” of Mitrany, and the “asymmetrical overlapping” of Haas, when they asserted “that ‘theory’ then needs to do what democratic theory has never done: to offer guidance about the appropriate relations among units” (Dahl 1973a). “Rather than conceiving of democracy as located in a particular kind of inclusive sovereign unit, we must learn to conceive of democracy spreading through a set of interrelated political systems... none of which is sovereign” (Dahl 1973a: p. 135).

The recent growth in regional and global involvements of local governments is offering empirical evidence that is responsive to the theoretical challenge offered by Dahl and Tufte. Local governments are now forming organizations that range from local regions, to global regions, to the entire world. Thus, in response to their dynamically changing worldwide linkages, authorities in these more limited territories are finding it necessary to develop organizations that parallel those of States. At this point we can only speculate on the degree to which they are a potential response to Dahl and Tufte’s plea for a “democracy spreading through a set of interrelated political systems... none of which is sovereign” (Dahl 1973a). The primary goal of this article is to facilitate perception of the growing, and very complicated, involvement in global governance by local governments.

7.2 Global Organizations of Local Governments

Governments of cities throughout the world have joined together to create organizations, with some having general purposes and some more limited concerns. A typology of global organizations is presented in Table 7.1.

7.2.1 Global Membership, General Purpose

The oldest in this category was the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) founded in 1913 in Ghent, Belgium, with its headquarters later in The Hague. Its aims were to promote local autonomy, contribute toward improvement

Table 7.1 Global organizations of local Governments

(1)	General purpose	United cities and local governments (UCLG)	www.UCLG.org
(2)	Larger cities	Metropolis is the world association of major metropolises	www.metropolis.org
(3)	Environmental focus	ICLEI, local governments for sustainability	www.iclei.org
(4)	Peace focus	Conference of mayors for peace	www.mayorsforpeace.org
(5)	Language focus	Association Internationales des Maires Francophones, Paris, France	www.aimf.asso.fr

of local administration, study questions concerning life and activities of local authorities and welfare of citizens, promote the idea of participation of the population in civic affairs, and establish and develop international municipal relations. IULA held its 36th Congress in Rio de Janeiro in May 2001, with 1,100 representatives of local governments, their associations and related donor agencies and governments present from 90 countries. Included in the main points coming out of the plenary sessions were (1) the assertion that local democracy is the fundamental source of legitimacy, (2) the importance of strong local Government Associations, uniting and representing all local governments, both nationally and internationally, and (3) recognition of Municipal International Cooperation as a cost-effective and stimulating way to strengthen local government.

Federation Mondiale des Cities Unies (FMCU), with headquarters in Paris, was active for some 40 years with an agenda quite similar to IULA. Prominent on the FMCU website (no longer available) were these two missions: (1) To make States recognize the autonomy of management of local authorities and their right to establish direct cooperation with each other at the international level. (2) To see that international organizations of local authorities are recognized as the partners of multilateral institutions. Its goals included the promotion of the establishment of democratic local authorities, defending human rights, and contribution to sustainable urban development through decentralized cooperation and exchanges of experience. In 2001 an IULA-FMCU Unity Congress was held and in 2004 they merged into United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) with headquarters in Barcelona.

UCLG's program focuses on "Increasing the role and influence of local government and its representative organisations in global governance; becoming the main source of support for democratic, effective, innovative local government close to the citizen; ensuring an effective and democratic global organisation. United Cities and Local Governments supports international cooperation between cities and their associations, and facilitates programmes, networks and partnerships to build the capacity of local governments. It promotes the role of women in local decision-making, and is a gateway to relevant information on local government across the world" (United Cities and Local Governments 2012a).

UCLG's members include individual cities and State associations of local governments that represent all the cities and local governments in a single State. One hundred twelve Local Government Associations (LGAs) are members of UCLG, representing almost every existing LGA in the world. Over 1,000 cities across 95 States are direct members of UCLG. They represent over half of the world's total population.

7.2.2 Global Membership, Larger Cities

METROPOLIS (World Association of Major Metropolises 2010) is an international association of 90 metropolitan governments. "The main goal of the association is to better control the development process of metropolitan areas in order to enhance the well being of their citizens. To do this, Metropolis represents regions

and metropolitan areas at the worldwide level and is recognized as a major player by large international organizations such as the UN, WHO, the World Bank and others.” (metropolis.org, 2010) Beginning in a Congress in Paris in 1987, Metropolis held its eighth triannual Congress in September 2007 in Antananarivo, Madagascar. The ninety members of Metropolis are urban areas with a population of over one million inhabitants, or capital cities with more than 250,000 inhabitants. The Asia–Pacific region has the major share of Metropolis members (29), followed by Africa (23), Europe (20), Latin America and Caribbean (12), and North America (6). The North American cities are from Canada (Toronto and Montreal), and Mexico (Guadalajara, Mexico (State of), Monterrey and Puebla). Metropolis has five Standing Commissions: (1) Eco-Regions, (2) Financing of Urban Services and Infrastructure, (3) Comprehensive Neighborhood Regeneration, (4) Urban Mobility Management, (5) Metropolitan Performance Measurement, and (5) Water Management.

Very significant is the recent collaboration among the three global membership organizations with a broad agenda. First, IULA and FMCU merged, forming United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) with headquarters in Barcelona. Metropolis also has its headquarters in Barcelona and has become the Metropolitan Section of UCLG.

7.2.3 Global Membership Environmental Focus

Founded in 1990, Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) is dedicated to the prevention and solution of local, regional and global environmental problems through local action. It was established through the partnership of the UN Environment Program (UNEP), the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) and the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID). These three organizations reflect territorial complexity. They include a global governmental organization of States (UNEP), a global organization of local governments (IULA) and an NGO located in California (CID).

ICLEI is an international association of local governments and national and regional local government organizations that have made a commitment to sustainable development.

“More than 630 cities, towns, counties, and their associations worldwide comprise ICLEI’s growing membership. ICLEI works with these and hundreds of other local governments through international performance-based, results-oriented campaigns and programs. We provide technical consulting, training, and information services to build capacity, share knowledge, and support local government in the implementation of sustainable development at the local level. Our basic premise is that locally designed initiatives can provide an effective and cost-efficient way to achieve local, national, and global sustainability objectives” (ICLEI 1995). With a World Secretariat in Toronto, ICLEI has regional offices in Cape Town (South Africa), Tokyo, Jeju City (Republic of Korea), Freiburg (Germany), Buenos Aires, Toronto, Oakland, CA, Melbourne, Noida (India), and Manila. ICLEI has a World Congress every 3 years, the 2006 Congress was hosted by the City of Cape Town, South Africa.

7.2.4 Global Membership, Peace Focus

Another organization with a global policy focus is the Conference of Mayors for Peace, initiated by the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1982. General Conferences are held every 4 years. The seventh was held in August 2005 in Nagasaki. The key theme was “Nuclear weapons abolition is in our hands” (Mayors for Peace Secretariat 2000). In September 2011, Mayors for Peace had 4,984 member cities from 151 countries and regions. In March 1990, the Mayors Conference was officially registered as a UN NGO related to the Department of Public Information. In May 1991, it became a Category II NGO (currently called a NGO in “Special Consultative Status”) registered with the UN Economic and Social Council.

“The Conference of Mayors for Peace aims at raising consciousness worldwide about the abolition of nuclear weapons through close cooperation among all the cities that approved the Program to Promote the Solidarity of Cities... and contribution to establishment of the lasting world peace through solving problems such as hunger and poverty, refugees and human rights, and environmental protection” (Mayors for Peace Secretariat 2000).

7.2.5 Global Membership, Language Focus

The Association Internationales des Maires Francophones (AIMF) has a quite distinctive focus. It brings together mayors, and other city officials, from cities in which French is either the official language or widely used. Founded in 1979 in Quebec, the organization has more than 150 members in 47 States that are located in Europe, Africa, the Pacific, Southeast Asia, the Caribbean and Canada. The forty-first General Assembly was held in Yerevan, Armenia in May 2011.

“The AIMF develops its programs around two complementary themes: building municipal capacity, and support for populations. This programming focuses on ten sectors of intervention: modernization of municipal management; registry offices; pay and bookkeeping; support for mayors; training; municipal infrastructures; urban development; culture, youth and education; health; and emergency assistance” (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada 2012).

7.3 Global Region Organizations of Local Governments Outside of Europe

There are also many global region organizations of municipalities. Because of the large, and very diverse, number of organizations in Europe, we have placed those outside of Europe in a separate category. Table 7.2 lists five organizations outside of Europe that range across all other continents, including United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA), Arab Towns Organization (ATO),

Table 7.2 Organizations of local Governments in global regions outside of Europe

United cities and local governments of Africa (UCLGA)	www.uclgafrica.org
Arab towns organization (ATO)	www.ato.net
Organization of Islamic capitals and cities (OICC)	www.oicc.org
Latin American federation of cities, municipalities and associations (FLACMA)	www.flacma.org
CITYNET (Asia and Pacific)	www.citynet-ap.org

Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC), Latin American Federation of Cities, Municipalities and Associations (FLACMA), and Regional Network of Local Authorities for the Management of Human Settlements (Asia and Pacific, CITYNET).

Before 1998 there were three continental local government associations in Africa, the predominantly Anglophone African Union of Local Authorities (AULA); the largely francophone Union des Villes Africaines (UVA); and the solely Portuguese Uniao dos Cidades y Capitaes Lusofono Africana (UCCLA). In 1998, at the First Africities Summit in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, a resolution was passed toward the end of creating a Pan-African association of local government to overcome the colonial legacy of language and cultural barriers. In 2000, at the Second Africities Summit held in Windhoek, Namibia, the decision of the 1st Africities Summit was endorsed. In 2003, at the Third Africities Summit in Yaounde, Cameroon, an interim executive committee was established to drive the unification process. The Founding Conference of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA) was held at the Tshwabac Centre, in Tshwane, South Africa, in May 2005. "The Founding Congress of the UCLGA was unique and historic in that it was an event which introduced, for the first time in the history of the continent, a local government organisation based not on geographic, religious, cultural or linguistic criteria, but on a set of common challenges and the collective destiny of the continent. In facilitating the establishment of the UCLGA the Congress reclaimed the dignity of African people at the daily level of their existence, in the process recalling the existence of a highly accomplished civilisation in the Africa of the past" (United Cities and Local Governments 2012b).

The Arab Towns Organization (ATO), established in Kuwait in 1967, has members from twenty-two states. Membership includes Arab cities, "any institution related to the activities of the organization", and individuals who are "employed persons in the area who are interested in the work of the organization and its activities or researchers in the education and research organizations" (General Assembly of the Arab Towns Organization 2012). The Headquarters of ATO is located in Kaifan, Kuwait. A General Congress meets every 3 years. "The Organization has no political activity or involvement and does not interfere in the affairs of any State. Its activities are focused on the achievement of its goals within the framework of sustainable development of human settlements" (General Assembly of the Arab Towns Organization 2012). ATO is an affiliate member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), an association of fifty-seven Islamic States.

The eight goals of Arab Towns Organization (ATO) are: (1) Preservation of the identity of the Arab city, (2) Reinforcement of Arab local authorities and encourage decentralization, (3) Raising the level of municipal services and utilities in Arab cities, (4) Foster cooperation and exchange of expertise between Arab cities, (5) Adoption of a comprehensive plan to guide the activities and services the city on the basis of their economic, social, cultural and environmental, (6) Achieve sustainable development in Arab cities, (7) Development and modernization of municipal and local institutions and promote the development and standardization of legislation and municipal systems, (8) Help member cities to achieve development projects by extending soft loans (General Assembly of the Arab Towns Organization 2012).

The Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) describes itself as “an international non-governmental and non-profitable Organization” (Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) 2012). Founded in 1980, it is also an affiliate of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The members of OICC are 141 capitals and cities from fifty-four States in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America (Suriname) that are located in States that are members of the OIC. The headquarters of OICC are located in the Holy City of Makkah and the city of Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The General Conference of OICC convenes every 3 years. The OICC web site states that “the Organization has no political activity or involvement and does not interfere in the affairs of any State. Its activities are focused on the achievement of its goals within the framework of sustainable development of human settlements” (Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) 2012). Its goals are “(1) Consolidation of cordiality, brotherhood, and friendship between members, (2) Preservation of the identity and the heritage of Islamic capitals and cities, (3) Support, coordination and expansion of cooperation scope between members, (4) Endeavor to establish and develop comprehensive urban norms, systems, and plans that would serve the growth and prosperity of members for the promotion of their economic, social, cultural, environmental and urban conditions. (5) Endeavor to promote the standards of development, services and municipal utilities in member capitals and cities, and (6) Promotion and development of capacity building programs in member capitals and cities” (Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) 2012).

The Latin American Federation of Cities, Municipalities and Associations (FLACMA) was founded in 1981. One thousand participants attended the 3rd Congress of FLACMA at Florianopolis, Brazil, on 25–27 July, 2007, around the theme “The American Experience: Social Inclusion and Cooperation”. Mayors and councillors were joined by academics and technical experts to debate on key issues affecting development in the region, with the spotlight on the leadership role for local governments and the importance of involving civil society in the policy making processes. Julio Pereyra, Mayor of Florencio Valera, Argentina took over the Presidency of FLACMA until the next regional congress which will be in Mexico City. FLACMA is a section of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG).

A regional Congress of Local Authorities for the Development of Human Settlements in Asia and the Pacific was held in 1982 in Yokohama, Japan, under

the sponsorship of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), UN-Habitat, and the City of Yokohama. The Congress stressed the need to enhance co-operative links between local authorities for the development of human settlements and to promote partnership with other urban stakeholders. To address these issues, the Congress adopted the Yokohama Declaration, which was disseminated worldwide. A follow-up Congress in Nagoya, Japan in 1987 established CITYNET, which had its first Congress in 1989 in Yokohama.

From 24 members at its inception in 1987, CITYNET has grown to 107 members from 22 countries/regions. Full members are 67 cities in Asia and the Pacific. Associate members include 2 cities outside the region (Lyon, France and Ancona, Italy) and 38 organizations (25 community-based, 9 national, 3 development authorities and 1 private company). CITYNET is governed by a General Council and Executive Committee, while day-to-day administration of the Network is conducted by the Secretariat based in Yokohama. CITYNET attempts to “bridge the gap between local governments, their national counterparts, non-governmental and international organizations” (CITYNET 2009). In order to help local governments provide better services to citizens, each year CITYNET, “organizes around 25 activities, including seminars and training programs, which address burning issues in urban planning and development” (CITYNET 2009). The Technical Cooperation between Cities in Developing Countries (TCDC) program helps develop partnerships between Asia–Pacific cities “that foster best practices in urban governance and city development. Over 40 local governments have benefited from the TCDC program in the last decade” (CITYNET 2009). CITYNET has consultative status with ECOSOC.

Other organizations of local authorities exist within these regions, but space limitations require us to limit our detailed analysis to one region. Because Europe has the most extensive array of organizations of local authorities, it offers an extensive typology of organizations.

7.4 Organizations of Local and Local Region Governments in European Region

It is certainly not a surprise that the most extensive array of organizations of local governments flowing across State boundaries is found within Europe. Although we have not made an exhaustive investigation, the fifteen organizations listed in Table 7.3 reveal remarkable diversity in local government collaboration that is taking place across state borders in one world region. We have grouped them into seven types. First, there is an organization of local regions, the Assembly of European Regions (AER), created in 1985. It describes itself as “the political forum and representative organization” of the regions of Europe which is “committed to democracy, solidarity and the development of interregional cooperation in Europe” (Assembly of European Regions, n.d.). Its members include 260

Table 7.3 Organizations of local and local region Governments in European region

I.	Local regions	Assembly of European regions (AER), Strasbourg	www.aer.eu
II.	Local and local regions	Council of European municipalities and regions (CEMR), Paris and Brussels	www.ccre.org
		Congress of local and regional authorities of the council of Europe, Strasbourg	www.coe.int/t/congress
III.	Large cities	EUROCITIES, Brussels	www.eurocities.org
IV.	Specific type of local region		
1.	Border regions	Association of european border regions (AEBR) Gronau, Germany	http://www.aebr-ageg.de
2.	Mountain regions	Euro. asso. of Local and regional auth. of mountain regions (AEM) Strasbourg	
		Asso. of working communities of the Alpine regions, Innsbruck, Austria	www.argealp.org
3.	Maritime regions	Conf. on peripheral maritime regions of Europe (CPMR), Rennes, France	www.cpmr.org
	Commission Intermediterraneenne, Livorno, Italy	Medcities, network of Mediterranean coastal cities, Barcelona	www.medcities.org
		Union of Baltic cities, Gdansk, Poland	www.ubc.net
		Transmarche region, Southeast England/Northeast France	
V.	Specific issue focus	Association of cities and regions for recycling, Brussels (70 members)	www.acrplus.org
		Climate alliance, Frankfurt am Main (1,200 members)	www.climateforchange.net
		Energie-cites, Besancon, France (150 members)	www.energie-cites.org
VI.	External links		
	European commission, European union	URB-AL program for urban areas in Europe and Latin America (680 members)	http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/latin-america/regional-cooperation

regions and 13 interregional organizations that reach across 33 states. The AER defines regions as “the territorial body of public law established at the level immediately below that of the State and endowed with political self-government” (Assembly of European Regions, n.d.). The interregional organizations reach across state borders. The ten “geographical interregional organizations” include mountain regions, coastal regions and border regions. The three “sectoral interregional organizations” are wine-producing, fruit/vegetable growing/horticultural, and local democracies agencies.

Second are two organizations of both local regions and local municipalities. The Council of European Municipalities was founded in Geneva in 1951 by a group of European mayors; later, it opened its ranks to local regions and became the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR). It involves forty-two State and regional associations of local governments from thirty European States, including the three Baltic States and Israel. “CEMR works to promote a united Europe that is based on local and regional self government and democracy, ...to exchange experience at local and regional level and to cooperate with partners in other parts of the world” (Council of European Municipalities and Regions 2012).

The Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe was created in 1957 and later became the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. In 1994 the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities succeeded the Conference as a Council of Europe consultative body. It has a Chamber of Local Authorities and a Chamber of Regions. The Congress has 318 full members and 318 substitute members that represent over 200,000 European municipalities and regions that are grouped by State delegation and by political group. A major achievement of the Congress is the European Charter of Local Self- Government, opened for signature by Council of Europe member States on 15 October 1985, it came into force on 9 September 1988. “This is the instrument in which the signatory States undertake to recognise the principle of local self-government in domestic legislation” (The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities 2012).

Third, EUROCITIES, founded in 1986, is an organization of over 130 cities with a population of more than 250,000, from over 30 European States. Cities within the European Union become full members, other European cities become associate members. Local governments and organizations not eligible to become full or associate members are allowed Associated Partnership. Companies and businesses are allowed to become Associated Business Partners. EUROCITIES is involved in a wide range of issues “including: economic development and cohesion policy, provision of public services, environment, transport and mobility, employment and social affairs, culture, education, information and knowledge society, governance and international cooperation” (Euro Cities 2012). The most important decisions are made at the Annual General Meeting (AGM), where each member city is represented by its Mayor. It “calls on the European Union to formally recognize the principle of local self-government as defined in the European Charter of Local Self-Government”, to develop mechanisms strengthening “cooperation between the various spheres of governance (local, regional, State and European)”, and to “provide channels for a systematic and transparent dialogue between the European Commission and representatives of local and regional public authorities” (Euro Cities 2012).

Fourth, there are organizations with regional membership limited to specific kinds of regions. The first is devoted to regions that are divided by the borders of states. The Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), with headquarters in Gronau, Germany, was founded in 1971 and now has sixty members. In 1985 it implemented a European Charter of Border and Cross Border Regions with

these opening sentences: “Borders are ‘scars of history.’ Cross-border cooperation helps to reduce the disadvantages of these borders, overcome the outlying national location and improve living conditions for the population” (AEBR 2012). This reminds us that State borders have often arbitrarily divided people by placing them on opposite sides of borders. At the same time, these regions tend to be located in a peripheral position, distant from centers of decision-making by States. In a study of “Co-operation Between Local Authorities in Frontier Regions”, Professor Orianne of Louvain has described their predicament in poetic fashion:

Time and mankind patently strive to put together again what treaties and systems of law once tore asunder to meet the requirements of a particular type of political organization (Orianne 1973).

Regional membership organizations are also formed by local governments that must cope with common geographic features that transcend State borders. Two examples of mountain border organizations are the European Association of Local and Regional Authorities of Mountain Regions (AEM) with headquarters in Strasbourg, and the Association of Working Communities of the Alpine Regions located in Innsbruck.

Local governments located on a maritime border have joined to form a Conference on Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe (CPMR). Local governments from all seven European maritime basins, the Baltic, North Sea, Atlantic, Mediterranean, Balkans, Black Sea and the Islands formed CPMR in 1973. With headquarters in Rennes, France, 146 regions from twenty-six European states participate. One of the goals of CPMR is to promote “greater involvement of the regional players in European integration” (CRPM 2005). There are also three organizations formed by local governments in a number of States that share a common maritime border, the Commission Intermediterraneene (Livorno, Italy), Medcities, a network of Mediterranean coastal cities (Barcelona), and the Union of Baltic Cities (Gdansk, Poland).

Finally, local governments on each side of the Straits of Dover have formed the Transmanche Region. It was initiated in 1987 by the Kent County Council and the Nord-Pas de Calais in anticipation of the construction of the Channel Tunnel, but now involves more local district councils in these two regions (Church and Reid 1999).

Fifth, associations have also been developed among regions in different States who contend with similar public policy issues. Aygen Aykac reports that there are over thirty of these transborder structures linking local and regional authorities in Western Europe. Listed in Table 7.5 are three examples, one focused on recycling (70 members), one on climate (900 members) and one on energy (100 members) (Aykac 1994).

Sixth, there is great diversity in the 146 members, from 23 States, of the Association of Local Democracy Agencies (ALDA): local governments (34.5 %), local region authorities (9 %), NGOs (15.2 %), associations of local authorities (10.3 %), statutory members (8.3 %), individuals (15.9 %) and others (6.9). The four main foci of “ALDA’s work are (1) field work in South East Europe and the Southern Caucasus through the 12 Local Democracy Agencies (LDA), (2) best

practice exchanges and awareness-raising with partners and members throughout Europe, (3) technical assistance in transitional countries in Europe, (4) fostering local governance and active participation” (ALDA 2012). The first LDA was founded at the initiative of the Council of Europe’s Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in Subotica, Serbia, in 1993. At first the work was focused on crisis management and humanitarian aid, but it “gradually shifted to democratic reform and capacity building to guarantee a smooth and stable transition to democracy and to assist the two regions in applying European standards in all areas of life” (ALDA 2012). ALDA has joined the 400 international nongovernmental organizations in the Conference of INGOs in the Council of Europe. The Conference is one of the main institutions of the Council of Europe, along with the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, the Commissioner of Human Rights and the Court of Human Rights.

Seventh, we have included Urb-AI, a project of the European Commission, in Table 7.3, in order to illustrate the emergence of local government projects that defy easy categorization. Created in 1995, “Urb-AI involves local authorities in urban areas and other regions in the European Union and Latin America.” The objective of Urb-AI is “to develop networks of decentralized cooperation between local authorities on concrete topics and problems of urban local development.” It has brought together 680 local authorities on projects involving drugs, environment, citizen participation, poverty alleviation, transport, safety, town planning, economic development, the information society or democracy. Biennial meetings have been held in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. More than 2,500 local authorities, associations, NGO, trade unions, universities or companies are involved in thirteen networks on different subjects.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gaiy Marks offer a useful context for pondering the significance of European organizations of local governments in their report on Eurobarometer surveys in 1991 and 1995 of the local, regional and State attachments of citizens in all fifteen members of the European Community, with the exception of Luxembourg (Hooghe and Marks 2001). The surveys reveal that in France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Sweden attachment to country is matched by subnational attachment and in the “federal or federalizing societies of Austria, Belgium, Spain and (western) Germany, country attachment is exceeded significantly by regional attachment. Only in Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom is attachment to country significantly greater than a regional or local attachment” (Hooghe and Marks 2001: p. 54). These survey results suggest that many Europeans have opportunities to fulfill their “subnational attachments” through participation in organizations of local authorities.

Also offering insight when assessing the democratic potential of the organizations in Table 7.3 are Bruno S. Frey and Reiner Eichenberger’s treatise on the usefulness of Functional, Overlapping and Competing Jurisdictions (FOCJ) in fulfilling the needs of citizens. FOCJ permit the emergence of political bodies whose jurisdiction corresponds to the borders of tasks to be fulfilled. Inevitably these jurisdictions are overlapping and may create competition between different functional

jurisdictions. “The basic idea is to establish competition among jurisdictions” (Frey 1999). Certainly the organizations with an issue and local region focus in Table 7.3 can qualify as FOCJ. Participation by local citizens in these FOCJ offers them an opportunity to impact functional international organizations focused on the same political problem. Thus, over three decades later, Frey and Eichenberger are employing FOCJ as a means for understanding the same phenomena approached by Mitrany as a functional “web of international activities and agencies” that overlay political divisions and by Haas as “asymmetrical overlapping” (Frey 1999).

7.5 Direct Participation of Cities and Local Regions in European Governance

We return again to The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) because it represents the most penetrating involvement of local governments in governance across State boundaries. Although advisory, it is a third component, along with the Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers, in the Council of Europe. It was established in 1994 as a consultative body of the Council of Europe (COE), to help new member States to make progress in establishing effective local and regional self-government. CLRAE has two chambers, the Chamber of Local Authorities and the Chamber of Regions, comprised of 291 members and 291 substitute members that represent more than 200,000 European local and regional governments. The delegations from each member State of the COE, composed of only elected local and regional government representatives, are representative of the various types of local and regional government in each member State.

Projects of CLRAE (Table 7.4) include the Program of Local Democracy Agencies (LDA), established in 1993. Local Democracy Agencies are based on a partnership of at least three towns in member States of the Council of Europe. Under the responsibility of a Delegate appointed by the LDA “dialogue and exchanges between citizens” is promoted with the “aim to promote local democracy in a broad

Table 7.4 Direct participation of cities and local regions in regional governance in Europe

Congress of local and regional authorities of Europe (CLRAE)	www.coe.fr/cplre
Chamber of local authorities	
Chamber of regions	
CLRAE projects	
Program of local democracy agencies	
Local democracy (LODE)	
European network of training org. for local and regional authorities (ENTO)	
European outline convention of transfrontier cooperation	
European outline convention of the participation of foreigners in public life at the local level	
Charter for participation of young people in municipal and regional affairs	

sense” (LDA 1993). LDAs are located in Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Local democracy is also facilitated by several other European conventions. Another project of CLRAE is the Local Democracy Program (LODE), established in 1992. LODE is a European network of training organizations for local and regional governments. In June 2002 it held a seminar in Paris on “Improving Local Public Services in Europe through Training”. Closely linked to the goals of LDA and LODE is the European Network of Training Organizations for Local and Regional Authorities (ENTO).

CLRAE has played a role in the development of two conventions and a charter establishing standards for local participation in Europe. The European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation recognizes the right of local and regional authorities to cooperate across frontiers in providing public services and environmental protection. Rights of immigrants are protected by The European Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at the Local Level. There is also a Charter for Participation of Young People in Municipal and Regional Affairs.

7.6 World Association of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination

There has recently been an effort to develop a global coalition of organizations of local governments that transcend the borders of States. On the eve of the HABITAT II Conference of the United Nations on Human Settlements, held in Istanbul in June 1996, international local government organizations called together the first-ever World Assembly of Cities and Local Authorities. The World Assembly emphasized the importance of ongoing coordination of the movement of cities and local authorities worldwide and the need for local government input to the United Nations. The World Association of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination (WACLAC) was soon formed in Paris in September 1996.

At a meeting in Nairobi in February 2001 a WACLAC Constitution was approved by the founding members: Arab Towns Organization, CITYNET, United Towns Organization, IULA, METROPOLIS, Network of Local Government Associations of Latin America, SUMMIT, and the Union of African Towns. The constitution obligates WACLAC to work for responsible and effective local self-government for sustainable development, to strengthen the input from local communities into WACLAC and to represent the local government sector in the international arena, particularly in the United Nations System.

7.7 Transnational Discourse Communities

At the same time that local officials are participating in the activities of international organizations of cities and in their efforts to influence agendas of the UN system, there is obviously a feedback impact on local government. One study

asserts that local government is being reshaped in the global discourse known as New Public Management (NPM), a “hegemonic discourse” since the 1980s. It evolved from “international administrative experts working for the UN, [was] taken up by the Carter administration and then processed and refined by the OECD” (Salskov-Iversen et al. 2000). “Not only are distant localities being linked together by very real and rapidly increasing flows of capital, flexible production processes, and people in motion; they are also becoming connected through networks of expertise” (Bislev et al. 2002; Salskov-Iversen et al. 2000: p. 185). Obviously, many international relations scholars would refer to these networks of expertise as epistemic communities (Haas 1992).

7.8 Local Governments in the UN System

Surprising, as it might seem for an organization of States, there is now increasing involvement of local governments in the UN System. Cities were on the agenda of Secretary General Kofi Annan, who said that local governments should be given more authority to deal with problems that come with explosive growth as the world enters the “urban millennium.” UN-Habitat (UN Human Settlements Program), established in 1977, “is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all It has a special relationship with local authorities, including Mayors, Councillors, and their municipalities in countries around the world to strengthen and maintain dialogue with central and local governments” (United Nations 2012a). In 1977 an effort was made to permit direct participation of local authorities in the work of the Governing Council of UN-Habitat. Although this proposal was not accepted, it promoted discussion in which member States agreed to include mayors and other local government officials in their UN-Habitat Governing Council delegations.

Table 7.5, Examples of Local Governments in the UN System, lists first the involvement of UN-Habitat in local governance issues. A UN Advisory Committee of Local Authorities (UNACLA) was established in Venice, in January 2000, at a meeting called by the Executive Director of UN-Habitat, and attended by mayors from all over the world and presidents of international associations of local governments (UN Center for Human Settlements 2001).

In 2004 UN-Habitat and United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) held a meeting in Barcelona on the theme of “Local Governments, Partners for Development.” At this meeting the Executive Director of UN-Habitat and six mayors selected by UCLG signed an “Agreement of Cooperation” aimed at expanding their collaboration on issues such as: (1) the Global Campaign on Urban Governance, (2) the Global Observatory of Local Democracy and Decentralization, (3) Localizing the Millennium Development Goals, (4) the international dialogue on Decentralization, and (5) UNACLA.

The Best Practices and Local Leadership Program (BLP) was established in 1997. “It is a global network of government agencies of states, local authorities

Table 7.5 Examples of Local Governments in the UN system

UN-Habitat UN advisory committee on local auth. (created, 2000)	www.unchs.org/Committee
Best practices and local leadership program (BLP) (created, 1997)	www.unchs.org
Global urban observatory (GUO)	
World urban forum (1st session, April–May 2002)	
Advisory group of experts on decentralisation (AGRED) (1st session, 2004) Sustainable cities program (SCP)	
Municipal development program (MDP)	
Global campaign on urban Governance	
Urban sanitation and solid waste management	
Millennium development goal, 11, improve the lives of slum dwellers	
World Bank municipal development program	www.worldbank.org
Local economic development specialists (LED) in urban development sector	
UNDP Urban management program	www.undp.org
World alliance of cities against poverty	www.undp.org/hiv/mayors/worldalliance
Colloquiums of Mayors, 1995 and 1997	
UNESCO the city: network of cultures	
UNICEF mayors defenders of children initiative, periodical meetings www.unicef.org international child friendly cities	www.childfriendlycities.org
WHO healthy cities program	
UNEP environmental management systems (EMS) for local authorities	
UNAIDS alliance of mayors initiative for community action on AIDS at the local level	www.amicaall.org
UNCDF local development program UNITAR decentralized cooperation program (DCP)	
UN interim administration mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)	www.un.org/kosovo
UN-Habitat/World Bank cities alliance: cities without slums	www.citiesalliance.org
UN-HABITAT/UNDP urban management programme (UMP)	
UN-HABITAT/UNEP sustainable cities programme (SCP)	

and their associations, professional and academic institutions and grassroots organisations dedicated to the identification and exchange of successful solutions for sustainable development. BLP partners are specialized in such areas as housing and urban development, urban governance, environmental planning and management, architecture and urban design, economic development, social inclusion, crime prevention, poverty reduction, women, youth, cultural heritage, municipal finance and management, infrastructure and social services” (United Nations

2012b). The policy implications and lessons learned from Best Practices are incorporated into Habitat's State of the World's Cities Report.

Together with UN-Habitat's Urban Indicators Program* the BLP forms the Global Urban Observatory (GUO), UN-Habitat's facility for monitoring global trends in sustainable urban development and evaluating progress in the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, adopted in 1996 for the achievement of sustainable development of the world's urban areas and Agenda 21 adopted at a 1992 Conference on Environment and Development. The Localizing Agenda 21 Programme (LA21) aims to help local authorities in secondary towns to achieve more sustainable development by implementing an environmental planning and management process to identify and address priority issues (UNHabitat n.d.).

The Global Urban Observatory (GUO) helps governments of States, local governments and civil society organizations develop and apply policy-oriented urban indicators, statistics and other urban information. The Global Urban Observatory Network (GUONet) is a worldwide information and capacity-building network established by UN-Habitat to help implement the Habitat Agenda at State and local levels. The local and State Urban Observatories in the network are governmental agencies, research centers and educational institutions that are designated as the "workshops" where monitoring tools are developed and used for policy-making. A Local Urban Observatory for a city or town is the focal point for urban policy development and planning.

Two years after UNACLA was formed, "a World Urban Forum met to examine one of the most pressing issues facing the world today: rapid urbanisation and its impact on communities, cities, economies and policies. It is projected that in the next 50 years, two-thirds of humanity will be living in towns and cities. A major challenge is to minimize burgeoning poverty in cities, improve the urban poor's access to basic facilities such as shelter, clean water and sanitation and achieve environment-friendly, sustainable urban growth and development" (UNHabitat n.d.-a). It is now a biennial gathering that involves non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations, urban professionals, academics, local governments and State and international associations of local governments.

In 2004, UN-Habitat's Executive Director established an Advisory Group of Experts on Decentralisation (AGRED) "to guide the international dialogue on decentralisation and provide advice on strengthening local authorities around the world." (UNHabitat n.d.-b) The inaugural AGRED meeting was held in Gatineau, Canada in March 2004, at the invitation of the Mayor, Yves Ducharme, who is President of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM). AGRED will operate as a sub-committee of the United Nations Advisory Committee of Local Authorities (UNACLA).

UN-HABITAT has been charged by the UN General Assembly to help governments meet the Millennium Development Goal, target 11, of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. The General Assembly mandated UN-HABITAT to monitor the implementation of this goal, including designing innovations to collect, manage and analyze urban indicators and to assist local authorities with policy formulation.

Other UN-Habitat activities with an urban focus are the Sustainable Cities Program, a Municipal Development Program, a Global Campaign on Urban Governance and an Urban Sanitation and Solid Waste Management program.

Examples involving nine other agencies in the UN System reveal the increasingly widespread involvement of local governments in the UN System.

1. UNDP has created a World Alliance of Cities Against Poverty and an Urban Management Program. The Urban Management Program has produced *Delivering the Goods: Building Local Government Capacity to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals: A Practitioner's Guide*, from UN Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) Experience in Least Developed Countries (Shotton and Winter 2006). UNDP has also sponsored Colloquiums of Mayors in 1995 (before the Copenhagen Social Summit) and in 1977 (before the International Conference for Sustainable Growth and Equity.)
2. UNICEF has held periodical meetings of mayors in its Mayors Defenders of Children Initiative. It is also committed to strengthening networking of local efforts to create "child friendly cities." This effort is supported by a secretariat in Florence, Italy.
3. "UNESCO The City: Network of Cultures" recognizes that cities attract people from around the world, thereby producing the "richest possible cultural mixes. However, this traditional foyer of cultural exchange and innovation also produces most of the ills of modern society: unemployment, poverty, crime, inadequate infrastructures and services, and environmental problems" (UNESCO 1995). In response UNESCO is creating "decentralized data infrastructures" to assist local authorities in coping with these problems. This data includes "more than 800 best practices in urban harmony" in a "Cities for Peace" network (UNESCO 1995).
4. WHO works with local authorities, mainly in Europe, in its Healthy Cities Program.
5. UNEP has established an Environmental Management System (EMS) for Local Authorities with the goal of facilitating the implementation of an Environmental Management System in local communities.
6. UNAIDS has establish an Alliance of Mayors Initiative for Community Action on AIDS at the Local Level.
7. The Local Development Program of the UN Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) is based on the belief that "achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and eradicating poverty needs to be done at the local level and thus requires the involvement of local authorities" (United Nations 2012c).
8. The UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) has a Decentralized Cooperation Program (DCP) that "trains local actors in order to enhance their capacity to implement international conventions and the Millennium Development Goals. Recognizing and promoting the role of local authorities in achieving international development goals locally is the core of our mission. DCP is a hub for information, communication, and training between United Nations Agencies and local actors such as local authorities, public and private companies, civil society and academia" (United Nations 2012d). DCP has twelve International Training Centers for Local Authorities/Actors (CIFAL) around the world.

9. The UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has enlisted the assistance of local governments in Europe, in cooperation with the European Union, in efforts to develop local democracy in Kosovo.

The widespread involvement of local authorities in the UN System is also reflected by programs that involve collaboration between UN-Habitat and other organizations in the UN System. Here are three examples: UN-Habitat joined with the World Bank in 1999 in launching Cities Alliance: Cities Without Slums, committed to improving the living conditions of the urban poor. The Consultative Group, the Alliance's board of directors, consists of financial contributors to the Cities Alliance Trust Fund and the political heads of the two global organizations of local governments, UCLG, and Metropolis. The Consultative Group is co-chaired by the World Bank's vice president for Sustainable Development and UN-Habitat's executive director. Members of the Consultative Group in 2007 also included two other agencies in the UN System, UNDP and ILO, the Asian Development Bank, and also representatives of the Netherlands, Japan, France, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. The Alliance Secretariat, housed at World Bank headquarters, carries out the Alliance's mandates and manages its operations

The Urban Management Programme (UMP), established in 1986, is an effort by UNHabitat and UNDP to strengthen the contribution that cities and towns in developing countries make towards economic growth, social development and the alleviation of poverty. UMP has "been able to promote innovative urban management practices, establish and strengthen municipal networks, and influence local and State urban policies and programmes. As a network of over 40 anchor and partner institutions covering 140 cities in 58 countries, it has been able to provide a platform for partners to engage in work related to emerging urban themes and processes.... As a network of over 40 anchor and partner institutions covering 140 cities in 58 countries, it has been able to provide a platform for partners to engage in work related to emerging urban themes and processes" (United Nations 2012e).

The Sustainable Cities Program (SCP) was created in the early 1990 by UN-Habitat and the UN Environment Program (UNEP) "to build capacities in urban environmental planning and management. The program targets urban local authorities and their partners. It is founded on broad-based stakeholder participatory approaches. Currently the SCP and its sister program Localising Agenda 21 (LA21) operate in over 30 countries worldwide" (United Nations 2012a).

This broad array of examples of involvement of local governments in ten agencies in the UN System clearly reveals the growing understanding that efforts to cope with a broad range of issues on the broadening agenda of the UN System requires collaboration with not only the governments of States, but also the governments of local communities. At the same time, it reveals growing appreciation by local governments of the roles that they must play in global governance. This development is clearly revealed in documents and web sites of both the UN System and organizations of local governments. But there is almost no recognition of it in public media and scholarship.

7.9 Regional and World Declarations and Conventions on Local Self-Government

In 1985 the Council of Europe drafted the European Charter of Local Self-Government, which has now been ratified by over thirty members of the Council. The preamble concludes that local self-government “entails the existence of local authorities endowed with democratically constituted decision-making bodies and possessing a wide degree of autonomy with regard to their responsibilities, the ways and means by which those responsibilities are exercised and the resources required for their fulfillment” (Council of Europe n.d.).

The European Charter has served as a model for a movement to develop a World Charter for Local Self-Government (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and World Associations of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination 1998). Before the second UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), WACLAC called on the international community to develop a world charter of local self-government and presented this proposal to the Habitat II Conference. Following up on this initiative, a memorandum of understanding was signed in New York City in July 1997 between the UN-Habitat and WACLAC, which committed both parties to a world charter of local-self government. In 2004, at its founding conference, UCLG declared: “The adoption of a World Charter for Local Self-Government remains one of the key objectives of United Cities and Local Governments building on the work of its founding organizations and their partnership with UN-Habitat.”²

7.10 City Diplomacy

A very important indication of the growing significance of local authorities in global governance was the scheduling of the First World Conference on City Diplomacy, 11–13 June 2008, hosted by the City of The Hague, The Netherlands. The rationale for the conference states that “Local governments play a key role in conflict prevention, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.... The conference examined situations where local government mediation has been crucial to creating the necessary conditions for agreements at a higher political level and the potential role of local governments in mediation efforts in on-going conflicts.... Conflict dynamics and the huge interests involved, sometimes make it difficult to find solutions at the national or international level. Dialogue, understanding, integration and cooperation at the local level can sometimes help to create the conditions for agreements at a

² UN Centre for Human Settlements, 2000, “Mayors Support the World Charter for Local Self-Government and the Istanbul +5 Process”, CHS/0014. Nairobi: 9 May; “Progress report on the preparations of the proposed world charter of local self-government”, HS/C/PC.I/CRP. Nairobi: 7, 20 April; “Klaus Toepfer Launches UN Committee on Local Authorities: Innovation is the key to the future survival of cities”, CHS/00/03. Nairobi: 24 January.

higher political level.... We hope to get a better understanding of the factors for success or failure of local government peace-building initiatives.” Participants stressed, in the final Declaration, “the importance of effective decentralization and local self-government as an essential condition for local governments to play their role in peace-building” (City Diplomacy 2007). The Committee on City Diplomacy of United Cities and Local Governments (USLG) will take responsibility for the follow-up of what will be defined as the ‘Agenda for the development of City Diplomacy’.

VNG International, an international cooperation agency of the Association of Netherlands Municipalities, has published *City Diplomacy: The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace-building, Post-conflict Reconstruction*, a 213 page volume, with financial support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. The book has chapters on “Local governments building peace in eastern Croatia”, “City diplomacy for peace-building in the northern part of the Cauca, Colombia”, and “The Municipal Alliance for Peace in the Middle East (MAP)”.³

There is very significant diversity of participants in MAP. It was set up in June 2005, also at a conference in The Hague. It encourages municipal cooperation between Palestinian and Israeli local authorities, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian> and through joint initiatives of the Association of Palestinian Local Authorities (APLA) and the Union of Local Authorities of Israel (ULAI). The Board of MAP is chaired by the Mayor of The Hague and is composed of the following members: Association of Palestinian Local Authorities (APLA), Union of Local Authorities of Israel (ULAI), UNDP Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People (UNDP/PAPP), United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), European Network of Local Authorities for Peace in the Middle East (ELPME), and the Cities of Hamar, Rome, Barcelona and Cologne. The Alliance secretariat has an office in Jerusalem (United Nations 2012f).

7.11 Conclusion

Obviously there is growing awareness by many involved in local governance that maintaining, and extending, local democracy requires efforts that range from local to global contexts. Underlying this awareness is realization that policy problems important to local governments reach across a diversity of political borders and that efforts to seek solutions to these problems must extend to the borders of the problem.

³ Arne Musch, Chris van der Valle, Aleandra Sizoo, Kian Tajbakhsh, eds., *City Diplomacy: The Role of local governments in Conflict prevention, peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction*. (The Hague, Netherlands: VNG International 2008); Martijn Klem, “Local Governments building Peace in Croatia”, 141–164; Chris van Hemert, “A Case study in City Diplomacy: The Municipal alliance for Peace in the Middle East”, 165–188; Andre Paz Ramos and Marianne Moor, “Local Democracy, the Tie That Binds US: City Diplomacy for Peace-building in the Northern Part of the Cauca, Colombia”, 123–140. See also Kenneth Bush, *Building Capacity for Peace and Unity: The Role of Local Government in PeaceBuilding*. (Ottawa, Canada: Federation of Canadian Municipalities 2004).

We opened this article by stating that “Recent studies of the world relations of cities have added significantly to our growing understanding of the complexity of world relations.” This overview of the regional and global activities of regional and global organizations of local governments significantly extends our knowledge of this complexity in at least nine respects.

First, the geographic range of these organizations reaches from global, to global regions, to a diversity of more local regions.

Second, the agendas of these organizations are quite diverse. Some have an unlimited agenda, one has the agenda of large cities, and others have a specific issue focus such as environment and peace.

Third, the members of these organizations are not only in the governments of towns and cities within states, but also members of governmental organizations whose borders are defined by geographic factors (e.g. mountains, maritime), ethnic and cultural factors, and functional activities (e.g. recycling, preventing climate change, and promotion of local sustainable energy policies.).

Fourth, although these are primarily organizations of local governments, some have a diversity of other kinds of members, including academics, technical experts, civil society, trade unions, and business. The Arab Towns Organization has the broadest membership, including “any institution related to the activities of the organization”, and individuals who are “employed persons in the area who are interested in the work of the organization and its activities or researchers in the education and research organizations” (General Assembly of the Arab Towns Organization 2012). The Asia and Pacific organization (CITYNET) has Associate Members that include two cities outside the region (Lyon, France and Ancona, Italy). Relevant here is the Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy, a joint effort of the governments of Finland and Tanzania that was launched in 2003. It asserts that a diversity of stakeholders are required to solve global problems, including States, inter-State organizations, municipalities, civil society, faith groups, business, trade unions, public policy research institutions, academia, the media and others. Chaired by the Foreign Ministers of Finland and Thailand, it has participants from the governments of Algeria, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Hungary, Malaysia, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, Thailand and the United Kingdom (Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008).

Fifth, a significant indication of the increasing involvement of local governments in global governance is their involvement in the UN System. This clearly reveals the growing understanding that efforts to cope with a wide range of issues on the broadening agenda of the UN System requires collaboration with not only the governments of States, but also the governments of local communities. At the same time, it reveals growing appreciation by local governments of the roles that they must play in global governance.

Sixth, a movement for a global standard for local self-government has emerged out of the escalating regional and global involvements of local governments. A European Charter of Local Self-Government, developed by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, came into force in 1988. This has served as a model for a movement to develop a World Charter for Local Government.

Both UN-Habitat and WACLAC support this movement. On the other hand, the Arab Towns Org. (ATO) and the Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) find it necessary to clearly state that they have no intention in interfering in the affairs of any State. This suggests that some perceive that this movement could be a challenge to the traditional role of States in global governance and find it necessary to deny it.

Seventh, the movement that created United Cities and Local governments of Africa (UCLGA) explicitly stated it had the goal of creating a Pan-African association that joined together States that were divided into three associations that reflected the colonial past, an Anglophone African Union of Local Authorities (AULA), the largely francophone Union des Villes Africaines (UVA), and the Portuguese Uniao dos Ciudades y Capitaes Lusofono Africana (UCCLA). Thus, these organizations of local governments are attempting to remove the remaining influence of colonial State borders from global governance.

Eighth, a very significant indication of the growing significance of local governments in global governance was the scheduling of the First World Conference on City Diplomacy, 11–13 June 2008, hosted by the city of The Hague, The Netherlands. The rationale for the conference stated that “Local governments play a key role in conflict prevention, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.... Conflict dynamics and the huge interests involved, sometimes make it difficult to find solutions at the national or international level. Dialogue, understanding, integration and cooperation at the local level can sometimes help to create the conditions for agreements at a higher political level” (City Diplomacy 2007). Participants stressed, in the final Declaration, “the importance of effective decentralisation and local self-government as an essential condition for local governments to play their role in peace-building” (City Diplomacy 2007). These assertions claim a role for local governments in global governance that many perceive to be the exclusive responsibility of the governments of States.

Ninth, developments that we have reported suggest that it would be useful to compare the participation of local governments in Council of Europe (COE) governance with their involvement in global governance. For example, this could help those involved in the UN System to decide whether they should continue to only widen the diversity of their involvements throughout the UN System, or should they also establish UN organizations similar to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the COE. At the same time, the World Assembly of Cities and Local Authorities (WACLAC) might find it useful to compare their efforts to coordinate local government input in the UN System with those of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the COE.

Finally, it must be frankly recognized that available research greatly limits capacity for assessing the present impact of local governments on regional and global governance. On the other hand, by focusing on their growing involvement, we have provided extensive empirical evidence for theoretical questions raised by David Mitrany, Ernst Haas, Liebet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Bruno S. Frey and Reiner Eichenberger. At the same time, descriptions of these innovative locally-based efforts do challenge us to ponder more deeply their present significance, investigate further their impact, and evaluate their potential contribution to future global governance.

Certainly, the creative actions by many local governments that we have described offer challenging models to those throughout the world who declare their desire for the worldwide spread of democracy. This includes those State officials who espouse dedication to the spread of democracy beyond their borders. It is becoming ever more apparent that Robert A. Dahl and Edward R. Tufte had remarkable insight on this issue as early as 1973 when they wrote:

Rather than conceiving of democracy as located in a particular kind of inclusive sovereign unit, we must learn to conceive of democracy spreading through a set of interrelated political systems... none of which is sovereign (Dahl 1973b: p. 135).

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About the Book

This is the second volume to commemorate the 90th birthday of the distinguished scholar Chadwick F. Alger to honor his lifetime achievement in international relations and as President of the International Studies Association (1978–1979). After a brief introduction by Chad F. Alger this volume includes six of his key texts on The UN System and Cities in Global Governance focusing on “Cities as arenas for participatory learning in global citizenship” (1977); “The Impact of Cities on International Systems” (1979); “Perceiving, Analysing and Coping With the Local-Global Nexus” (1988); “The World Relations of Cities: Closing the Gap Between Social Science Paradigms and Everyday Human Experience” (1990); “Japanese Municipal International Exchange and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges” (1997) and on “Searching for Democratic Potential in Emerging Global Governance: What Are the Implications of Regional and Global Involvements of Local Governments?” (2011).