

Peace and Security in the City: Local Leadership in Global Governance

Joel Day, PhD

University of San Diego

Working Draft: March 26, 2018

Please do not cite or share without author permission.

Chapter 1

Cities as Sites of Human Security

Introduction

Security studies is increasingly shifting the frame of reference to humanity and the security of persons, rather than nation-states. Pioneered after the Cold War and during the rise of terrorism, the “Human Security” approach to security studies focuses the unit of analysis less on militaries and nations, but on the object or user of security, the person (Kaldor 2007). Freed from the nationalist conceptions of security, the field increasingly understands that the product of security is fragmented, functional, multi-spatial, and centered on providing particular services to a defined population. This allows scholars to evaluate processes and institutions providing security of all sorts, including physical, political, environmental, economic, community, food, and health security. Disaggregation of security reveals an innovative and stark reality: Cities provide people with more substantive and tangible everyday security than just about any other institution.

Peace and Security in the City argues that the principal actors implementing a human focused security agenda are *global cities*. In this volume, I attempt to offer a theory of global security

from the perspective of cities, complete with a descriptively rich analytical review of how large, globalized, connected cities operate as sites of human security in practice. Global cities are not only “the physical terrain of globalization,” (Sassen 2005) but also have human security obligations of all sorts, addressing challenges from climate change to unemployment. Cities are not simply “making us richer, smarter, greener, healthier and happier” (Glaeser 2012) but are fulfilling functional security obligations that nation-states have neglected. As Martin and Owen have argued, “Security is not the exclusive preserve of those tasked with protecting borders and state assets. It becomes the concern of a broader spectrum of policy and competences, and different kinds of actors, including NGOs, business, religious organizations and other civil society movements” ([Martin and Owen 2013, page 3](#)).

The book’s structure is divided into chapters addressing core areas of human security, complimented by years of ethnographic research, original survey data, and interviews with security professionals in dozens of global cities like London, Paris, Toronto, Tokyo, and New York.

The book makes the theoretical claim that cities work together on the global stage to advance their agenda, often bypassing and upstaging their national governments (Barber 2013). This structure of pragmatic agency pushes the human security framing from an ideational norm-setting agenda in IR circles, to a materialist, practical, public policy discussion about actual security practices. This broadens the audience beyond security studies scholars to urbanists, public policy specialists, city planners, organizational theorists,

Americanist and comparative political scientists, and practitioners of all sorts. With chapters on physical, political, environmental, economic, community, food, and health security, the book offers theoretical, descriptive, and prescriptive implications for a broad audience.

Furthermore, the book argues that through the “thick” institutions built in global cities, expectations about security are set at both local and global levels: As local activists engage on topics like food and water security, pushing their cities to act, the local is increasing is replicated as best practice at the global level. The book’s innovative methodology process traces how *global* practices and norms evolved from the advocacy of *local*, civically engaged citizens. This has resulted in Global Cities developing regime-like expectations around how residents are to be treated in specific security areas. Global Cities should thus be conceptualized as the newest international regimes, which produce rules, regulations, and expectations for global governance.

Empirical Argument and Outline of the Book

While classic notions of war-making, military force posture and readiness to defend territory fall under the purview of national governments, everyday security for the clear majority of humanity is actually provided by city and municipal jurisdictions. In short: if you’re in the market for an aircraft carrier - consult the head of state, but if you are interested in any other type of security, the best place to start is City Hall.

Advocates of human security approaches point us towards the locations of authority:

“Human Security has emerged as a result of profound changes in political authority and these provide the context in which its relevance can be understood” ([Martin and Owen 2013, page 5](#)). My argument is that the locations of authority, precisely in everyday security for a majority of the world’s population is within cities, and that just as globalization is ephemeral in concept but fixed to the capacity and agglomeration occurring in global cities, so too does the global concept of human security live in physically manifest locations.

However, cities as a site of empirical research on human security has received little scholarly attention. On the one hand, research on cities has tended to view municipalities as parts of national socio-economic and political processes – segments of larger systems. Similarly, security has traditionally been thought of within the boundaries of the nation-state. On the other hand, the human security approach emerged at a global level of analysis, arguing that the nation-state system had failed to curb everyday violence impacting people. The human security research agenda has tended to focus on transnational, global civil society as a unit of analysis to move beyond the boundedness of the nation-state. These perspectives leave little room for empirical research on how microgeographies can produce transnational outcomes (human security). The dominant accounts in human security studies suggest that “places” like the nation-state no longer matter when considering security in a globalized world (Kaldor 2007; Black, MacLean, and Shaw 2006). In particular, these accounts 1) privilege ideational and normative forces over material sites, physical practices, and place-boundedness of globalization, 2) emphasize transnational phenomenon like “global civil society” as an

explanatory framework rather than as an outcome of locally produced factors, and 3) focus on consumers of security (humans) rather than the sites where that security is produced. *Peace and Security in the City* challenges each of these assumptions.

The central argument in the following chapters is that cities function as sites of human security in practice: complex security systems emerge in the city as a tangible, local, concrete form of human security in a globalized world. Human security is a functional element of a complex, globally competitive city, which 1) privileges material production sites over normative ideational approaches to human security, 2) conceptualizes the local as an explanatory factor in the production of human security at the transitional ideational level, and 3) refocuses the conversation on the producers, rather than the consumers, of human security.

Building on seminal literature on Human Security approaches (Hillebrecht, White, and McMahon 2014; Martin and Owen 2013; Kaldor 2007; Kaldor, Martin, and Selchow 2007; Black, MacLean, and Shaw 2006; Paris 2001; Owen 2004) this volume disaggregates the concept of human security into seven categories to better understand how global cities functionally fulfill human security obligations and frame global governance around security. Each chapter attempts to explain human security developments in a variety of contexts.

Chapter two begins with the most commonly understood frame, namely that of *physical security*. The term is easily understood as the protection of an individual from bodily harm, is

the first order of business for cities and their police departments. It is not surprise that nation states are not leading in providing this good, but rather, following localities whose mayors craft strategies tailored around neighborhood needs and discrete challenges. More than first responders, city officers are responsible for preventing all sorts of potential physical harm, engaging in programs to combat domestic violence, gang activity, violent extremism, and are the front lines of counter-terrorism. The trend transcends the local, however. Networks of cities are increasingly working together on initiatives such as the Strong Cities Network, an organization spanning over 130 cities working on combating hate crimes and extremism. The chapter highlights the spectrum of physical security provided by cities, from critical infrastructure to gang violence and terrorism prevention, with special focus on those practices which operate locally yet transcend to the global.

Chapter three focuses on *political security*, in which a city protects the ability for one to express, participate and dissent in political processes. Keeping freedom of speech and assembly, secure voting locations, and transparent rule of law are activities tied to local places, such as sheriffs or city clerks. Strategies to provide political security are created and executed by local authorities, who are held directly accountable by their constituents. The cases considered here focus on counter-corruption efforts, implementation of voting architecture, and most importantly, the processes necessary to protect freedom of assembly and speech. Interviews with city security officials reveal the type of preparations that go into effect during events like the Women's Marches or general strikes, which manifest political security on specific city streets. I note in particular the mechanisms of learning between city

security agencies at the global level, highlighting both tactical and norm transfer from local to international practice.

Environmental security is considered in Chapter four. Environmental security consists of various protections against degradation, deforestation, climate change and other threats (Barnett and Adger 2007), and the city plays a key role in this agenda's implementation (Barber 2017). In the wake of President Trump's pulling from the Paris Climate Agreement, mayors from around the United States committed their cities to the accords, committing their city to climate action even in the absence of the national government. As climate change is a threat to major port cities around the world, it is no surprise that local advocacy has trickled up to an international regime level, with the global C40 Mayors association bringing together city leaders to discuss how cities are implementing the most progressive climate action plans currently in effect.

Chapter Five considers trends in *Economic Security*, and speaks to jobs, vocational training, workforce development, affordable housing, and educational opportunities. Through tuition-free city community college, for instance, cities seek to provide economic security for all residents. Locally controlled Workforce Investment Boards, economic development departments, housing commissions, and other hallmark city functions prove that cities are in the business of creating economic security.

Community security concerns protections for identity groups. Chapter Six outlines how cities have been at the forefront of protecting minorities, beginning with the case study of San Francisco pioneering protections and voice for LGBT communities. Cities even provide microgeographic designations for communities such as Little Tokyo, Korea Town, Little Italy, etc, with police patrol units recruited from those very neighborhoods. Community policing in this way is about more than boots on the ground, but about forging protective, trusting relationships within identity groups. Nowhere is the protection of identity cities starker than in the debate over “sanctuary cities” in the US, where cities are standing up against federal law enforcement to protect undocumented residents from deportation.

Food and water security are likely to become even more intense geo-strategic issues in the years to come. New data indicates that conflict futures are intrinsically tied to resource limitations (Hendrix and Brinkman 2013), but cities are increasingly facing the brunt of an impending crisis: as urban populations surge, estimate show that cities will need to double their food supplies by 2050 (McKeon 2015). Chapter Seven argues that global cities must be able to leverage third-sector partnerships and national-level distribution programs at the local level, while creating coalitions to address food insecurity. Cities are also at the forefront of clean water technology and water reclamation: San Diego’s Pure water program creates security for drought sensitive Southern California and Tel Aviv has leveraged similar desalination programs in Israel. The chapter illustrates the ties between city resource consumers and rural resource producers, raising the stakes for city intergovernmental bodies trying to navigate political relationships at the regional and national levels.

Chapter Eight, *Health security*, outlines how health is not only provided at the national level. Increasingly, local governments are providing community clinics and family health centers for their residents. Physical care in cities includes ordinances to mandate paid sick-leave and parental leave. Throughout the world, global cities are using local budgets to address serious gaps in national healthcare systems. For example, homelessness populations are inexorably tied to the urban landscape pose threats, from mental healthcare to preventing communicable diseases, that must be addressed with local resources.

Each chapter highlights in particular the norm-creating iterative process from local advocacy to global practice. Analysis of these seven sectors, disaggregated measurements of human security, are core functions of what it means to be a globally engaged city. The volume's policy implications are thus extraordinarily broad, offering examples of best practices for numerous areas of human security globally. The concluding chapter, "Cities as International Regimes: Local Action and Global Impact" outlines how work being done in Cities transfers into international society, building the capacity and normative commitments of other cities.

Method and Data

The author conducted two years of ethnographic research in the practice of city security as the Mayor of San Diego's coordinator for combating violent extremism, San Diego's chief

representative to international organizations, and lead architect of San Diego's agenda for immigrant economic integration. The author developed a network of global practitioners, which he uses to collect qualitative interviews and surveys with city leaders from around the world. This includes 80 semi-structured interviews with mayors, city managers, and director-level security leaders. Surveys then targeted to city experts on every continent, with questions in each of the thematic areas of human security. The foundation of each chapter includes historical case studies charting the evolution of service provision on specific human security elements in major cities around the world, including New York, Lagos, Kinshasa, Tokyo, Johannesburg, Tel Aviv, Los Angeles, Toronto, Munich, and others.

Academic / Theoretical Implications

The central theory of the project fuses together three strains of academic literature. First, drawing on authors like Saskia Sassen (2001, 2002, 2005), the book argues that providing security for residents is a function of governance that global cities are both expected and capable of performing. Global cities have vast resources from forces of economic globalization, agglomeration of capital, and innovation production (Sassen 2006, 7), which this volume shows resulted in these hubs of global power also seeking to protect residents in new ways. Moreover, residents of global cities make demands for goods of their local institutions, pushing for city involvement in global issues such as climate change, inclusion in economic development, and water security. As cities have sought to provide goods expected of them as hubs of globalization, their host governments have simultaneously devolved

powers to them, often allowing cities to bypass national-level partisan politics to access services and advocate for themselves at the global level. Using the city as a unit of analysis recovers the material conditions, production sites, decision making apparatuses, and place-boundedness of human security, rooting the field in an empirically observable range of activities, practices, advocacies, infrastructures, offices, and discourses that link local and global structures. The preponderance of human security then, is an outcome of political, cultural, economic globalization processes located within cities. A focus on human security within cities argues that human security is a concrete, physically identifiable production.

Second, democratic functionality depends upon civically engaged citizens who invest in institutional capital and not just relational capital (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1994). While small-towns from South Italy to the American South are driven by personal relationship (who you know), larger cities, Global Cities, are driven by those who invest in institutional capacity. In large cities, talent and skill as a subject matter expert (what you know) are more effectively harnessed by broad bureaucracy and robust private sectors. There are important ways that these subject matter experts help steer governance in the city. First, organizational representation in halls of power matters more in large cities. Second, expert boards and commissions for example, on a host of public policy concerns allow for SMEs to directly advise elected officials. SMEs are institutionally empowered to innovate at the local level on a host of global issues like climate change and trade policy. The Mayors that they advise then take the innovations abroad, through complex city diplomacy efforts that 1) mainstream policies, 2) promote best practices, and 3) raise the expectations of what a city can work on.

More broadly, city politics make visible the non-formal actors that may seem irrelevant at a national level by accommodating a wide range of physical activities like protest, public comment, open meetings, and access to officials. Global civil society activists engaged on subjects like water security, for instance, can engage in a direct way with officials, SMEs, and local bureaucrats. Cities are thus the location where local energies create conditions of global, transnational identities leading to the possibility of affinity with other city communities of practice. In other words, cities are a key unit of analysis for process tracing (Bennet and Checkel 2014; Pouliot 2014) how human security becomes adopted in some microgeographies, but not at the nation-state level.

Third, following the logic above, cities are epistemic communities of practice (Haas 2015; Adler and Barnett 1998) that produce new forms of global governance. Cities are the sites of security in practice (Adler and Pouliot 2011). The rise of city-based diplomatic ties is a phenomenon unique in the era of Global Cities, with over 200 city-to-city global organizations convening on a host of global governance issues (Acuto 2013). The book builds on International Relations literature on “regime theory,” (Krasner 1983) which finds that regimes are “implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations” (Krasner 1982, 187). In the case of human security, cities, not nation-states, are developing regime-like expectations around how local residents are to be treated in numerous security areas. Rules, practices, principles, and norms are all emerging in each of these governance silos, and cities are the driving actors and targets of these regimes. Most interesting, the

emergence of global city regimes, means that the ideas of local subject matter experts are transmitted via mayors and bureaucrats and influence the direction of regime-building through norm promotion, rule-making, and the dissemination of best practices. Global city regimes are indeed emerging in every area of human security.

Finally, if cities are setting the normative evolution of global politics, then special attention must be placed on the burgeoning population in global south, meaning. By 2025, there will be twenty-seven cities with populations greater than 10 million - much of this growth is occurring in African megalopolises like Lagos, Karachi, Kinshasa, meaning that global cities will bear burdens and challenges that will not be addressed by their national governments. In such cities, many residents live in informal settlements, favelas or slums, lacking property rights, access to governmental service, and invisible to power centers. The opportunity provided by this theory of global cities is the potential empowerment of these growing power centers in the global South. As cities take command of the security agenda, it is incumbent upon New York, Tokyo, London, and others to seek to provide tangible resources to other cities in order to advance best practices and grow the footprint of city power around the globe. Finding ways to bring Lagos and London, Kinshasa and Chicago together to solve issues of insecurity is the opportunity to effectively bypass inefficient international organizations, and instead imagine the globe as a co-constituted, mutually beneficial network of cities. This presents practitioners with opportunities beyond the limitations of the nation-state and academics with theoretical horizons beyond traditional international relations theory.

Through engaging these three sets of arguments, this book is then making one comprehensive argument: that it is possible to process trace the life-cycle of an accepted global norm or rule from a set of locally, civically engaged activists. Further, the focus on cities not only helps us better understand normative evolution of human security, but actively advances a holistic, comprehensive infrastructure of care that “can address the everyday needs and fears of individual communities.” ([Martin and Owen 2013, page 3](#)). Cities therefore matter more than ever and locally engaged activists can indeed impact change at the global level: “Acting Locally and Thinking Globally” is thus more than a bumper sticker: it is a fact of world politics.

Works Referenced

Acuto, Michele. 2013. “City Leadership in Global Governance.” *Global Governance* 19 (3): 481–98.

Adler, Emanuel, and Michael Barnett. 1998. *Security Communities*. Cambridge University Press.

Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. 2011. *International Practices*. Cambridge University Press.

Barber, Benjamin R. 2013. *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*. 1st edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- . 2017. *Cool Cities: Urban Sovereignty and the Fix for Global Warming*. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press.
- Barnett, Jon, and W. Neil Adger. 2007. "Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography, Climate Change and Conflict*, 26 (6): 639–55.
doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2007.03.003.
- Bennet, Andrew, and Jeffrey Checkel. 2014. *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Black, David R., Sandra J. MacLean, and Timothy M. Shaw, eds. 2006. *A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms*. 1 edition. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Routledge.
- Glaeser, Edward. 2012. *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Haas, Peter M. 2015. *Epistemic Communities, Constructivism, and International Environmental Politics*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Hillebrecht, Courtney, Tyler R. White, and Patrice C. McMahon, eds. 2014. *State Responses to Human Security: At Home and Abroad*. 1 edition. London ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2007. *Human Security*. 1 edition. Cambridge: Polity.
- Kaldor, Mary, Mary Martin, and Sabine Selchow. 2007. "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe." *International Affairs* 83 (2): 273–88.
doi:10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00618.x.

- Krasner, Stephen D. 1982. "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." *International Organization* 36 (2): 185–205.
- , ed. 1983. *International Regimes*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Martin, Mary, and Taylor Owen, eds. 2013. *Routledge Handbook of Human Security*. 1 edition. Routledge.
- McKeon, Nora. 2015. *Food Security Governance: Empowering Communities, Regulating Corporations*. 1 edition. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Owen, Taylor. 2004. "Human Security - Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition." *Security Dialogue* 35 (3): 373–87. doi:10.1177/0967010604047555.
- Paris, Roland. 2001. "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26 (2): 87–102. doi:10.1162/016228801753191141.
- Pouliot, Vincent. 2014. "Practice Tracing." In *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, edited by Andrew Bennet and Jeffrey Checkel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1994. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. New Ed edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. 2nd ed. edition. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- , ed. 2002. *Global Networks, Linked Cities*. 1 edition. New York: Routledge.

———. 2005. “The Global City: Introducing a Concept.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* XI (2): 27–43.

———. 2006. *Cities in a World Economy*. SAGE Publications.

Hendrix, Cullen, and Henk-Jan Brinkman. 2013. “Food Insecurity and Conflict Dynamics: Causal Linkages and Complex Feedbacks.” *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development* 2 (2): 26.