A Framework of City Diplomacy on Positive Outcomes and Negative Emotional Engagement: How to Enhance the International Role of Cities and City/ Mayor Branding on Twitter?

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the negative emotional engagement of mayors in the contexts of city diplomacy, green issues and communicating city sustainability. In line with psychology and consumer behavior literature on the link between emotions, judgments and behavior (Haidt 2007), we argue that negative emotional engagement with government decisions promotes not only negative but also positive outcomes from engaged

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citizens, on elements such as city branding (Greenberg 2008; Sevin 2014; Vanolo 2017), and the reputation of city mayors.

So far, the phenomenon of negative emotional engagement has been discussed in public relations, political communication, interpersonal psychology or strategic communication literature. However, the concept has not been transferred to public and city diplomacy, especially in the context of city-government relationships used by city mayors.

Cities' images have acquired increasing importance in economic, political, environmental and societal terms (Albino et al. 2015). Engaged in various challenges at local, regional, national and international levels, city mayors are in a better position than previously when interacting with governments (Wang 2006, p. 34). Thus, tensions between collaboration and competition (Taylor Buck and While 2017)—in other words, "competitive cooperation" (van der Pluijm and Melissen 2007, p. 13)—could appear when national and local governments do not take the same approach. Having the strategic interest of establishing and maintaining mutual relationships with their citizens (Ledingham 2001), cities can take the opportunity to criticize government actions which oppose the actions or interests of cities (Lievonen and Luoma-aho 2015). However, the role of mayors and cities for the transformation of the international system is still relatively unexamined (Acuto 2013).

We apply a case study to illustrate recent phenomena of negative emotional engagement and diplomatic functions of cities (city diplomacy) and show its challenges and opportunities. Specifically, we study how mayoral messages from the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group (called C40 Cities hereafter) publicly criticize President Trump's decision to leave the Paris climate change agreement (on June 1st, 2017), in order to encourage positive citizen engagement around the world. As previous research has highlighted clearly the importance of human, social or infrastructural dimensions of cities (Kourtit and Nijkamp 2012), we explore what city diplomacy entails and what positive outcomes a negative emotional engagement could have for citizen relationships.

5.2   FRAMEWORK OF CITY DIPLOMACY INCLUDING NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL ENGAGEMENT AND POSITIVE OUTCOMES

We conceptualize a framework of negative emotional engagement applied to city diplomacy (Fig. 5.1). To measure this concept, we content analyze both C40 Cities social media messages and press releases and all tweets
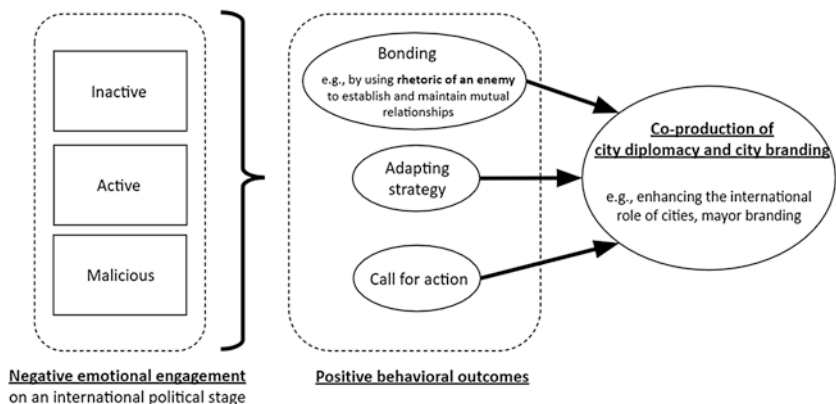
Fig. 5.1 Framework of city diplomacy including negative emotional engagement and positive outcomes

related to Trump's announcement and C40 Cities actions, and additionally sentiment analyze these tweets. In this sense, city diplomacy is viewed as part of a negative emotional engagement issue with several positive outcomes.

5.2.1 City Diplomacy and City Branding

As cities today have an important role at international level, their "mayors cannot be left behind" (Stren and Friendly 2019, p. 176). Indeed, a diplomatic vision of the mayoral role has been defined by Barber (2013), who argues that mayors should rule the world in a context of dysfunctional nations and rising cities as nodes inside a network of global synapses. Indeed, there is a growing attention paid to the leaders at the helm of these cities as key drivers of this internationalization (Acuto 2013), in relation to both governments and other cities. City diplomacy is also strongly based on the idea that the political arena is grounded in the civic: a "glocal" civil society without borders building a network of interconnected cities with a high level of bottom-up democracy (Barber 2013). Thus, we understand city diplomacy as "the institutions and processes by which cities ... engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another" (van der Pluijm and Melissen 2007, p. 6). This city diplomacy appears in

relation to two key mayoral motivations for engagement at the international level. Stren and Friendly (2019, p. 173) argue that these motivations are "(1) the maintenance and strengthening of local constituency support; and (2) the promotion of policies overseas to reinforce the legitimacy of local policy choices". In the case of climate change, discourses (Jost et al. 2019) and actions against the lack of US leadership at national level since the 2015 Trump decision to leave the Paris Agreement are paradoxically useful to acquire and/or maintain support from local citizens and to leverage acceptance of local decisions. The issue of combating climate change is thus very relevant as a way of obtaining higher visibility and credibility at international level, which then acts to strengthen ties with city-level actors. Such glocal activities, which appear with the emergence of international involvement of mayors (McEnery 1994), are constitutive of what McNeill (2001, p. 355) called a "new mayoral class".

More recently, several big city mayors have embraced the issue of climate change to demonstrate how cities, businesses and citizens can save the planet (Bloomberg and Pope 2017). Such engagement acts to leverage city branding and a multi-level governance structure with national and local governments (Ye and Björner 2018). Indeed, as cities compete internationally for success in economic, social, cultural or ecological domains, they act strategically to attract international visibility to their efforts. Eshuis et al. (2014, p. 154) insist on the role of competition and branding for cities or places: they define place branding as "the development of brands for geographical locations such as regions, cities or communities, usually with the aim of triggering positive associations and distinguishing the place from others". Place and city branding scholars have described the shift from traditional place marketing (Kotler 2002)—with, for instance, promotional measures, festivals or improvement of place design—to place branding (Kavaratzis et al. 2017), where cities' communications practitioners integrate some corporate branding methods (Kavaratzis 2009) and promote various intangible assets such as emotional, symbolic and reputational values (Eshuis and Edwards 2013; Eshuis and Klijn 2017). Recent hashtag diplomacy activities, which use Twitter as a tool for engaging in public diplomacy (Collins et al. 2019), show specific changes that occur in terms of communication between residents (Braun et al. 2013) and cities' mayors. The growing necessity to work with these new types and roles of engaged stakeholder (Stubbs and Warnaby 2015) in the development of city branding enhances the use of social media and the appropriation of direct and emotional speech coming from recent

citizen social movements (Snow et al. 2004). In this inter-place competition of city branding (Zenkler and Beckman 2013), for instance, in the domain of sustainability, places are both trying to differentiate themselves from other places and collaborating in city networks such as C40 Cities or the European Metropolitan Authorities in order to gain in attractiveness (Snieska and Zykiene 2015), in visibility and in power to compete with nation governments. In the strategic attempt to communicate dialogically with citizens, some mayors using social media to communicate on an emotional level have moved far from a traditional diplomatic way of political interpersonal exchanges. This communication is particularly present nowadays with the large-scale media coverage of President Trump's Twitter messages, which broke with these traditions.

5.2.2 *Negative Emotional Engagement*

Engagement has become a buzzword in various research fields such as public relations (Brodie et al. 2011; Danesh 2017), public engagement (Taylor and Kent 2014) or digital engagement (Men and Tsai 2013). In the specific field of public diplomacy, there is also an apparent debate in the literature regarding interpretation of the "engagement" concept (Welsh et al. 2008). In our framework, we select Hollebeek and Chen's (2014) three major patterns of individuals' engagement—cognition, emotion and behavior—to illustrate the types of engagement made by various city actors. Cognition appears when a stimulus leads to a public awareness on a specific topic. Here, citizens express the fact that they have discovered this key issue or that the issue has gained a strategic importance for them. This stimulus can lead to a negative emotion, such as feelings of injustice or unfairness, which could then be activated in behaviors, by which we mean an organism's action and reaction in a spontaneous or automatized and rigid way (Lazzeri 2014). These three elements, and particularly the last two, are visible in public messages such as press releases and social media posts. Indeed, even in the city-related context, a new situation appears when citizens shift the nature of their relationships and communication with both city mayors and governments toward more horizontal dialogues. As a consequence, public sector communication (Canel and Luoma-aho 2018) is adapted to achieve a greater citizen engagement (through expressing their feelings on social media) and improve collaboration (through taking concrete actions for the city and at city level) (Lovari 2013; Taylor and Kent 2014). This citizensourcing is seen as a tool that

allows for a greater involvement of citizens in the public-value creation process (Lukensmeyer and Torres 2008). Within the context of the city, the use of social media tools has radically changed the ways in which citizens perceive, consume and co-produce city brands (Vanolo 2017, p. 203). In short, negative emotional engagement could be linked to negative but also positive outcomes. In this chapter, the study of city mayors and citizen reactions is focused on the fact that negative emotions expressed publicly through press releases and through social media tweets by citizens, associations or city mayors lead to positive outcomes.

Negative emotional engagement is a process understood by Lievonen et al. (2018) as unfavorable feelings toward organizations. These authors propose negative emotional engagement categories depending on a stakeholder's activity and on connectivity. The authors define three levels of negative emotion: (i) weak negative emotions (inactive) held by passive, discontented and inactively resentful stakeholders, (ii) moderate negative emotions (active) are held by either irate or justice-seeking stakeholders (also called "hateholders"), and (iii) extremely strong negative emotions (malicious) are held by revenge-seeking stakeholders or trolls. In other words, stakeholders can either avoid sharing their negative feelings experiences actively, share actively their negative emotions, or have very hostile thoughts and intend malice toward brands and organizations. Thus, Lievonen et al. (2018) argue that in a context of high public connectivity (with unlimited audiences appearing in public online conversations and on social media platforms), people can express emotions that have the potential to harm an organization. In fact, the messages of justice-seeking stakeholders, also called "hateholders" by Luoma-aho (2015), are those that damage the reputation the most and affect individuals through both tangible and intangible means diffused in high-visibility online platforms such as social media. Indeed, moderate negative emotions "ensure that the public actions stay at plausible levels, and the negative contributions are thus more effective" (Lievonen et al. 2018, p. 542). It should be noted that the hate-related definition given by Luoma-aho (2015), when using the term hateholders, diverges from others such as that of Davidson et al. (2017, p. 512), who link hate speech to a "language that is used to express hatred towards a targeted group or is intended to be derogatory, to humiliate, or to insult the members of the group". In brief, what Lievonen et al. (2018) call a malicious negative emotion could be comparable to the hate speech definition of Davidson et al. (2017). As the latter indicate, "hate speech is a difficult phenomenon to define and is not monolithic" (Davidson et al. 2017, p. 515).

Such communications and actions against someone are linked to the negative word-of-mouth concept, which is defined as a "customer's effort to share negative or unfavorable feedback or opinions with friends, family and others" (Balaji et al. 2016, p. 529). According to Verhagen et al. (2013, p. 1430), negative word-of-mouth "consists of disclosed individual negative experiences and opinions about goods, services and organizations that have been formed during and after the consumption process".

Reactions are triggered by a stimulus based on individuals' experiences (Brodie et al. 2011), oriented toward a target (Kuppens et al. 2003) struggling with an ethical behavior or an environmental or social moral standard (Haidt 2007). Stimuli identified in scientific literature refer, for instance, to real or perceived injustice, unethical behavior, dissatisfaction or information misuse. These elements guide consumers and citizens to "draw attention to the cause of their dissatisfaction in order to get a solution" (Verhagen et al. 2013, p. 1431). The negative emotions expressed both by city mayors' networks in press releases and on social media, or by associations, activists and citizens, could be followed by behavioral outcomes which could be negative but also positive.

5.2.3   Negative and Positive Behavioral Outcomes: Adapting Strategy, Call for Action and Utility of Having an Enemy

As important as the positive outcomes are for the negative emotional engagement holder, previous literature has focused more on the negative outcomes for the target of this negative engagement. Negative behavioral engagements (or consumer responses to corporate wrongdoing) are usually those related to disengaging from, avoiding or boycotting the organization (Klein et al. 2004). In other words, moral reactions result in engagement behaviors such as resistance toward or avoidance of the individuals or organization targeted. In our case study, climate change is an important issue in which city representatives, such as activists, citizens and associations, but also city mayors and city networks express negative emotional engagement against opponents like politicians. These moral reactions lead to destructive or constructive punitive actions. As Romani et al. (2013, p. 1029) indicate, destructive punitive actions are those "intended to discredit or harm firms, ultimately leading to disengagement from firms". Their purpose is to stop the relationship with the target and disseminate negative information about it. Senders in this case have contempt for the target and want to create distance from that target without

offering reconciliatory possibilities. On the contrary, there is no intention to stop the relationship in constructive punitive actions because senders are just angry about the target's actions and want to rectify what they perceive as a wrongdoing. Indeed, these actions are "those designed to induce firms to change their behavior but with the hope of sustaining relationships with consumers" (Romani et al. 2013, p. 2019). This focus on changing behavior is an important source of positive outcomes generated by the anger of consumers, associations or citizens. It can be linked to the willingness of people to excuse the actions of the enemy in the hope of seeing future modifications of its decisions and actions, particularly when this enemy has a great influence on the issue at stake.

However, positive behavioral outcomes appear even in the context of negative emotional stakeholder engagements following denunciation messages by an association or a network of mayors. Such negative emotions can also be viewed as a source of improvement of behaviors and habits (Finkelstein and Fishbach 2012). This is a key strategic element for motivating active contributors to fight on an issue through positive actions. Micheletti (2003) proposed the idea of a political consumerism which may involve positive (e.g., boycott or socially responsible investing) forms of collective action. In this framework, three types of positive behavioral outcome were tested through the content analysis, namely (i) adapting strategy, (ii) call for action and/or (iii) using the rhetoric of an enemy to foster changes and collective actions. The violation of a standard in terms of, for instance, environmental issues instigates the transition of communication terms from awareness and concern to the idea of a call to action (Moser 2016; Romani et al. 2013) in favor of the specific issue.

This call for action is a consequence of having an enemy (Volkan 1985), and it reinforces bonding activities in the public arena. The term 'bonding' refers to the capacity to create strong ties between participants of a closed group. It is directly visible in the process of citizen participation, for instance, in urban planning (Van Dijk and Holstein 2007) where several neighborhood branding initiatives have been witnessed. In Amsterdam's 'Western Garden Cities', for instance, a co-production model fosters "local government and residents [to act] together [to] 'produce' the urban plan" (Van Dijk and Holstein 2007, p. 16). This experimentation was based on "a collaborative quest for the current and desired identity of a neighbourhood" (Van Dijk and Holstein 2007, p. 18). In the literature on social networks, this term contrasts with bridging activities, which tend to create weaker ties, for instance, where citizen engagement in

sustainable activities in voluntary associations or in political activities (Putnam 2000) help to foster ties among people of these groups. As indicated by Volkan (1985), people need to have both enemies and allies; this is part of the dynamics of human development. Having or constructing an enemy and publicly disapproving of him/her is a natural way to be able to identify a group of people who share common values. By sharing "primar sentiments" (Volkan 1985, p. 241) toward someone who has another vision, the group activates concrete collective actions against *him/her*. This natural process of group bonding is linked to phenomena such as ethnicity or nationality. Interestingly, this common enemy helps to create a form of solidarity between actors whose interests could otherwise diverge. This leads to a buttressing of the interests of those who have constructed, or positioned themselves as, obstacles between the enemy and the people who have suffered from the decisions and actions of the enemy. Being anti-something or anti-someone has been well studied in anti-brand activism research focusing on how people want to achieve social justice (Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2010). These authors highlight the role of the community vision which drives members to action, the role of the image of an antagonist which/who generates imbalances and injustices, and "the creation of a world apart from mainstream society" (Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2010, p. 341). In this chapter, we have added the participation of political actors at city level—the mayors—who have understood that residents' participation in online social movements aiming to foster city sustainability is motivated by the quest for personal development in a liberal environment (Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2010). This study illuminates the recent participation—within social movement actors—of a traditional political actor. It focuses on the phenomenon of self-renewal of the mayor actor as a member of the community of activists, their expression of moral and emotional support and the way they act to "construct shared visions of social justice in relation to [governments]" (Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2010, p. 341).

5.2.4 *International Role and City Network, City and Mayor Branding as a Positive Intangible Outcome*

Positive behavioral outcomes include, for instance, going viral on social media (Baumeister et al. 2001), thereby showing positive aspects of city diplomacy and enhancing the city's image. Mayors and thus association of mayors have a new opportunity to position themselves as the current

guardians of the moral order (Haidt 2003) in terms of, for instance, fighting climate change, and to urge people to act with them for collective actions at local levels. Here it is not only a question of waiting and hoping for a change in the mindset or actions of the source of the stimuli (President Trump), it is a chance to take the leadership on this action by being closely connected to urban-living people around the world.

These positive aspects of city diplomacy and negative emotional engagement toward a clear target and stimulus reinforce citizen-mayor relationships by encouraging citizens to modify their behaviors and to cooperate (Brodie et al. 2013), as well as enhancing the international role of cities as primary actors regarding, for instance, global warming. Indeed, it is acknowledged that due to globalization and the decline of nation-states, contextual factors like sovereignty impact cities' governance (Ruhlandt 2018) and concepts such as mayors as diplomats (Barber 2013), big city mayors (Stren and Friendly 2019), mayors as avatars of an interconnected global network (Jayne 2011) and smart citizens (Capdevila and Zarlenga 2015) have acquired an increasing importance in the literature in recent years. For instance, with Jayne's (2011) metaphor of becoming avatars, the conception of mayors goes beyond the traditional vision of them as local actors and engages with both the political and policy domains of mayors subscribed to networked international relations.

Cities around the world collaborate together on specific topics and are aggregated into international city networks (Dameri and Ricciardi 2015; Gil-Garcia et al. 2015), with the aim "to participate in and influence decision-making at the supra-national level" (van der Pluijm and Melissen 2007, p. 30). In fact, as cities are considered to be vital elements at local, regional, national and international levels, the various levels of regulation they are subject to have an increasing impact on the degree of autonomy a city mayor possesses (Walravens 2012). Mayors, and particularly mayors engaged in climate, sustainability and resilience processes, will increasingly assume a strategic importance as political and economic actors.

These multi-level activities of cities foster two types of relationship between city and state actors. According to van der Pluijm and Melissen (2007, p. 12), "one view on this is that cities' diplomatic activities infringe upon the role of central governments, thereby often creating an adversarial relationship [and] another view [...] is that both types of actors engage in diplomatic activities that complement one another". We argue that our case study on cities' climate change and network communication related to Trump's decision regarding the Paris Agreement follows the

first view, resulting in tensions and negative emotional engagement. In summary, positive outcomes include improved city branding (enhancing the international role of cities and/or stronger engagement of a city) and enhanced city mayor reputation. Thus, we argue that communications against someone also lead to positive outcomes.

5.2.5   *Content Connectivity (Dissemination Score on Social Media) and Citizen Use of Twitter*

Negativity or negative information leads naturally to a higher propensity for being shared on social media compared to positive content or events (Lievonen et al. 2018; Park and Lee 2009). In their framework of negative online emotional stakeholder engagement in the context of organizations and brands, Lievonen et al. (2018) propose a separation between private (low connectivity) and public (high connectivity) audiences when stakeholders express their various levels of emotions. Currently, these emotions are particularly disseminated through social media such as Twitter, providing rich data to analyze. Indeed, the social networking platform is widely studied in the scientific literature around citizen mobilization paradigms and social movements (Foust and Hoyt 2018) such as Occupy Wall Street (Tremayne 2014), climate change protests (Segerberg and Bennett 2011) or risk issue adoption (O'Neil and Ackland 2019). Social movements are traditionally recognized as "rhetorical achievements and constitutive forces that cohere collective identity" (Foust and Hoyt 2018, p. 51). This collective identity (Melucci 1996) is also constructed through the use of social media, which "has altered organizational behavior and its consequences" in terms of political mobilization (Hodges and Stocking 2016, p. 226).

5.3   CASE STUDY: THE C40 CITIES CLIMATE LEADERSHIP GROUP

This study uses a mixed-methods case study approach (Yin 2003) applying content and sentiment analyses, since the purpose of our study is to demonstrate how online social mobilization supported by mayors could lead to enhancement of the international role of cities and city/mayor branding. The C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group is a global network (Vanolo 2017, p. 132) of large cities cooperating to address climate change and

related issues around the linear economy through direct actions on policy fostering and program implementation. The C40 Cities' goal is to obtain measurable reductions in carbon emissions and climate risks. Created in, 2005, C40 Cities aim to "demonstrate the power of cities to address climate change" (C40 Cities 2019) by collaborating effectively, sharing knowledge, and implementing measurable, sustainable and impactful actions. More than 90 mayors of megacities in more than 50 countries across the world are represented in this group, including present or past mayors of London, Toronto, Paris, New York, Sydney, Seoul, Santiago, Chicago and Cape Town. The C40 Cities group thereby represents around 25% of global GDP and is related to an extensive network of strategic funders, company donors, partnerships and city networks such as Bloomberg Philanthropies, Open Society Foundations, Michelin, L'Oréal, the Rockefeller Foundation of 100 Resilient Cities or the World Bank. All these partnerships and actors support C40 Cities' initiatives to foster circular flows of materials and zero waste economies at city municipality level in order to reduce carbon emissions while also leading to job creation and operational savings.

This issue has been selected because "the imaginaries of both the green / sustainable / resilient city and the technological / informational city have been, and still are, powerful rhetorical devices for boosting urban images" (Vanolo 2017, p. 126). Some state governors like the Governor of California, as well as city managers and other members of this group, have actively criticized the "absence of leadership from Washington" (We Are Still In n.d.) with the Trump administration's decision to leave the Paris Agreement. With this negative emotional engagement, cities and citizens, through their mayors, criticize what they consider to be a negative issue concerning the US government and express it through press releases and social media messages, but also through new collaborative platforms like "We Are Still In" (We Are Still In, n.d.), where various local actors, CEOs, mayors, college presidents and others—representing more than 3500 organizations and 150 million people across 50 states—have joined "forces for the first time to declare that we will continue to support climate action to meet the Paris Agreement" (We Are Still In n.d.). The mayors' and cities' user-generated online content participates in building the cities' brands through their online communications. Our aim is to investigate this development and to generate knowledge on it with an innovative framework of negative emotional engagement in relation to public and city diplomacy.

5.4 METHOD

We first content analyze messages related to the C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group on Twitter. A content analysis allows researchers to examine citizens' and city mayors' emotions and behavior through a cost effective, unobtrusive and nonreactive method (Berg and Lune 2011). We choose Twitter as it is a free social media tool that allows people to indicate their ideas and to disseminate and/or comment on others by using retweets, mentions and hashtags. A total of $N = 237$ tweets were collected using a search algorithm integrating the keyword 'Trump' and the hashtag '#Cities4Climate'. These tweets were chosen during a specific period, starting the day of the Trump administration's announcement, on June 1st, 2017, that the United States would leave the Paris Agreement. To finish the collection period we chose November 24th, 2018, when the number of tweets had decreased and the issue seemed to be on the decline. The collection of the tweets was done with the help of a python-based scraper code. Two independent coders coded the Twitter messages using a code book and coding scheme we developed. Some examples of how we have defined each category of the code book are indicated in Table 5.1. Using the Perreault and Leigh (1989) formula as a rigorous test to determine intercoder reliability, the overall reliability is 0.952. In our case study, we focus only on public connectivity with unlimited audiences where C40 Cities publish press releases and disseminate tweets, or where the public at large or associations have published tweets. We examine three degrees of connectivity on public websites or social media platforms. The level of engagement has been calculated with the sum of likes, replies and retweets for each tweet, leading to one of the three categorizations adapted to our sample: (i) low engagement means that this sum is under 5; (ii) high engagement refers to between 6 and 50 engagements; and (iii) very high engagement occurs when tweets generated more than 50 engagements.

In addition to this, we propose measuring the emotionality embedded into the unstructured short messages (informal and free text format, with the writer not following any constraints) related to climate change and city diplomacy (Arjun et al. 2013). We sentiment analyze our dataset of tweets with the help of a lexicon which uses natural language processing to classify sentiments. Due to the rise of social media and the web 2.0, sentiment analysis has developed rapidly in recent years. It has been applied to a large set of applications such as political campaigns or product evaluations. We use a sentence-level sentiment analysis method and apply it to our 237

Table 5.1 Main categories and examples of negative emotional engagement on Twitter

Categories	Sub-categories	Examples
Negative emotional engagement	Inactive	*A year after Trump threatened to leave the #ParisAgreement [...]*
	Active	*A year ago tomorrow, @realDonaldTrump abdicated US climate leadership by announcing his intent to withdraw from the #ParisAgreement [...]*
	Malicious	*One year after the decision of this stupid f****** guy [...]*
Positive behavior	Adaptation strategy Call to action	*New Orleans mayor: US #climate change policy cannot wait for Trump. @c40cities @ICLEI_USA #cities4climate Outrageous! We must take action. | #Resist #Trump | Protect our #health #environment. | #ActOnClimate #cities4climate #CleanWater #renewable Everyone of you from local & subnational governments, you have a responsibility to act now [on climate change]. If anyone tells you to wait, you tell them, f*%$ you!" says Arnold @Schwarzenegger @Regions20 #united4climate #COP23 #Cities4Climate @realDonaldTrump pic.twitter. com/vQYqeczY9N*
	Using rhetoric of enemy to justify actions	*76 cities adopted the Paris #climate deal in defiance of #Trump. #Cities4Climate #climatechange #ParisAgreement Thanks @ericgarcetti for leading US mayors response to @realDonaldTrump. 331 mayors & climbing #ClimateMayors @c40cities #Cities4Climate pic.twitter. com/PW7wPCJbjb Trumps steps down but the Mayors step up [...]*
City Branding	Enhancing the international role of cities	*Assessing the effectiveness of city leadership on the climate [...] In the year since, cities like NYC have stepped up to fill the void [...] A coalition fights to fill the gap [...] Cities took a stand and set their own goals [...]*
	Stronger engagement of a city	*If Donald Trump won't tackle climate change, then #Chicago will [...] In the year since, cities like NYC have stepped up to fill the void [...]*
Mayor Reputation	Enhancing mayors' reputations and visibility of actions	*Congrats @MikeBloomberg! Bucking Trump, These Cities, States and Companies Commit to Paris Accord Mayor of Paris @Anne_Hidalgo has a message for Mayor @BillPeduto and all the citizens of #Pittsburgh. #ParisAgreement #Cities4Climate #Trump pic.twitter. com/XD6mOkq4TN*

scraped tweets. We choose to use the valence aware dictionary for sentiment reasoning (VADER). This is a widely used rule-based model for general sentiment analysis which "performs exceptionally well in the social media domain" (Hutto and Gilbert 2014, p. 1). This kind of method was originally developed in linguistics and psychology. We use a human-validated lexicon specifically attuned to sentiment in microblog-like contexts wherein the text data is a complex mix of a variety of text features. A sentiment lexicon is a list of lexical features such as words, which are labeled according to their (i) semantic orientation, with positive emotion (love, good, etc.) or negative emotion (sad, bad, etc.); and (ii) sentiment intensity, which is the strength of the sentiment expressed in text. VADER also has the distinctive quality of being a fully open-sourced lexicon running under Python 3, available on GitHub and, to date, quoted and used numerous times in highly relevant journal papers. VADER has the unique ability to "combine a lexicon and the processing of the sentence characteristics to determine a sentence polarity (the numerical output is from -1 to +1). These approaches make use of a series of intensifiers, punctuation transformation, emoticons, and many other heuristics" (Ribeiro et al. 2016, p. 7). One key element of VADER is related to the five heuristics based on grammatical and syntactical cues: "(1) punctuation (e.g., number of '!'s); (2) capitalization (e.g., 'I HATE YOU' is more intense than 'i hate you'); (3) degree modifiers (e.g., 'The service here is extremely good' is more intense than 'The service here is good'); (4) constructive conjunction 'but' to shift the polarity; and (5) tri-gram examination to identify negation (e.g., 'The food here isn't really all that great')" (Ribeiro et al. 2016, p. 9). VADER gives us the opportunity to obtain metrics for (i) positive, negative and neutral elements of a text; and (ii) a final compound score which is the sum of all the lexicon ratings—the valence scores of each word in the lexicon—adjusted according to the rules and then normalized to between -1 (most extreme negative) and +1 (most extreme positive). An example of a positive sentence is 'VADER is smart, handsome, and funny' ('neg':0.0, 'neu':0.254, 'pos':0.746, 'compound':0.8316).

The content analysis and sentiment analyses are expected to give insights into elements of the framework. Indeed, in addition to characterizing the type of negative emotional engagement that appears in the selected tweets, the results inform us as to who generates these emotional messages and whether the behavioral outcomes are traditional and negative ones or innovative and positive. Sentiment analysis complements the content analysis at this step by indicating and quantitatively confirming

the distribution and types of emotion shared on Twitter. Moreover, content analysis characterizes how various types of positive behavior are used in such negative emotional engagements and indicates how often city diplomacy and city branding elements are highlighted.

5.5   RESULTS

5.5.1   Insights from Content Analyses

Table 5.2 shows the results obtained from content analysis based on the theoretical framework of city diplomacy including negative emotional engagement and positive behavioral outcomes.

We observe that nearly 40% of the senders come from C40 Cities, city mayors and associations related to climate change. They have reacted strongly to Trump's decision with a massive negative emotional engagement, declaring their disagreement through emotion (17.6%) and behavior (20.6%), and also messages combining both emotion and indication of behavior (49.6%). The negative emotional engagements in our sample consist mainly of active messages (35.7%) and are linked to positive outcomes (46.2%), which are related to a positive behavior such as a call for action or call to adapt city strategies (these types of positive behavior represent 71.1% of all the messages of the sample). In this context, some cities have been quoted for their actions (18.9%), for their new role in the international context (32.8%) or for both of these elements (10.1%). Some individual mayors benefit also from this situation by being more visible or cited as good actors on this issue (31.1% of all tweets in the sample).

Finally, in terms of connectivity, a majority of tweets had a low engagement and dissemination score (63.4% of tweets had fewer than 5 engagements), but some tweets had a high level of engagement (24.4% of tweets had between 6 and 50 engagements) or very high level of engagement (12.2% had more than 50). These tweets reach an important number of people and disseminate the negative emotional engagements of mayors, groups, associations and citizens which criticize Trump's decision, and also add elements related to positive outcomes. In our sample, the majority of tweets have fewer than 100 engagements, but two tweets achieved more than, 2000 and more than 7000 engagements, respectively. For instance, this tweet from the mayor of Paris, followed by more than 1.4 million people, generated 7316 engagements (495 likes, 138 replies and 2227 retweets): *Once again @realDonaldTrump is wrong. #Paris & #Pittsburgh do stand*

Table 5.2 Frequencies and percentage of tweets for each of the framework categories ($N = 238$)

Categories	f (%)	Categories	f (%)
Senders		Type of negative behavior	
C40 Cities	36 (15.1%)	Not applicable	181 (76.1%)
City mayors	10 (4.2%)	Destructive punitive actions	50 (21.0%)
Citizens	135 (56.7%)	Constructive punitive actions	7 (2.9%)
Associations/politicians	42 (17.6%)	Type of positive behavior	
Other/not specified	13 (5.5%)	Adaptation of strategy	15 (6.3%)
Evaluation of the issue		Call for action	7 (2.9%)
Negative	208 (87.4%)	Rhetoric of enemy to justify actions	7 (2.9%)
Positive	1 (0.4%)	Mix adaptation and call	18 (7.6%)
Neutral	5 (2.1%)	Mix adaptation and rhetoric of enemy	65 (27.3%)
Not applicable	24 (10.1%)	Mix call for action and rhetoric of enemy	22 (9.2%)
Type of engagement		All types of positive behavior	35 (14.7%)
Cognition	0	Not applicable	69 (29.0%)
Emotion	42 (17.6%)	City Branding	
Behavior	49 (20.6%)	Enhancing the international role of cities	78 (32.8%)
Emotion and behavior	118 (49.6%)	Stronger engagement of a city	45 (18.9%)
Not applicable	27 (11.3%)	Both enhancing and stronger	24 (10.1%)
Type of emotional negative engagement		Not applicable	91 (38.2%)
Inactive	74 (31.1%)	Mayor reputation	
Active	85 (35.7%)	Present	74 (31.1%)
Malicious	4 (1.7%)	Not present	164 (68.9%)
Not applicable	75 (31.5%)	Connectivity	
Type of behavior		Low	151 (63.4%)
Not applicable	71 (29.8%)	High	58 (24.4%)
Negative outcomes	4 (1.7%)	Very high	29 (12.2%)
Positive outcomes	110 (46.2%)		
Both negative and positive outcomes	53 (22.3%)		

together for the #ParisAgreement #Cities4Climate. Inside this tweet, the Paris mayor embedded another tweet from the mayor of Pittsburgh which generated nearly 400,000 engagements and which was also related to the climate change issue (but without the term Trump or the C40Cities name): *As the Mayor of Pittsburgh, I can assure you that we will follow the guidelines of the Paris Agreement for our people, our economy & future.*

5.5.2   *Results from Sentiment Analysis*

Our sentiment analysis supports the results of the content analysis. The two highest positive compound levels are sentences that are not in favor of Trump's decision and which use ironic ways of greeting Trump: for example, *Thanks to Trump, we've managed to turn the Paris Agreement into the Chernobyl appeasement. We need a political detox #cities4climate#resist.* ('neg':0; 'neu':0.736; 'pos':0.264, 'compound':0.7269); *I am hoping most US States just separate themselves from Trump & cont. with the Paris Agreement* ('neg':0; 'neu':0.684; 'pos':0.316, 'compound':0.7184). This kind of messages illustrates how plausible a message with moderate negative emotions held by justice-seeking stakeholders can be. These messages stay at a plausible level even if in reality they are very negative toward the Trump administration's decision. The sentiment analysis shows very well the ability of natural language to express fairly an idea which is highly negative toward the target. The highest negative compound level is related to a tweet including terms *of call to violence on Trump supporters* ('neg':0.261; 'neu':0.681; 'pos':0.058, 'compound':−0.8785). In addition, when we look at term scores, the highest positive term is *@MikeBloomberg = hero* ('pos':0.783), and the highest negative terms are linked to *Paris Disagreement* ('neg':0.714). What the scores given by the sentiment analysis reveal is that in line with Lievonen et al. (2018), terms mostly related to higher neutral scores—for example, *US Mayors say Pres Trump has instilled sense of urgency. Working at local and regional levels allows energy, transportation and buildings to be decarbonized. Cities have to act in the vacuum. UK metro mayors could really drive that change too. #Cities4Climate #GCAS18* ('neu':0.952)—are in fact those made by people with a moderate negative emotion (justice-seeking stakeholders) and a willingness to obtain positive outcomes through a call to adapt strategy, a call to action or using rhetoric of an enemy. These results are robust, although the sentiment analysis still has difficulties interpreting ironic sentences. Future developments of these already powerful sentiment measurement tools are still needed. They will help various forms of organization to better understand public opinion through natural language used in social media.

5.6 Discussions

City diplomacy is characterized by the fact that negative and active emotional engagement leads to positive outcomes such as enhancing the international role of cities and calls for action, particularly by using the rhetoric of an enemy. The fact that behavioral engagement comes alone or in addition to emotional engagement indicates that a majority of tweets refer to the willingness to go beyond sentiments by indicating changes needed compared to previous visions on this issue (i.e., the vision materialized by Trump and his administration).

The content analysis shows that when mayors disapprove of policies with moderate negative emotions, it leads them to be more active in bringing about local changes: for example, *In the year after Trump withdrew from the #ParisAgreement, cities took a stand and set their own goals*; or *19 cities pledge to slash emissions from buildings, with or without Trump. Learn more about this new @C40cities initiative*; or *Regardless of Trump's decision, the cities of the world will implement the #ParisAgreement #Cities4Climate*. Indeed, some tweets summarize the very proposition that the analysis conducted in this chapter is testing—that positive outcomes result from negative emotional engagement with President Trump's decision on the Paris Agreement: *(i) Pres Trump's order which was meant for bad in #climatechange is actually going to end up being for good; (ii) Trump inadvertently boosted fight against #climatechange & united cities, says Mayor of Atlanta @KasimReed #cities4climate @EventsPOLITICO*. In line with sentiment analysis results, we have shown that negative emotional engagement is not directly related to negative terms or what Lievonen et al. (2018) categorize as malicious (according to the VADER lexicon), for example, *Thanks to Trump, we've managed to turn the Paris Agreement into the Chernobyl appeasement. We need a political detox* is predominantly related to neutral terms and has a quite positive compound ('neg':0; 'neu':0.684; 'pos':0.316, 'compound':0.7269).

The negative emotional engagements tend to use the rhetoric of a common enemy to motivate people to take participative actions. Indeed, having an enemy is observed, for instance, in tweets such as *In perfect response to Trump on #ParisAccord, Paris monuments went green last night, along with cities around the world*. This rhetoric of an enemy has been coded for all behavior-related tweets. The use of the hashtag #Trump or reference to Trump's decision is also present in emotion-related tweets, but our aim is to measure the presence of this rhetoric in behavior-related tweets, as defined by Volkan (1985).

Our study reveals that negative emotional engagement has positive outcomes and contributes to promoting city diplomacy and the city's overall image. Positive outcomes are found in terms of city branding in tweets such as *If Donald Trump won't tackle climate change, then #Chicago will - @ChicagosMayor #Cities4Climate.*

Another strong insight from our case study is that a new type of reaction appears in terms of calls for action and behavior. As we have seen from the content analysis, this reaction is not linked to a traditional negative behavior, with destructive or constructive punitive actions. The messages do not include a call either to boycott or to rectify what they perceive as a wrongdoing. This is a major change and a clear indication that citizens and associations engaged with climate change, rather than demanding changes inside the system with new national policies in favor of climate actions, instead want to change the system by acting themselves at local levels. In line with Castells' (2001) social movement analysis, Tremayne (2014), and also Harlow and Harp (2012), has described this shifting role of social media in the relationship between online social movement and off-line results. Indeed, Tremayne (2014) focused on the consequences of the connecting capacities of Twitter, which enable the creation of links among individual activists who have similar ideas. The online dialogue among them, which could happen through various forms of clicktivism and hacktivism (George and Leidner 2019), leads to "the desire for action, or at least the desire of the average citizen to be heard by those in power" (Tremayne 2014, p. 123). In the context of city diplomacy, one actors' level of this power—the mayor—responds to the citizens' preexisting sentiment on this issue and collaborates and makes calls at city level by using the rhetoric of an enemy at national and international levels. This leads to a fostering of the recognition of the new role of city mayors as strategic international actors through whom real changes could happen.

5.7   Conclusions, Implications and Future Research

This chapter contributes to the emerging academic discussion on city diplomacy and city branding by defining and measuring what city diplomacy entails and what positive outcomes a negative emotional engagement can have on citizen relationships. It provides a solid foundation with which to fill the gap between emotional and behavioral components when

positive outcomes appear in a city diplomacy context. This is particularly the case when observing and measuring the role of a common enemy and call for actions made by active messages shared on social media tools like Twitter. Furthermore, cities are in a stronger position to fight climate change with the help of local actors when their international roles and their brands are enhanced.

The negative emotions identified are mainly moderate in this context of diplomacy. They follow the principle of competitive cooperation indicated in city diplomacy literature and in line with diplomacy principles. Predominantly, messages were not expressed in order to lead to reputational damage or to harm President Trump, but instead to call for action and to adapt a strategy by using the rhetoric of an enemy. So far, numerous mayors around the world have taken the opportunity to be part of the new mayoral class invoked above and to be involved both in international issues and toward more horizontal dialogues and collaborative decision-making processes with a growing number of engaged citizens, such as new movements of young people following Greta Thunberg's call to action. Integrating all these various elements, the theoretical framework of city diplomacy developed in this chapter is thus a powerful and useful basis for demonstrating how negative emotional engagement in public diplomacy can be analyzed and measured.

Our framework has several implications for city diplomacy and city branding practitioners. As these two elements become increasingly popular in urban management, we recommend that advantage be taken of both the new emotional norms of social media and the citizen participation in place branding and city diplomacy. Diffusing moderate negative emotional discourses on social media is a way to create and maintain a bonding group of city actors involved in the co-creation of the future of the city. Using the online dissemination power of the cities' residents could be a fruitful way to position the city at an international level and to communicate and improve the image of the city. This also enhances resilience processes in terms of the revitalization of people's involvement in urban development, sustainability-oriented actions and all other economic and political fields. The authors encourage managers to use recent scraping and opinion-mining tools adapted to social media to address real-world applications and to understand opinion holders and opinion targets on a specific topic. This will help them to develop a better comprehension of online messages and to take better decisions.

In future research, the framework developed here could be applied to studies on social movement or public relations protests. It could help to determine how this hashtag diplomacy serves to reframe the organizational behavior of both (i) citizens and local leaders in international societal challenges such as climate change protest and (ii) inter-place competition where high volumes of tweets exchanged play a large part in establishing city branding. The societal, political or relational consequences of the contagious nature of negative emotional engagement expressed on powerful social media tools are important future directions for city diplomacy scholars.

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