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Thesis Title:

Transnational City-to- City Partnerships as Strategic Tools for Sustainable Urban
Development – Case of the Haarlem- Mutare City Link

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Dedication

*To You Heavenly Father,
Who have made this dream a reality,
And this reality a dream.*

Summary

This thesis seeks to explore the value of North –South transnational city-to-city partnerships otherwise known as C2C, as instruments for sustainable urban development, through the case study of the Haarlem –Mutare City Link. Through C2C, communities may assist one another by means of knowledge sharing, transfer of resources and technology and joint cooperation. However, despite the apparent value- add of these partnerships, they are often met with scepticism or suspicion due to the lack of knowledge pertaining to their very existence at times, let alone their benefits. Often labelled as ‘just another waste of tax-payers’ hard earned cash, C2C faces other criticisms such as public unawareness or apathy, strange choice of cities i.e. compatibility and in the case of North –South C2C, asymmetrical power relations and learning.

In light of this, the main objectives of the study are to establish what factors contribute or have contributed to the performance of the Mutare- Haarlem city link in terms of processes and outputs of the partnership, as well as to establish motives for participation from both parties. Also, it seeks to establish who the actual and intended actors are in the partnerships and their level of participation. By also exploring notions of mutuality given that North-South C2C operate under different socio-economic, institutional and political conditions, the study will aim to give a holistic view of the processes, actors and outputs of C2C in Mutare and Haarlem, including challenges and success factors.

The study is carried out as a qualitative, case study research. Primary data is collected through in-depth interviews with respondents from 4 main categories: Those solely involved with the City Link, or the municipality, those with dual roles in the Municipality and the City Link, and those associated with the City Link indirectly through some advisory or observatory role. Meanwhile, secondary data methods include documents and archival research. The literature review explores concepts such as partnership, mutuality, sustainable urban development and North-South cooperation linkages. Embedded into these are topics such as C2C success factors, weaknesses and outputs.

Key findings indicate that the City Link has made several contributions, both tangible and non-tangible to the sustainable development of both cities in various sectors. Findings are also indicative that the Haarlem –Mutare City Link exhibits some characteristics that are arguably atypical for successful C2C as highlighted in literature. For example, due to political tensions, the role of the local authorities has devolved from active to almost non- existent and yet the Link continues to develop. Another atypical characteristic exhibited is that of not just personal learning but also institutional learning in the North from the South through adaptation of various Mutare educational projects in Haarlem. Although the research reveals mixed sentiments regarding the issue of reciprocity, it is found that there is a general satisfaction amongst participants that the partnership is indeed a reciprocal one. In addition to this, from the findings, enough evidence is found to exonerate the City Link from other criticisms pitted against C2C in that it has minimal reliance on public funds. However, the extent to which the criticism pertaining to public apathy can be disputed cannot be determined in this study.

Recommendations include a more concerted effort in Mutare to woo the businesses sector's involvement. Also, as a model C2C, recognised not only by international organisations such as the UN but also admired by fellow cities, Mutare should take the opportunity to help develop a framework for C2C policy in the country. Essentially, the study shows that C2C can indeed be a useful tool for sustainable urban development if the 2 cities put in their best efforts.

Key Words: *City-to-city partnership; Decentralized Cooperation; North-South; Haarlem-Mutare City Link; Sustainable Urban development*

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Abbreviations

C2C	City-to-City partnership
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions
DIGH	Dutch International Guarantees for Housing
ICCO	Inter-Church Organisation for Development Cooperation,
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities (also known as ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability)
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
NCDO	Nationale Commissie voor Internationale Samenwerking en Duurzame Ontwikkeling (National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development), Netherlands
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
LOGO-South	Local Government International Capacity Building Program (Netherlands)
PLATFORMA	Platform of Local and Regional Authorities for Development
SCI	Sister Cities International
UCAZ	Urban Councils' Association of Zimbabwe
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Program
VNG International	International Cooperation Agency of the Association of Netherlands Municipalities
WACLAC	World Association of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Summary	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abbreviations	v
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Problem Statement	3
1.3 Research objectives	3
1.4 Research questions	4
1.4.1. Main research question	4
1.4.2 Specific research questions	4
1.5 Significance of the Study	4
1.6 Description of the study areas	5
1.6.1 Mutare.....	5
1.6.2 Haarlem	6
1.7 Scope of Study	7
Chapter 2: Literature review.....	8
Introduction.....	8
2.1 Defining C2C	8
2.2 Processes	9
2.3 Actors.....	11
2.4 The Reciprocity Debate	13
2.5 Approaches to Sustainable Urban development	14
2.6 Outputs of North- South C2C	17
2.7 C2C in Europe.....	18
2.7.1 C2C in the Netherlands Context	19
2.8 Factors of Success	20
2.9 Criticisms and Weaknesses of C2C.....	23
2.10 Developing a conceptual framework.....	24
2.11 Conclusion	25

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	27
3.1 Research Design	27
3.2 Data Collection Methods	27
3.3 Sampling	29
3.4 Operationalization of Concepts	29
3.5 Validity and Reliability.....	31
3.6 Data Analysis	32
3.7 Limitations to the study	33
Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis	34
4.1 Drivers of the Haarlem- Mutare C2C formation.....	34
4.1.1. ‘Compatibility’ factors	34
4.1.2 Thematic precepts of the partnership	35
4.2 From First Contact to City-to- City Partnership	36
4.2.1 Processes.....	37
4.2.2. Identifying the Actors, roles and responsibilities.....	37
4.2.2.1 Coordinating Civil Society Entity (CCSE)	37
4.2.2.2 Local Authorities and Public Sector	42
4.2.2.3. NGOs and External development agents	44
4.2.2.4. Civil Society	44
4.3 Contributions to Sustainable Urban Development.....	46
4.3.1 Housing and neighbourhood management	46
4.3.2. Social and Economic development	48
4.3.2.1. Mutare	48
4.3.2.2 Haarlem	49
4.3.3.1 Environment	50
4.3.4. Education	51
4.3.5 Sport	52
4.3.6. Health.....	53
4.3.7. Culture	53
4.4 Success Factors	54
4.4.1 Reciprocity/Mutuality.....	54
4.4.2 Commitment to Partnership	56
4.4.3 Common understanding.....	57
4.4.4 Concrete Results.....	57
4.4.5 Community participation	57

4.4.6 Public Awareness	57
4.4.7 Other Success Factors.....	58
4.5. Challenges of the C2C	59
4.6 Conclusions: revisiting the Conceptual Framework	61
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations	62
5.1 Introduction.....	62
5.2 Answering the research questions.	62
5.2.1 Main drivers of the C2C formation.	62
5.2.2 Processes and Actors in the C2C establishment.	63
5.2.3 Contributions to SUD	64
5.2.4 Success factors and Challenges.....	65
5.3 Haarlem Mutare City Link and C2C criticism.....	66
5.4 Conclusions and Recommendations.....	68
References.....	70
Appendices	73
APPENDIX A : Agenda 21 - Section III Chapter 2.....	73
APPENDIX B: Interview Question Guide	74
APPENDIX C: Sample twinning letter	75
APPENDIX D: Dynamics of a Sister City partnership.....	76

List of Tables

Table 1: Definitions table for ‘City-to-City’ partnerships	8
Table 2: Main activities of C2C (Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser. 2006, 2008)	18
Table 3: Sister City partnership categorized by the level of vibrancy	21
Table 4: C2C Weaknesses	24
Table 5: Benefits, Strengths from documented C2C cooperation	26
Table 6: List of Respondents	28
Table 7: Education Projects	51
Table 8: Summary of health projects.....	53
Table 9: Summary of Challenges	61

List of Figures

Figure 1: Mutare, Zimbabwe	5
Figure 2 :Haarlem, Netherlands	7
Figure 3 : A conceptual framework of C2C partnership formation and management	11
Figure 4: The Sustainability Triangle	14
Figure 5: Integrating capitals	15
Figure 6: Key ingredients for the success of C2C	22
Figure 7: Conceptual Framework.....	25
Figure 8: Question Guide Strategy	30
Figure 9: Deriving questions from conceptual framework	31
Figure 10: Triangulating data.....	32
Figure 11: Timeline – Milestones	37
Figure 12 Administrative Structure of the Foundation Board	38
Figure 13: Some issues of the Twinning Newsletters	41
Figure 14: C2C Network- Mutare	45
Figure 15: C2C Network- Haarlem	45
Figure 16: Housing Project in Hobhouse.....	47
Figure 17: Land purchased in Chikanga for the second Housing Project.....	48
Figure 18: Some of the Zimbabwean artwork on sale	49
Figure 19: Sculptures at the Damastraat Neighbourhood project	50
Figure 20: Education projects	52
Figure 21: Some cultural aspects	54
Figure 22: Respondents' view on success factors by frequency.....	58
Figure 23: revisiting the conceptual framework.....	61
Figure 24: Khuong	76

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Despite the fact that the exact number of current city-to city partnerships across the globe is unknown, UN-Habitat estimated that by 2005 approximately 56% of Europeans were living in twinned cities and that 70% of the world's cities had developed city-to-city international cooperation. In addition to this, 68% of these cities are affiliated to one or more international associations of local authorities (UCLG 2006). The combined forces of urbanisation and globalisation, as well as the fact that 'city governments have taken initiatives to assert their place in the world' are attributed as being the dominant driving forces behind the unprecedented acceleration in City to city partnerships over the past twenty years, according to UN-Habitat (2001:3). Other factors include increased emphasis on democratisation & decentralisation; evolution in communications & less travel time; privatisation and the strength of the (NGO) sector. City to city partnerships, through their peer-to-peer exchange of knowledge, experience and best practice, have also been seen as a remedial aid to development as 'evidence worldwide strongly suggests that the essential bottlenecks to urban sustainability are the lack of local implementation capacity and sound governance, rather than the lack of scientific knowledge, technology, funding, or international agreements' (UN-Habitat 2002).

'Decentralized Cooperation', is a term that was coined in the 1980s. Since then, the interpretation of the term has been quite varied according to its various participating organisations. According to Hafteck (2003), despite the diverging views, there are 3 anchoring concepts that suggest a common definition. These are;

- i. Local governments assume the role of lead actor.
- ii. Sustainable local development is the 'overarching objective'.
- iii. Exchanges and support are the main type of activities that take place.

From a historical point of view, the origin of Decentralized Cooperation is widely linked to first, the widening of the array of actors involved in development cooperation projects resulting from major changes in aid themes and approaches. Secondly, in the field of international relations between local governments, Decentralized Cooperation activities appeared as the scope of municipal 'twinning' also widened to involve once excluded partners from developing countries or those in transition (Hafteck 2003). As mentioned, the scope of 'twinning' has evolved over the years making it no longer fully descriptive of the kind of development cooperation that occurs between cities and their communities. Consequently, other terms have come to light such as Municipal International cooperation (MIC), sister cities, city-to-city partnerships (C2C), citizen diplomacy and others. For this study, City-to-City partnership, or C2C for short, is the definition of choice.

A major driving force behind the formation or practice of city-to-city cooperation was the Local Agenda 21. This capacity-building programme started in 1995 as a response to Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 (see Annex A) whereby local authorities were called upon to undertake

participatory processes to develop and implement "Local Agendas 21" for and with their communities (<http://www.unhabitat.org>). A specific aspect of Local Agenda 21 was the promotion of North-South partnerships to demonstrate the global nature of sustainable development and the interdependency of communities and nations, promoting decentralized cooperation and especially city-to-city cooperation. This study will be specifically conducted in the context of North-South partnerships i.e. developed and developing city links, focussing on the Stedenband Haarlem – Mutare City Link.

Most of Zimbabwe's cities and towns have twinning links with European or North American towns, some established as soon after independence as 1981 such as the Harare-Nottingham link. However, these twinning or sister-city relationships as they are most commonly known, have been somewhat enshrouded in mystery regarding their objectives, operations and main actors thus, consequently so too regarding their socio-economic benefits and extent of their success or failures. When known, they have often been sceptically shrugged off as gimmicks for sanctioning more overseas trips for government officials or, as merely glorified cultural exchange programs with no real benefits to communities. In addition to this, in the Northern, more developed countries, there have arisen abrasive criticisms of asymmetrical, paternalistic roles in North –South C2C with limited 'real' learning opportunities, again adding to the generally negative view towards North –South C2C. In light of the increasing importance of global networking and the diversity of acknowledged potential for growth opportunities for sustainable urban development it offers, this lack of understanding of local city to city partnerships as a strategic tool for sustainable urban development has been a major contributing factor to the motivation behind this research. Also of interest are the motivations behind twinning as well as determinants and measurement of success.

Below are a few of the views expressed in a public debate by BBC Africa Live titled 'Why twin your town?' (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4566005.stm>). Although by no means wholly representative, they give an indication of the divergent nature of opinions and perceptions with which C2Cs are received:

"I think twinning of organisations is a part of globalisation. However, the twinning scheme as it exists at the moment lines the pockets of the fat cat families from poor nations in Africa. Similar things happen in India where twinned councils exist, and most of their clients belong to the high society of the nation. Therefore, it's always a pro to higher class and con to the lower class of the country. One of the major reason for widening gap between rich and poors." **Shib SenChaudhury, Calcutta, India**

"Twinning has it good and bad points. Twinning in business and education is good for us in Africa especially in terms of technology transfer but I'm not in favour of twinning towns. This is because we Africans have our way of doing things; our culture will stand a big risk of eradication if we twin our towns and cities with say to a town in Europe. But at a whole Africa loses in any twinning arrangement. Nothing comes from a white man for free; they give with the left hand and take with the right." **Victor Okonkwo, Cameroon**

"...Modernised
colonialisation."
Chidi Muoghalu, UK

"As long as it is a relationship based on mutual respect and not a mask for gifts that come with strings, then twinning isn't such a bad thing."
Ngum Ngafor, England/UK

"Whether you are the richer or poorer twin, you have just as much to offer ." **Phil Hatchard, Exeter**

1.2 Problem Statement

The value of municipal partnerships and networks as instruments for cities and communities to assist one another by means of knowledge sharing, transfer of resources and technology and joint cooperation, is on the rise. And yet, although City-to-City partnerships are a common and longstanding occurrence in Zimbabwean cities & towns, little is apparently known about them. Their very existence let alone their benefits are unclear to some citizens, often giving rise to suspicion and scepticism about them- labelling them as ‘just another waste of tax-payers’ hard earned cash’. Even more unclear are their governing systems or institutions and the different level of community involvement behind them, and how they have evolved over time. In the North, perceptions towards C2C partnership with the South lean heavily towards sceptic dismissal and indifference. Cremer (2001) aptly summarises the 3 main criticisms by ‘detractors’ of C2C in general as follows:

- i) public unawareness/ apathy
- ii) strange choice of cities i.e. compatibility
- iii) C2C is a ‘junket for politicians’ i.e. a tour financed from rate payers money.

Given that it is widely acknowledged that these partnerships potentially add great value to Cities as local administrations and civic societies partner up and seek to contribute to a variety of objectives, including poverty alleviation, institutional strengthening, democracy and peace building, knowledge exchange, and recently, also contributing to attaining the MDGs (Bontenbal, van Lindert 2009), confronting the realities of C2C and thereby closing the existing knowledge gap, is essential.

1.3 Research objectives

The objectives of this study will be to;

- Establish what factors contribute or have contributed to the performance of the Mutare- Haarlem city link in terms of processes and outputs of the partnership, as well as to establish motives for participation from both parties.
- Establish who the actual and intended actors are in the partnerships and their level of participation.
- Establish notions of mutuality given that North-South C2C operates under different socio-economic, institutional and political conditions in the respective cities.

The study will give insight into performance by developing a set of indicators based on the various tangible and intangible manifestations of the partnership in both communities. The study will also make further use of reference cases to highlight differences where applicable, and their implications, in the partnership’s approaches, processes and outputs. By identifying strengths and/or weaknesses, the study will seek to make recommendations to enable local government and communities to further tap into C2C as a tool for local urban development.

1.4 Research questions

1.4.1. Main research question

The main research question is as follows:

- What are the factors influencing the performance of the Haarlem-Mutare C2C linkages as a contributor to sustainable local urban development?

1.4.2 Specific research questions

- i. What are the perceived benefits of or motives driving formation of C2C on both sides of the partnership?
- ii. What are the procedures, and actors involved in the establishment of C2C?
- iii. What are the contributions of C2C to sustainable local urban development?
- iv. What are the perceived mutual and/or individual success indicators for the two partners?
- v. What have been the strengths of & challenges faced by the C2C and how can local authorities/communities further tap into its potential benefits?

1.5 Significance of the Study

At a time when the importance of local governments as main actors in the development of cities is increasing, coupled with the increasing role of their partnership with non-state actors in forging and attaining city development goals, the importance of C2C as a tool cities can use to enhance their development is undisputed. This is particularly so in the context of local governments in developing countries where institutional changes such as decentralization are occurring more. In such scenarios local governments have to utilise a wider range of strategies to strengthen their self-sufficiency. Zimbabwean local governments are no exception and with the severe political and economic crisis experienced in recent years, the need for more creative strategies is pertinent. In both Haarlem and Mutare, a clearer understanding of the C2C's operational mechanisms and benefits to the communities and Local governments will be beneficial in sustaining the existing community support as well in garnering the new. The significance of this study is thereby three-fold:

- i. It allows for a knowledge bridge between the local government and local community about the city partnership where lacking, thereby demystifying and dispelling some of the suspicion surrounding C2C.
- ii. By providing insight into the success factors of the C2C as well as its challenges, it is a potential tool for other city links to further assess and strengthen their roles in C2C.
- iii. It also seeks to make a modest contribution to helping reduce the commonly-agreed, paucity of academic knowledge in this area.

1.6 Description of the study areas

1.6.1 Mutare



Figure 1: Mutare, Zimbabwe (Source: Google Images)

Mutare was proclaimed a municipality in 1914 and became a city on October 1, 1971. It is the administrative and commercial center of Manicaland Province situated in the Eastern Highlands along the border with Mozambique. Now the fourth largest city in Zimbabwe, with a population of around 200,000, it is known as the most scenic city in the country and the tourist centre for the province. The city has its own thermal power station and plentiful water supplies which come from Lake Alexander and Smallbridge Dam on the Odzani River. It is also home to the largest timber processing industries in the country, with Border Timbers and Forestry Company of Zimbabwe the two main companies specialising in the processing of exotic timber produced in the province.

In recent years, Mutare has been at the hub of the ‘diamond rush’ following the discovery of massive alluvial diamond deposits in the nearby Marange area. Mutare has a labour and trade based livelihood system. Petty trade (vending) and self-employment are major sources of income for many households. The local industries provide opportunities for casual work.

Urban agriculture on unutilised council land and on the periphery of the City is also a source of livelihood (JI Africare/Mercy Corps, 2010).

Besides the Haarlem-Mutare City Link, Mutare also has a relationship with Portland in the US. This link, known as the Portland-Mutare Sister City Association (PMSCA) was founded in 1991 by long-time Portland resident, Clifford Walker, with Mutare Mayor Enoch Msabaeka in an act of global solidarity against apartheid. In the past seven years, efforts have focused on supporting grassroots HIV/AIDS relief with over \$120,000 in donations helping the community build a rural health clinic. In addition, under the auspices of the Africa AIDS Response programme, assistance has been rendered to keep 235 orphans in school, pay for home healthcare workers to reach to the homebound, and bring fresh water and electricity to the clinic. Partners in this effort include Mercy Corps, Medical Teams International, OHSU, the Zimbabwe Artist Project, pharmaceutical companies, and many others.

1.6.2 Haarlem

Haarlem is also a provincial capital in the Northern half of Holland, which at one time was the most powerful of the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic. Situated about 20km from the capital city of Amsterdam, Haarlem lies in the northern part of the Randstad, the sixth-largest metropolitan area in Europe. By the end of 2010 Haarlem had a total population of 150,611. The city is recognised as one of Holland's most attractive cities. Known as the City of Flowers, it is a place of historical architecture, culture and outstanding modern facilities. The municipality of Haarlem also comprises part of the village of Spaarndam, a newer housing estate forming part of the municipality of Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude. Haarlem currently has 5 city links with;

- i. Osnabrück, Germany, since 1961
- ii. Angers, France, since 1964
- iii. Derby, United Kingdom (friendship link)
- iv. Another city in Turkey and,
- v. Mutare, Zimbabwe



1.7 Scope of Study

The cities of Haarlem and Mutare share a C2C link that was established in 1991. The link is officially known as the Stedenband Haarlem-Mutare City Link or Haarlem-Mutare City Link Foundation. The study will focus on this link as a unit of analysis in assessing the formation and management processes, actors' involvement and perceived and actual benefits of North-South C2C partnerships.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the available literature relating to city-to-city partnerships (C2C). It lays a foundation for better understanding of C2C, in particular the cities' motives behind the formation of these partnerships, the different roles of involved actors, as well as to set the stage for assessing successes or failures. Main concepts identified include partnership, mutuality, sustainable urban development and North-South cooperation linkages. Embedded into these are topics such as success factors, weaknesses and outputs.

2.1 Defining C2C

The first thing that becomes apparent as one goes through the literature is that there is no single definition for city-to-city partnerships. Various terms are used interchangeably in literature such as sister cities, twin cities, municipal international cooperation (MIC), decentralized cooperation, etc. Some definitions for C2C are defined in the table below.

Table 1: Definitions table for 'City-to-City' partnerships

Author	Definition
UN-Habitat, WACLAC (2003)	-an umbrella term 'to cover all possible forms of relationships between local authorities at any level in two or more countries which are collaborating together on matters of mutual interest, whether with or without external support'
De Villiers (2009)	-long term strategic alliance between communities in different cities or towns, in which their municipalities are key actors.
UNDP	-a long term partnership between communities, based on mutuality and equity'.
Sister Cities International	-a broad-based, officially approved, long term partnership between two communities, counties or states in two countries.
Ahmad (2001)	-long term working relationship between people of different cities, sharing resources and adapting to each other's priority, strength and weakness to achieve a common good.

Source: Own construct

From the table above, certain aspects appear dominant in linking the different definitions. Firstly, C2C have a long- term connotation to them thus denoting a break from ad-hoc cooperation to developing more consistent, committed types of relationship. Secondly, is the issue of partnership, collaboration or, alliance as de Villiers puts it in his definition. According to de Villiers (2009) and Bontenbal (2009), there has been a shift from the use of the term 'cooperation' whose use had been prevalent in the past years, to the use of the term

‘partnership’. The term partnership ‘implies a much stronger relationship than mere cooperation’ (de Villiers 2009) and stresses equality and promotion of mutual ownership (Bontenbal 2010). It marks a paradigm shift to a more collaborative and mutually beneficial type of relations, and not the classical donor-recipient model.

Generally 3 types of structural forms of twinning have been identified in the literature (de Villiers, de Coning and Smit 2008; UNHabitat, WACLAC 2003) i.e.

- Municipal international cooperation (MIC) which focuses on technical cooperation, capacity building and thematic collaboration between North- south municipalities;
- Sister Cities/city twinning (sometimes called organized citizen-to-citizen diplomacy) which involves the community on a broader scale i.e. civil society, business community and education sector. In this set up, the municipalities play a facilitating role.
- Decentralized cooperation is used to refer to a wider range of development activities by NGOs and voluntary associations.

2.2 Processes

In addition to the structural prototypes listed above, there is a general consensus on 3 overlapping approaches developed by O’Toole i.e. what he calls phases of ‘sister city movement’ (Cross 2010, Cremer et al 2001):

- Associative twinning, based on friendship and cultural exchange
- Reciprocatve twinning, based on educational and people exchange
- Commercial twinning, based on trade and economic development

Whilst being progressive, these phases may also be considered to be reflective of the various initial sister city selection criteria itself that Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser (2006, 2008) observed in their study of the sister city experiences of 29 Eurocities from 16 European countries. The 8 main criteria they highlight are; historical connections, economic relations, shared cultural concerns, ideological interest, educational exchanges, sportive activities, geographic location and environmental concerns. If O’Toole’s phase classification were to be applied to their criteria then historical associations, shared cultural concerns and ideological interest would be classified under associative twinning; educational, environmental and sportive activities would be associated with the reciprocative twinning phase whilst, economic obviously falls under commercial. Adding his voice to the discussion concerning partner selection criteria, de Villiers (2008) gives 10 criteria to be considered; size, goals, outcomes expectations, management, commitment, strategic fit, culture (styles and values), personal ties, competencies and language. Buis (2009) also mentions 3 motives for C2C;

- **The idealistic motive:** an obstacle for the outbreak of a third great war in Europe, helping the poor in underdeveloped countries.
- **The political motive:** supporting liberations movements or in opposition to political systems or nuclear armament.
- **The economical motive:** looking for business opportunities, trade, investments, employment.

Cross (2010) makes reference to the increased significance that over time, has been given to O'Toole's commercial stage, as suggested by Cremer et al. (2001) who say "the nature of human nature" determines that "the successful operation of sister city programs will not occur when the individuals involved act with nothing more than self interest". Further to this, Cremer et al, state that economic and business links and, work opportunities are the "most reliable and strongest drivers for international understanding and exchange" and that "to pay insufficient attention or not to take account of the economic dimension of sister city relationships and the contribution that commerce can make to the sustainability of relationships is "extreme romanticism". However, in the same breath they add that "they don't argue though that a sister city relationship driven solely by economic interests will be successful." It is unclear in what sphere of C2C these statements are made in reference to i.e. North –North or North South.

In addition to their findings on sister city choice criteria, Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser also argue that the sister city network of relations is quite different from the other networks developed among world cities. According to them, the first distinction is that, in the sister city system, cities do not have to apply to any institutions to be a part of this network. Secondly, the sister city network covers the entire world without regarding any geographical, cultural, economic or political features. Thirdly, mutual relations established and developed between two cities concern only these two cities. They conclude that the sister city network is "an entirely free system without any requirements, where cities are willing to form this network, instead of integrating with it." In addition to these peculiarities of C2C linkages, Cremer et al (2001) state that C2C are 'largely outside the auspices of any central government involvement.' Similarly, Keiner and Kim (2007) refer to Reinicke & Deng's conclusion that city networks 'overcome the territoriality trap of national governments, which struggle to respond to challenges about which they lack sufficient information and whose origin is far beyond their geographic reach'.

Meanwhile, De Villiers' work on C2C as strategic alliances has been termed as 'groundbreaking' in the field (USB 2008). It is unique in that few other studies attempt to forge a conceptual framework for C2C formation and management. Deriving from the alliance literature, he presents an elaborate six step framework namely;

- i. Strategise (twinning strategy);
- ii. Identify (partner search);
- iii. Evaluate (partner approach and evaluation);
- iv. Negotiate (partner selection and compatibility; planning; agreement-MOU);
- v. Implement (Implementation and Maintenance and measurement) and,
- vi. Alliance capability (knowledge management programme).

De Villiers also incorporates supporting attitudes into the framework such as trust, cultural sensitivity, flexibility and others.

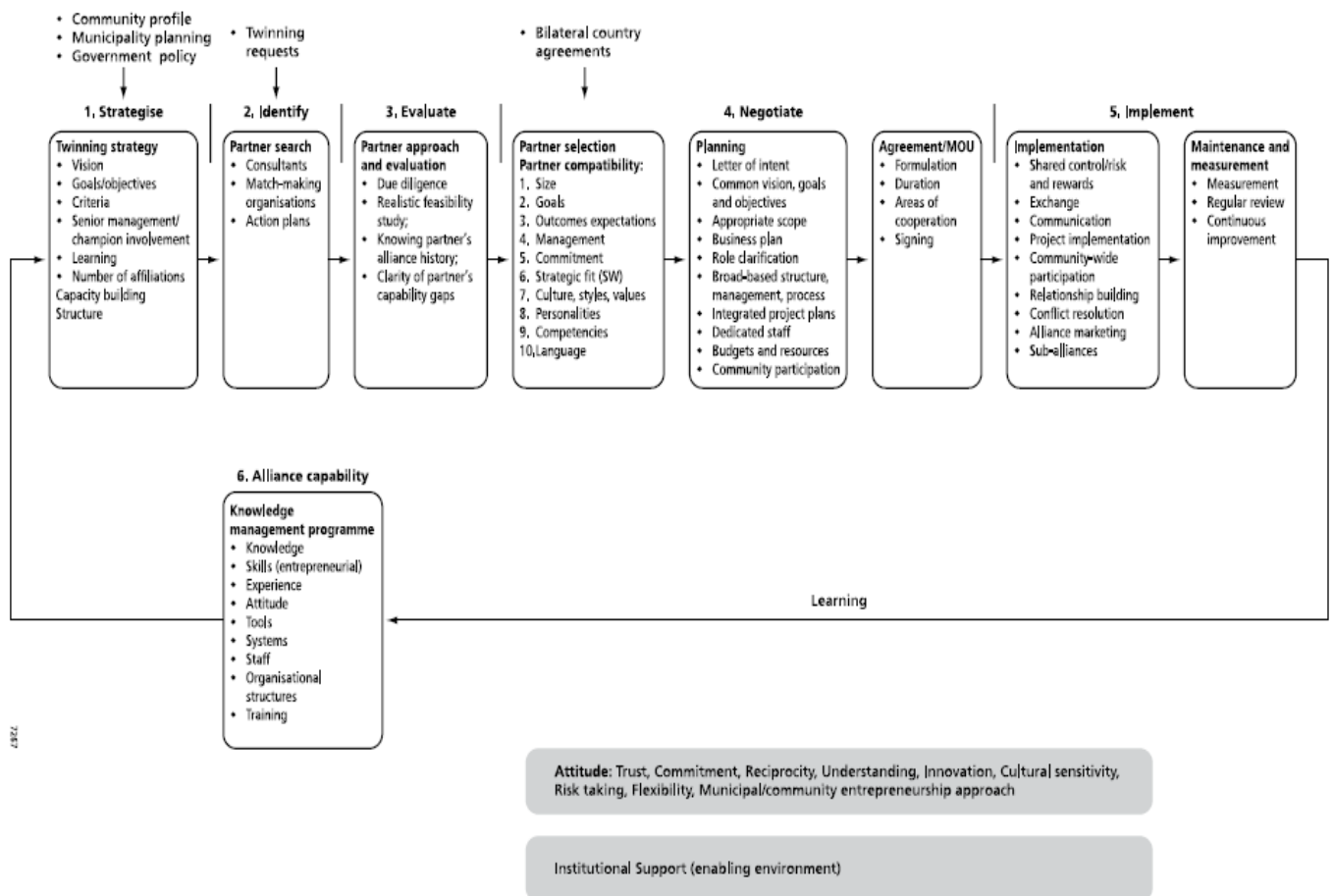


Figure 3 : A conceptual framework of C2C partnership formation and management Source: de Villiers (2009)

2.3 Actors

Another aspect of the C2C partnerships highlighted in the definitions table is that of the different actors involved. The two dominant actors emerging are the municipalities and 'communities'. UN-Habitat (2003), notes that in recent years, the scope of C2C has been significantly broadened on the initiative of city leaders and supported by various international associations and networks of local authorities as well as national and international agencies. Meanwhile, Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser (2006, 2008) state that the essence of the city to city relations is to include not only city decision-makers such as municipalities but also the inhabitants of the cities.

Bontenbal (2009) distinguishes 6 main categories of possible actors in C2C.

a) Local authorities

The role of the Local Authorities may vary from partnership to partnership particularly in contrasting North south settings. Of this Cross (2010) says, *"The very being of sister cities implies a civic connection and a level of council influence over policy and funding, with the delivery of sister city activities ranging from total control to a loose oversight, depending on national and local systems and procedures. In fact, the approaches of different authorities and their communities to the operation of their sister city activities are as many and diverse as the very backgrounds of the relationships themselves."*

b) Coordinating Civil Society Entity (CCSE)

These are defined as non-governmental organisations that are established to carry out activities in the framework of the C2C partnership. Their existence is distinctively based on the partnership i.e. it's their *raison d'être*.

c) (Decentralised) Public Sector

This category consists of various public institutions, either government or quasi government, at the sub-national level.

d) National NGOs & External Development Agents

This category of actors contains those that bring in external resources to the partnership network. Resources include finance or know-how. Examples given by Bontenbal include various national subsidy schemes aimed at decentralised development cooperation and, subcontracted technical project consultants.

e) Private Sector

Bontenbal notes that the private sector often channels its participation through local charity wings of business associations such as the Rotary club.

f) Civil Society

Of all the categories, this is the most diverse in nature incorporating sectors such as education, health, culture, CBOs, etc

Box 2.2.1 Europa list of possible participants

- local authorities (including municipal authorities);
- non-governmental organisations;
- indigenous people's organisations;
- traders' associations;
- local citizens' groups;
- cooperatives;
- trade unions;
- economic and social actors' organisations;
- local organisations (including networks) which are active in the area of regional decentralised cooperation and integration;
- consumer organisations;
- women's and youth organisations;
- teaching, cultural, research and scientific organisations;
- universities;
- churches;
- religious associations or communities;
- the media; and
- any non-governmental associations and independent foundations likely to contribute to development.

Successful C2C embody partnership that allows “synergy and combining of resources among the public sector, international organisations, the voluntary and community sector, individuals & households.”

Source: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/other/r12004_en.htm

Bontenbal (2009) does not only offer the 6 categories but also from her study, categorises 6 possible types of relational ties between the different actors:

- Financial flows
- Awareness raising
- Delivery of know-how and expertise
- Creating support to sustain C2C
- Providing window to developing countries and decentralized cooperation (in the North).
- Implementation of projects and twinning exchanges

2.4 The Reciprocity Debate

Another interesting aspect of C2C is that of Mutuality or Reciprocity, more so when looking at North-South C2C. Johnson and Wilson (2006) raise an interesting point regarding a major challenge to the practice of partnerships as being how to address unequal relations between partners. They state that ‘differences in a range of dimensions such as access to resources, power relations, knowledge, capacities and capabilities’ form the basis of inequality. Different assumptions, perspectives/world views, agendas and expectations further exacerbate the issue. This argument is further reiterated by Bontenbal (2009) and Papadopoulos (2011) in observing that this type of voluntary cooperation between municipalities of the North and the South operates under different socio-economic, institutional and political conditions. According to them, this immediately complicates the partnership as this structurally asymmetrical relation between North and South, may imply that international cooperation is a higher priority for the South, even though terms are largely dictated by the North.

This tension demonstrates that despite the dominantly technical –leaning of the partnerships, they are value laden, and power relations are not absent either between or within municipalities (Papadopoulos, 2011). Bontenbal (2009) highlights the two prevailing streams of thought on this debate; firstly there is the school of thought that says that learning of the North from the South is ‘undervalued and insufficiently acknowledged’. The second takes the view that benefits of the North of learning from the South in C2C are highly overrated and exaggerated, and the claim of mutuality may just be a ‘token of appreciation’ to the Southern partner. This gives form to the so-called ‘myth of equality and mutuality’.

As mitigatory measures, Bontenbal (2009) highlights from Milen’s (2001) observations that mutual understanding of issues, greater sharing of goals and ‘a shift of decision making authority’ form the basis of genuine partnership. de Villiers, as discussed before, takes a different approach to the concept by comparing C2C to alliance relationships between organisations. He points to similarities such as the globalisation and decentralisation driving them, the common objectives like learning and increased competitiveness, the partners’ desire of attaining a long-term strategic goal, and commitment of resources and joint decision making as important issues. Reciprocity is also seen as an imperative when it comes to C2C.

Overall, as highlighted by Bontenbal (2009), the issue of mutuality and reciprocity is seen as a highly contestable one and is indeed an interesting aspect in C2C discourse.

2.5 Approaches to Sustainable Urban development

Before one can fully understand the full benefits of C2C in contributing to the sustainable development of cities, it is important to first define what Sustainable Urban development is. This is not an easy task as there are hundreds of definitions in the vast literature concerning sustainable development of cities and also given its all-encompassing, multi-disciplinary, political, economic, social and technical nature. However, some themes are recurrent giving a starting point for understanding the concept e.g. ecology, economy and equity. During the preparatory meetings for the URBAN21 Conference (Berlin, July 2000) the following definition was developed to define sustainable urban development:

"Improving the quality of life in a city, including ecological, cultural, political, institutional, social and economic components without leaving a burden on the future generations. A burden which is the result of a reduced natural capital and an excessive local debt. Our aim is that the flow principle, that is based on an equilibrium of material and energy and also financial input/output, plays a crucial role in all future decisions upon the development of urban areas."

Key elements of this definition are also captured by the definition coined at the 1999 Conference for Strategies for Sustainable Cities in the Hague; *'[e]conomy, ecology and social cohesion are the pillars of a sustainable city. These must be in balance and therefore require an integrated approach. Dialogue is the basic principle for achieving this for Local Agenda 21.'* (<http://archive.rec.org/REC/Programs/Sustainablecities/Characteristics.html>). This is further translated into the paradigmatic sustainability triangle.

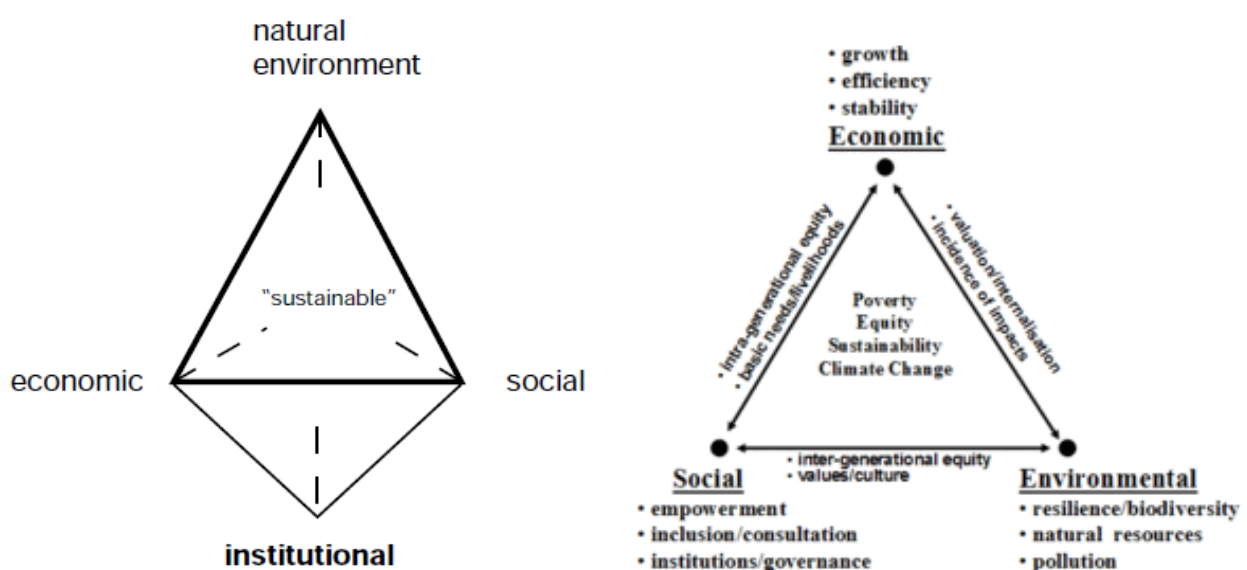


Figure 4: The Sustainability Triangle

Price Waterhouse Coopers (2005) conducted a study based on interviews with a number of prominent city leaders in a bid to ‘find new ways to develop strategic city management’. They identified six areas of significant challenge that have to be taken into account when creating a strategy for the future:

Intellectual and social capital (people and knowledge)

- Develop the people, appropriate skills and capabilities to prosper in the knowledge economy.

Democratic capital (participation and consultation)

- To create public trust and enhance their accountability.

Environmental capital

- Provide an attractive clean, green and safe environment.

Cultural and leisure capital

- Attract visitors, employees and residents, through a distinctive city brand.

Financial capital

- Growing demand for services and diminishing revenues needs creative and flexible financial strategies therefore cities need to attract new sources of revenue e.g. Foreign investors and PPPs, and find ways to share risks and benefits.

Technical capital

- Technology must be able to support the changing needs of citizens. This includes basic needs like transport, housing, water and energy as well as new demands for effective communication like broadband and electronic networks. Therefore there is a need to develop appropriate technological infrastructure and technologies.

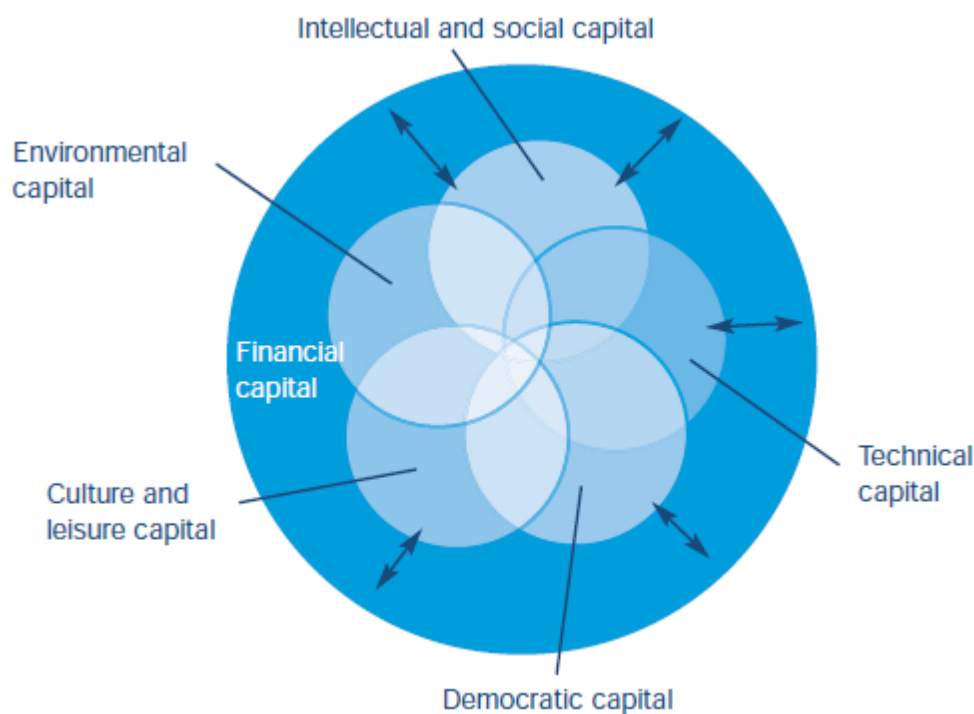


Figure 5: Integrating capitals (Source PWC 2005)

Meanwhile, the Institute for Sustainable Communities gives another interesting perspective on development and also highlights the importance of partnerships:

" Sustainable communities are defined as towns and cities that have taken steps to remain healthy over the long term. Sustainable communities have a strong sense of place. They have a vision that is embraced and actively promoted by all of the key sectors of society, including businesses, disadvantaged groups, environmentalists, civic associations, government agencies, and religious organizations. They are places that build on their assets and dare to be innovative. These communities value healthy ecosystems, use resources efficiently, and actively seek to retain and enhance a locally based economy. There is a pervasive volunteer spirit that is rewarded by concrete results. **Partnerships between and among government, the business sector, and non-profit organizations are common.** Public debate in these communities is engaging, inclusive, and constructive. Unlike traditional community development approaches, sustainability strategies emphasize: the whole community (instead of just disadvantaged neighborhoods); ecosystem protection; meaningful and broad-based citizen participation; and economic self-reliance."

- *Institute for Sustainable Communities*

Curwell *et al.* (2005) give a summary of Ekins and Cooper's 1993 view of the 'unsustainable city'. This is useful as sometimes, it is useful to understand a concept by knowing what it is not. The unsustainable city is one where:

- An environment which has degraded and become polluted with an overloaded or degenerating and inefficient infrastructure
- An economy that has ceased to be able to support the population's expectations for either 'wealth creation' or 'quality of life'
- A society that has become dysfunctional, resulting in increased stress and fear of crime, alienation, high crime rates, and subsequent outward migration.

In their conclusion, several points of interest arise;

1. Sustainable urban development is a *relative* rather than an absolute concept.
2. Sustainable urban development is a *process* not a product or fixed destination.
3. Sustainable urban development relates considerations of *ecological integrity, equity, participation and futurity of the urban development process.*
4. This in turn relates to the planning, property development, design, construction and *operational sectors* of the urban development process.
5. Progress towards sustainable urban development must integrate *Environmental, Economic and Social issues* underlying the urban development process and sustainability of cities.
6. Integration of the issues underlying the urban development process and sustainability of cities proceeds within a *given institutional setting.*
7. The process evolves interplay of *endogenous and exogenous* factors.
8. The process is towards the *resilience ability* to support more sustainable patterns of living and working.

These conclusions summarize the concept of Sustainable Urban Development and lay a useful foundation for understanding the different dimensions of the contributions of city partnerships in fostering it.

2.6 Outputs of North- South C2C

Having looked at the concept of Sustainable Urban development, it then becomes relevant to take a look at the issue of the possible outputs of a North-South C2C partnership in the framework of urban development. Despite concerns regarding mutuality or reciprocity, there appears to be an overwhelming agreement within the literature that C2C partnerships are increasingly recognised as being a promising mechanism for building and developing capacity in Local Authorities. C2C partnerships may also contribute substantially to improving the living conditions in urban communities which has become a pressing need in many developing countries post-decentralisation (UN Habitat, 2003, de Villiers, 2009; UNDP, 2001).

Some of the themes tackled by C2C partnerships can be grouped into 2;

- i. Focus In The Urban Management Process - Technical information and expertise, Strategy formulation /decision-making, Strategy implementation, Management of change /institutional reform
- ii. Thematic Focus - Municipal finance, Environment, Infrastructure and services, Health, Housing / shelter, Employment / economic development, Security / disaster management, Social / cultural, Other.

The figures below illustrate the range of activities involved in intercity networks:

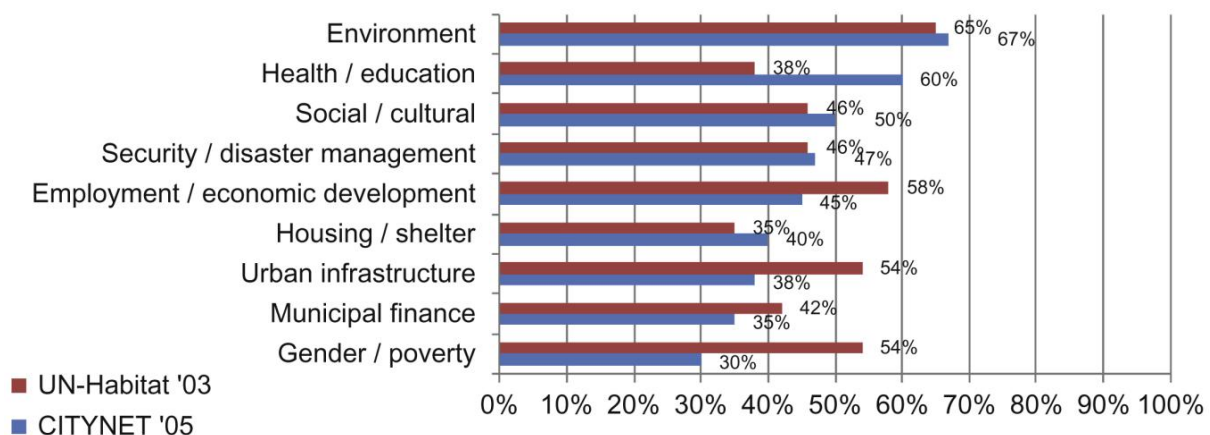


Figure 6: C2C Priority Areas, According to CITYNET Member Cities and Selected Intercity Networks. Source: Ishinabe (2010).

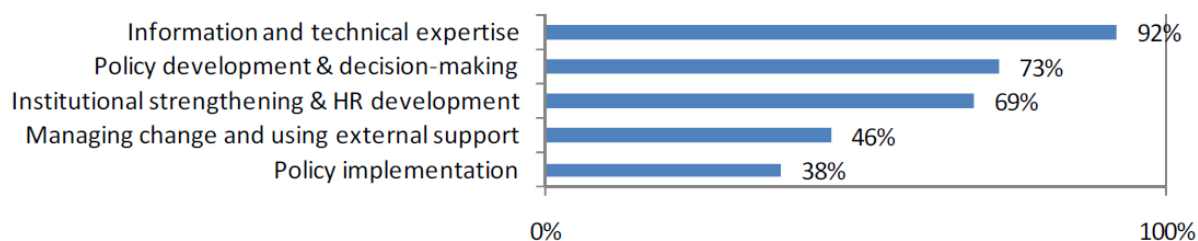


Figure 7: Roles & activities of international intercity networks Source: UN-Habitat (2003)

Another classification of C2C activities is offered by Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser from their survey of 29 Eurocities;

Table 2: Main activities of C2C (Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser. 2006, 2008)

<i>Main activities</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>%</i>
Cultural or sportive	24	83
Scientific meetings, congress	11	38
Personnel, student exchange	22	76
Economic relationship	20	69
Urban planning issues	20	69
Other (most often EU projects)	9	31

Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser, conclude that C2C partnerships may bring many benefits for both stakeholders. They bring in an interesting aspect however when they say that after the signing of necessary agreements to establish C2C, “...if both of sides are willing to sustain and improve their relations, the results of this new connection can cause **spatial and cultural changes.**” They therefore suggest that benefits are not only tangible and physical but also intangible.

2.7 C2C in Europe

In 2002, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) set up a new network for north-south co-operation, to exchange experience and information, and to promote a wider recognition of local government’s role, in particular on the part of the European institutions. The main objective of the organisation is to provide local governments in developing countries with the necessary support for capacity-building. This assistance takes many forms – information platforms, seminars, technical exchange visits, training sessions at grass roots level for associations of local governments, and for local government representatives, to encourage good local governance and successful decentralisation (CEMR, 2007).

The Platform of Local and Regional Authorities for Development (PLATFORMA), was launched in 2008, so as to ensure a strong partnership within Europe regarding development cooperation. PLATFORMA bases its formation on the concern of European local and

regional governments over ‘fragmentation of the local and regional government sector’ as a key weakness. They wish, in general terms, to ensure through PLATFORMA that the contribution of their members to development is recognized, valued and taken into account by the European institutions. And PLATFORMA’s members also wish, in particular, to influence the EU’s development policies and funding mechanisms, notably in relation to decentralised cooperation. Their emphasis is that “successful, sustainable local development requires effective local government and governance – including real public participation. While civil society and other actors can play a valuable role in development, only local governments can provide the institutional coherence, continuity and coordination – provided they have the necessary powers, resources and capacity.” (PLATFORMA, 2011)

Box 2.2.1: Financial management improvements in Chegutu, Zimbabwe through partnership with Canada

C2C Context: An established link with Hinton, Canada enabled Chegutu to draw upon Canadian municipal expertise in financial management.

Outcomes/Lessons: Chegutu’s finance and treasury departments were computerised, such improvements enabling the town’s revenue base to be improved substantially to a tax collection rate of 75%. Once the town’s accounts could be audited on a regular and timely basis, it qualified to receive World Bank funds under the national infrastructure programme.

Issues Arising: This is a classic instance of peer-to-peer exchange in a mainstream local government function of major importance to the efficient functioning of a city. Schemes for replicating such exchanges within and between countries of the South would make tangible improvements to local government capacity and sustainability.

Source: UNDP Report ‘The Challenges of Linking’, 2000

2.7.1 C2C in the Netherlands Context

VNG International, which is the International Cooperation Agency of the Association of Netherlands Municipalities was founded in 1993, becoming a corporate company owned completely by VNG in 2001. It commits itself to strengthening democratic local Government worldwide (VNG, 2009). Through the LOGO South programme funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it seeks to achieve the overall objective of developing the capacity of local government as a condition for poverty reduction. The programme has three impact areas:

- a) Municipal International Cooperation (MIC); to develop the capacity of the local government sector as service providers, promoters of economic development and poverty reduction in an accountable manner.
- b) Association Capacity Building (ACB); to develop the internal capacity of local government associations as service providers to local governments and as lobbyists. The LOGO South VNG-ACB programme aims to improve the capacities of 12 strategic partner Local Government Associations in four regions: South East Asia, Central America, West and East Africa.

- c) Policy Development; to advocate for the stronger role of local governments in poverty reduction in an international context.

To date it has implemented a wide range of documented intervention strategies worldwide that includes:

- Civil registry
- Local tax collection
- Institutional strengthening
- Solid waste management
- Water services
- Strategic planning
- HIV/AIDS
- Geographic information systems
- Local financial management
- Social housing
- Waste collection
- health education
- Urban planning

2.8 Factors of Success

Khuong (2003) gives an interesting look into the differences in strengths of C2C. He divides the 3 categories of the strength of city partnerships according to what he terms the level of their vibrancy: Low, High, and Dynamic.

- **Low:** a Sister City partnership is considered to be at the low level of vibrancy if it is in a stagnant state. The partnership is not supported by on-going meaningful projects and significant community involvement. The enthusiasm and expectation of the two cities are low.
- **High:** a Sister City partnership is considered to be at the high level of vibrancy if it is robust, self-reinforced with a wealth of on-going meaningful projects and innovative activities. At this level, the partnership is usually fostered by proactive involvement of all key players in each city: city hall, business sector, universities, NGOs, and volunteers.
- **Dynamic:** this level ranges between the Low and High levels. At this level, the enthusiasm of the two cities is rather high and there have been a few successful projects. The partnership can evolve overtime toward the High level if the two cities consistently foster the factors underlying the success of a Sister City partnership, including commitment, creativity, broad-based cooperation of all key players, and communications links. However, the partnership can also slip to the Low level if it is not well cultivated by the two cities (see appendix B for more detail). These levels, with examples are shown in the table below:

Table 3: Sister City partnership categorized by the level of vibrancy

Level	Benchmarks	Examples
Low (basic)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sister City Agreement • Occasional friendship activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haiphong-Marseille
Dynamic (unstable, evolving over time toward either High or Low level)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agenda for partnership on development: significant interest in opportunities for development. • Significant collaboration at working levels • Regular events: student exchanges, trade missions • Some collaboration at the micro level such as school-to-school, business-to-business) • Sister City Association is established to gather support for and to promote the partnership between the two cities with membership, website, and newsletter. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seattle-Haiphong • Seattle-Tashkent (Uzbekistan) • Boston-Sekondi-Takoradi (Ghana) • Seattle-Choqing
High (stable, self-reinforced)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic partnership: the partnership is vibrant. It is consistently nurtured and effectively exploited to promote growth and development • Intensive collaboration at working levels • Two cities play an important role in fostering the business and economic partnership as well as cultural exchanges between the two countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sacramento-Jinan • Seattle-Kobe

The above insight into the different levels of vibrancy of C2C, then leads to the question of what are the key elements that constitute success? According to Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser’s (2006, 2008) conclusions, in such a system as C2C partnership, the success and the contributions of city relations depend mainly on the cities’ former relations, quality and quantity of current joint activities and benchmarking between two cities. More specifically, in evaluating their research sample, the main success factors were identified as follows; geographic location i.e. distance between the cities, cultural exchange, budget dedicated to relationship, national politics, historical bounds and similarities in urban problems. They also point to the fact that success requires consistency and effort from both parties (2008). In addition to these, they also refer to the use of benchmarking or best practice as a means of bringing cities together to a common point to cope with their urban problems or to adjust their economic structure. Benchmarking is also alluded to by Cremer et al (2001) who state that “an examination of sister-cities must begin with the politics of locality and recognition of the individualized operations of specific cities, then move on to an examination of how these particularities are used as a basis for forging city to city links across the globe.”

Further to Cremer et al’s assertion that city partnerships must begin by an introspective examination of the city and its localities, Khuong (2003) gives a summary of what development economists consider determinants of the success of a locality i.e. the ability of a city to thrive is determined by a set of four C-determinants:

- 1) Commitment, which characterizes the vision, devotion, and development strategy of the city's leadership.
- 2) Concept, which means the mindset or attitudes and beliefs of local people, especially business and government leaders, concerning business and economic development.
- 3) Competence, which signifies the execution skills and latest knowledge on technology and management of local government and business sector.
- 4) Connectivity, which represents physical infrastructure, **global partnership**, and communication capabilities.

These endogenous city characteristics may also feed back into the city partnerships success as the saying goes that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. According to Tjandradewi and Marcotullio (2006: 2009), key success factors are as follows:



Figure 6: Key ingredients for the success of C2C Source: Tjandradewi B.I, Berse K. (2011)

- **Commitment to link**- on behalf of both parties, manifested in both time and financial resources,
- **Community participation in the project**- between cities and at the civil society level within cities,
- **Understanding**- expressed through agreed upon goals and mutually understood expectations,
- **Reciprocity**-demonstrated in mutual trust and respect from both parties,
- **Results through real examples**- tangible results that are related to real examples provided through demonstrations by the resource city.
- **Political support from higher levels of governments**- Recognition from the central government is crucial to ensure the sustainable impacts of exchanges through

networking and institutionalisation of their actions especially since bilateral and multilateral cooperation has been conducted traditionally by national governments.

- **Consistent leadership** - Senior level officials and decision makers play an important role in opening a window of opportunity for cooperation. Their vision on the importance of international cooperation and sharing of lessons learnt is critical in paving the way for cooperation and for mobilising resources and support from different departments and other institutions.
- **Public Awareness** - Intensive publicity in local media or newspapers on the cooperation will increase citizen awareness on the benefits of this type of cooperation. Besides citizens' awareness, this publicity could be useful in persuading local politicians and councillors and in carrying out recommendations proposed by the foreign partners.
- **Free information flows** - Besides the signed MOU between cities, the easy flow of information enhances friendship relations between staff members of partner cities. This may further built trust and increase the chances of success. Continued communication even after the cooperation is officially completed also provides an important avenue for further information exchange.

Buis (2009) also offers his view on success factors as being:

- Open discussion on motives
- Joint analysis of the problem
- Joint agreement upon strategy
- Clear purpose and results
- Joint steps in implementation
- Regular contact
- Reporting and report back
- Joint review of progress made and reprioritizing when needed
- Joint monitoring and evaluation

2.9 Criticisms and Weaknesses of C2C

As highlighted in the previous chapter, despite the agreed diversity of possible benefits, C2C has also been met with a lot of scepticism and suspicion. Cremer (2001) summarises the 3 main criticisms by 'detractors' of C2C in general as follows:

- i) public unawareness/ apathy
- ii) strange choice of cities i.e. issues relating to compatibility, mutuality
- iii) C2C is a 'junket for politicians' i.e. a tour financed from rate payers money.

These criticisms though derived from Cremer's study of the New Zealand's experience, seem to also ring true even in other spheres i.e. North-South and South- South C2C. Bontenbal (2009) presents a summary of some of the weaknesses of C2C based on various studies conducted by development agencies such as UNDP and SIDA. Cremer's criticisms are also somewhat reflected in the summary.

Table 4:: C2C Weaknesses

Study	Weaknesses
UNDP (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • partners want quick results with high expectations • Threat of paternalism and donor domination • Lack of expertise and knowledge of decentralised cooperation • Concentrated political and administrative support risks discontinuity
UNHABITAT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Misunderstanding of partners' behaviour patterns, working styles and ethics • Multiplied international commitments go beyond manageable level • Lack of M&E
IULA/ICLEI Local Agenda 21 Charters Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Matching of partners sometimes based on wrong assumptions • Lack of regulatory frameworks • Lack of resources and capacities • Expectations unrealistically wrong • Stakeholder groups underrepresented
SIDA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk of being unsuitable partners • Unequal power relations • Staff loss after capacity building

Source: Adapted from Bontenbal (2009)

2.10 Developing a conceptual framework

The literature overview gives a basis for the construction of a conceptual framework by enabling certain themes and concepts to be identified and linked. It also allows for a selection of variables to be explored in the study. For this particular study, in relation to the research questions, the conceptual framework will be structured as a C2C lifecycle focussing mainly on driving factors, main actors and processes, as well as success factors and outputs. Although the framework incorporates the partnership vibrancy as an integral part of the C2C process, the study will not go in-depth into attempting to establish the exact level. This is considered beyond the scope of this study and may be explored further in a separate study. When it comes to the issue of Sustainable Urban Development as a concept, it is quite broad and literature puts forward a myriad of frameworks for approaches to it. The study will consider the 4 main thematic sections of Economic, social, environmental and institutional development within the urban context.

The literature has also provided various options regarding certain themes like success factors. The framework makes use of Tjandradewi and Marcotullio's (2006: 2009) success factor framework as the basis for developing indicators. It also presumes a feedback loop of the outcomes as sustaining factors. A revised conceptual framework will be presented at the end of the study for comparative and evaluative purposes.

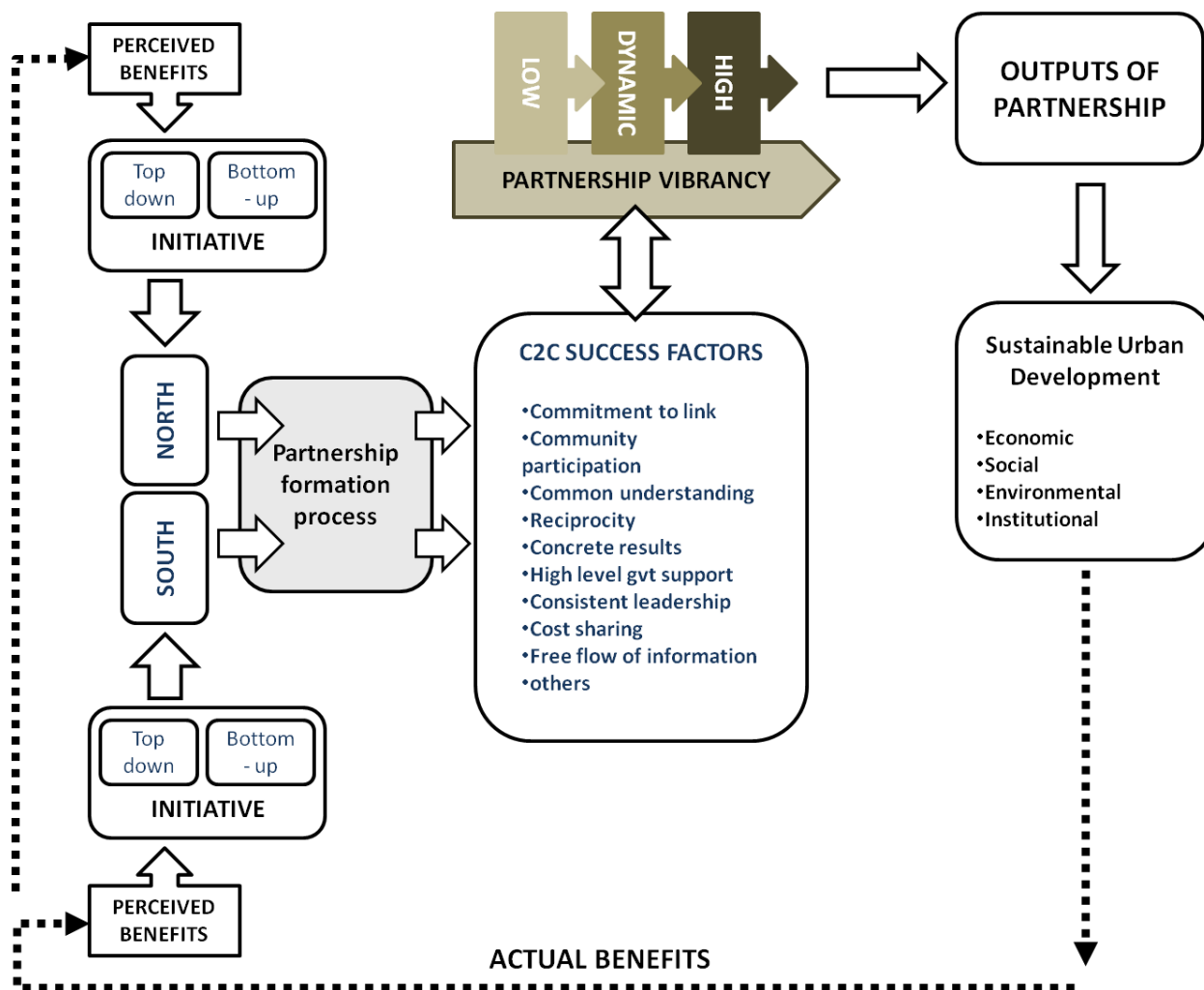


Figure 7: Conceptual Framework

2.11 Conclusion

From the overview of the literature, it is apparent that a lively debate as well as consensus regarding certain issues exists within the context of C2C. Some of the key issues arising that stand out include the concepts of mutuality/ reciprocity related to the motives behind C2C formation. Secondly, is the issue of managing and operationalising the C2Cs i.e. ‘What are the processes? Who are the people involved?’ When it comes to success factors, literature suggests several sets but the proposed set of factors by Tjandradewi and Berse (2011) seems to give a reasonable summary for the study and as such shall be used as part of the conceptual framework.

It may be worth noting that a common consensus among scholars on the lack of literature regarding this subject is quite evident as one scans through literature (de Villiers 2009, Bontenbal 2009, de Villiers, de Coning and Smit 2008). As observed by Bontenbal (2010), the concept of global networking of cities is approached by most literature from a ‘corporate, financial and trading perspective’ which puts focus on multinational corporations, stock exchanges and banking offices. Bontenbal further refers to studies by authors such as Castells

and Townsend highlighting another prevalent concept in global connectivity as that of information and communication technology (ICT) and the role of cities in establishing a ‘network society’.

However, despite this paucity in knowledge in this regard, there is a definite sense of agreement that city-to-city partnerships are undoubtedly potentially powerful tools for capacity building and economic development and optimism that it is becoming a well anchored concept in sustainable urban development. *“Decentralized Cooperation continues as an evolving concept located at the intersection of its two parent fields: development cooperation and international municipal relations. At this intersection, a fusion of experiences, resources and ideas is taking place.”* (Hafteck 2003).

The following table adapted from Bontenbal (2009) gives a summary of some of the key issues arising from literature.

Table 5: Benefits, Strengths from documented C2C cooperation

Study	Benefits	Strengths
UNDP (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contributions to alleviating poverty • ‘concrete improvements to the lives of the poor e.g. in sanitation, health, education • Improved municipal performance e.g. management, finance, administration • Awareness raising and development education in the North 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commitments in terms of time and resources • Community wide participation • Mutual understanding between partners • Mutuality of effort and benefit
UNHABITAT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Tangible benefits’ for cities and their citizens e.g. municipal finance, infrastructure, health and social services • C2C initiatives less formal and bureaucratic and more flexible than external programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political commitment • Clear, realistic and long term objectives and work plans • Mutual understanding of partner’s expectations • Joint action between the local authority and civic society initiatives
IULA/ICLEI Local Agenda 21 Charters Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Putting sustainable development planning on municipal agendas in South and North • Increased international accountability to address global challenges • Sharing of ‘good practices’ between N & S • Promotion of public education and debate through joint action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme based on real needs and a shared vision • Political commitment • Organised community groups • Knowledge exchange- ‘teach and learn’ • Permanent and fluid communication between partner cities
SIDA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of physical resources • Educational opportunities • Work with professionals • Stronger organisational confidence • Enhanced international profile 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long term relations • Sharing of professional skills • Involvement in organisation management, values and attitudes

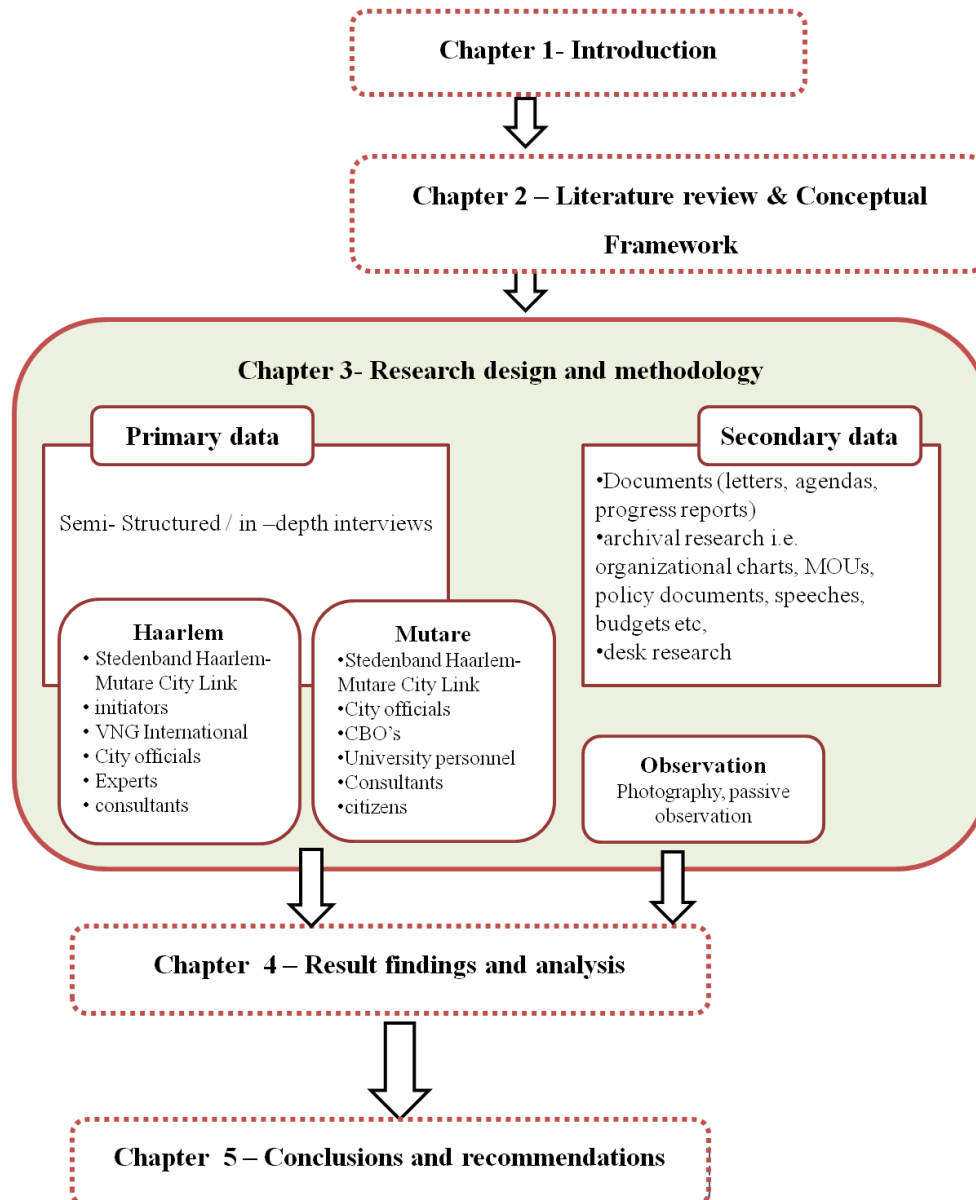
Source: Adapted from Bontenbal (2009)

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter briefly discusses the research methods used to help answer the research questions outlined in the Chapter 1.

3.1 Research Design



3.2 Data Collection Methods

The study was carried out as a qualitative, case study research, combining primarily descriptive methods with exploratory methods. The use of a case study approach was seen as appropriate since the practice of city to city cooperation is embedded in social, cultural, political, economic and institutional contexts which are impossible to isolate but crucial to consider to gain a deeper understanding of the subject, (Bontenbal 2009; Flyvbjerg 2006).

The use of qualitative methods was also seen as useful for its ability to,

- describe variation
- describe and explain relationships
- describe individual experiences
- describe group norms

















Qualitative methods are also regarded as being typically more flexible as they allow for “greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction” between the researcher and the respondents.

The study instruments comprised two key elements:

- Primary data** collection through semi-structured/ in-depth interviews to allow interviewees to share their knowledge and express their views. Preparation of topic lists to act as guides, was done to ensure that although allowing respondents flexibility in their responses, the most important issues were addressed in the interviews. The varying backgrounds and positions of the interviewees meant that the topics differed from interview to interview. In both Mutare and Haarlem, interviews were targeted at key stakeholders such as municipal staff, mayoral staff, coordinating staff, Local NGOs, Local Agenda 21, etc.

Table 6: List of Respondents

Key:  City Link  Municipality  Municipality + City link  Other/ Advisory

Mutare		Haarlem	
name	org	name	org
1. Gift Sanyanga 	Coordinator- Housing, Haarlem- Mutare Stedenband	1. Leen van de Polder 	Coordinator- Health and Housing, Haarlem-Mutare Stedenband
2. Hon. Brian James 	Mayor, City of Mutare	2. Hon. Bert Bruijn 	Mayor, Gemeente Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude
3. Prof. F. Tagwira 	Vice Chancellor- Africa University; former city link/ LA21 Chairman	3. Ans Ursem 	Former Director of COS North Holland (Center for International Cooperation in North-Holland)
4. Mr Mapurisa 	Director, Housing and Community services; city link board Chairman	4. Prof. Paul van Lindert 	C2C policy expert; University of Utrecht.
5. Mr K. Simomondo 	Coordinator -education and culture Haarlem- Mutare Stedenband	5. Nelleke Dinkla 	Haarlem Municipality (Protocol and International Relations)
6. Mr Mashababe 	Director, Health Services; LA21 member	6. Natasja Slewe 	Haarlem municipality (Protocol and International Relations)
7. Mr Mapurisa 	Driver, health Dept.	7. Marjolein Verhoeven 	Public relations officer, Gemeente Haarlemmerliede
 Purposive sampling		 snowball sampling	

As shown in the table, the respondents could be loosely categorised into 4 main groups:

1. Those directly and solely involved with the City Link i.e the City Link Coordinators.

2. Those solely working in the municipality.
3. Those who have official roles both in the Municipality and the City Link.
4. Those associated with the City Link indirectly through some advisory or observatory role.

ii. **Secondary data** was collected through

- Documents (letters, agendas, progress reports)
- archival research i.e. organizational charts, MOUs, policy documents, speeches, budgets, minutes, etc,
- desk research to garner a better understanding of context issues, eg political-governmental backgrounds, development policies, international policy, etc

3.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used for the in-depth interviews in both Haarlem and Mutare. This involved identifying key actors in the partnership. These included respondents from the City link foundation, government officials and civic society. Snowball sampling, also referred to as chain referral sampling, also played a significant role in identifying key informants.

3.4 Operationalization of Concepts

Table 3: Operationalization of Concepts

Research Question	Variables	Indicators
1. What are the perceived benefits of/motives driving formation of C2C on both sides of the partnership (before)?	Official C2C goals and objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most prominent thematic areas • MOU terms of reference • Criteria for accepting current partnership invitation • Criteria for declining previous invitations if any
2. What are the procedures and actors involved in the establishment of 'successful' C2C?	C2C formation process strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timeline of events • Policy framework • Partnership team
3. What are the contributions of C2C to sustainable local urban development (present/potential after)?	• Intellectual and social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of skill development • Mutual learning projects ie exchange programs
	• Democratic capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance seminars • Solidarity stances • public participation
	• Environmental capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attractive • clean, • green • safe environment.
	• Cultural and leisure capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in visitors, employees and residents
	• Financial capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • technological infrastructure and technologies Materially or capacity-wise
	• Technical capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial resources? • Human resources

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time spent
4. What are the (perceived?) mutual and/or individual success factors for the two partners?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commitment to link 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of stakeholders
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • agreed upon goals & mutually understood expectations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common understanding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return trips • Cultural understanding • mutual trust and respect
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reciprocity 	Actual projects facilitated or initiated by the C2C
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concrete results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutionalisation of C2C • Recognition by central government
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High level gvt support 	Involvement of Senior level officials and decision makers
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consistent leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • publicity in local media • awareness of C2C • school programmes, etc
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public awareness 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cost sharing 	Communication channels and frequency
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free flow of information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Types of interventions/ exchanges that were most fruitful/ least fruitful in project outputs? • Most consistent praise report areas 	
5. What have been the strengths & weaknesses of their C2C and how can local authorities/communities further tap into its potential benefits	High impact or low impact project areas.	

Question Guide

A question guide based on the above operationalization of the concepts (see Appendix B), was used to give form and content to the in depth interviews. Questions varied according to the differing roles played by and the level of involvement of the respondents in the C2C. To allow for as much information sharing as possible, the researcher made use of generative questions that were open ended, also to avoid influencing the answers. This strategy was particularly important for example, in establishing perceptions regarding mutual and/or individual success factors for the two partners (question 4).

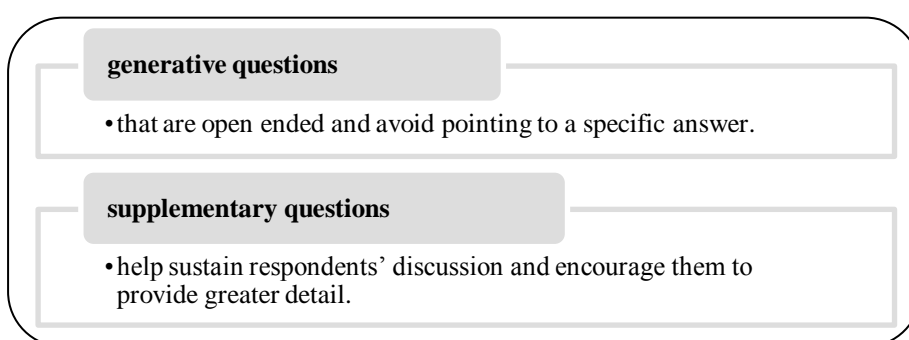


Figure 8: Question Guide Strategy

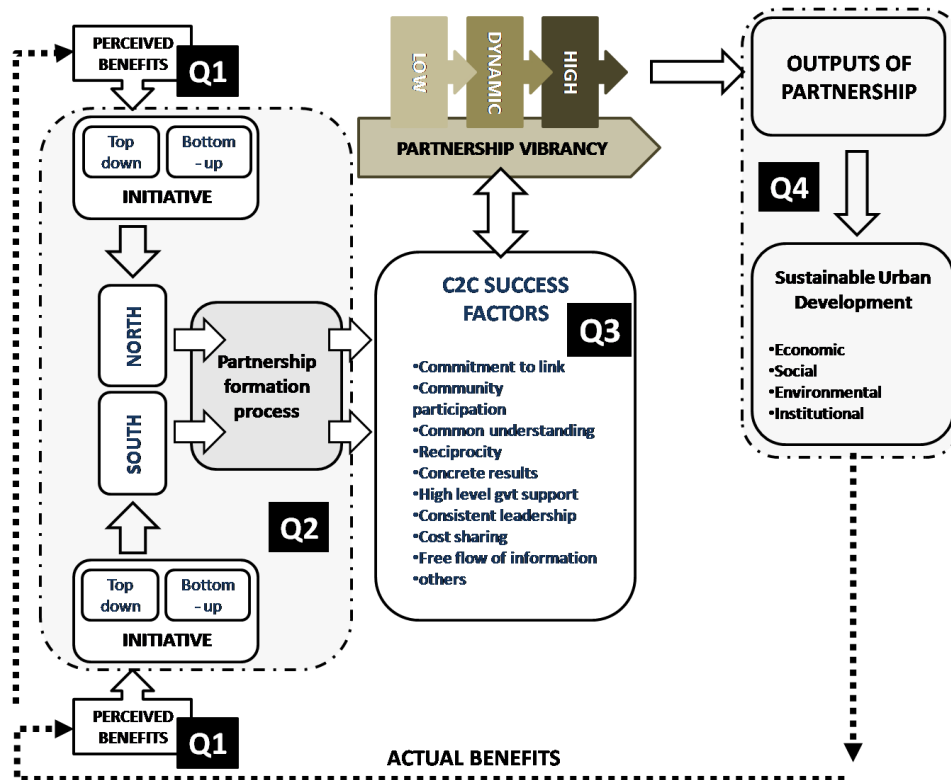


Figure 9: Deriving questions from conceptual framework

3.5 Validity and Reliability

To aid reliability which is in essence ‘the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same condition with the same subjects it was important to:

- a) keep records of how the sample was selected,
- b) who responded, who did not and why, how they were replaced in the sample (if applicable)
- c) how interviews were conducted.
- d) maintain an archive of interview notes.
- e) Where necessary, use of local language.
(<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net>),

Since Validity refers to the ‘strength of our conclusions, inferences or propositions.’, and ‘more formally...the "best available approximation to the truth or falsity of a given inference, proposition or conclusion’ (Colosi 1997), it is important to cross check the primary data against gathered from the various actors to be interviewed in the two cities against the secondary data. In addition, interviews were voice recorded for further reference.

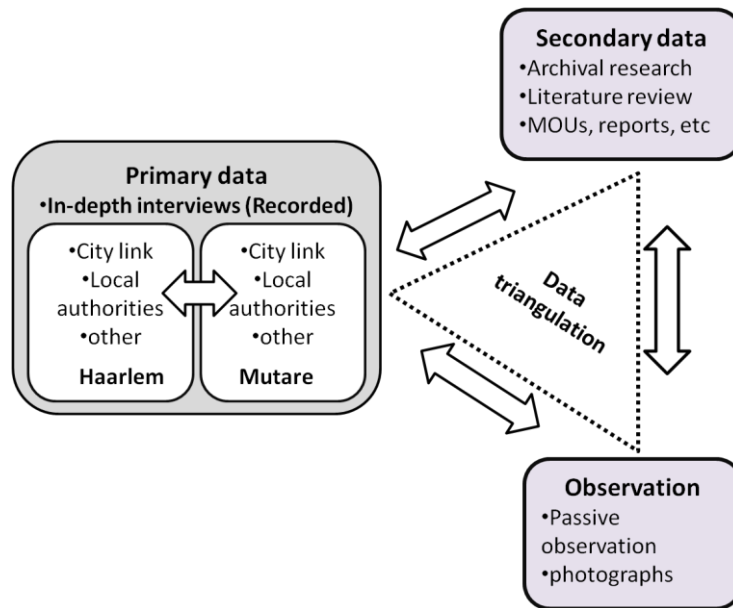


Figure 10: Triangulating data

3.6 Data Analysis

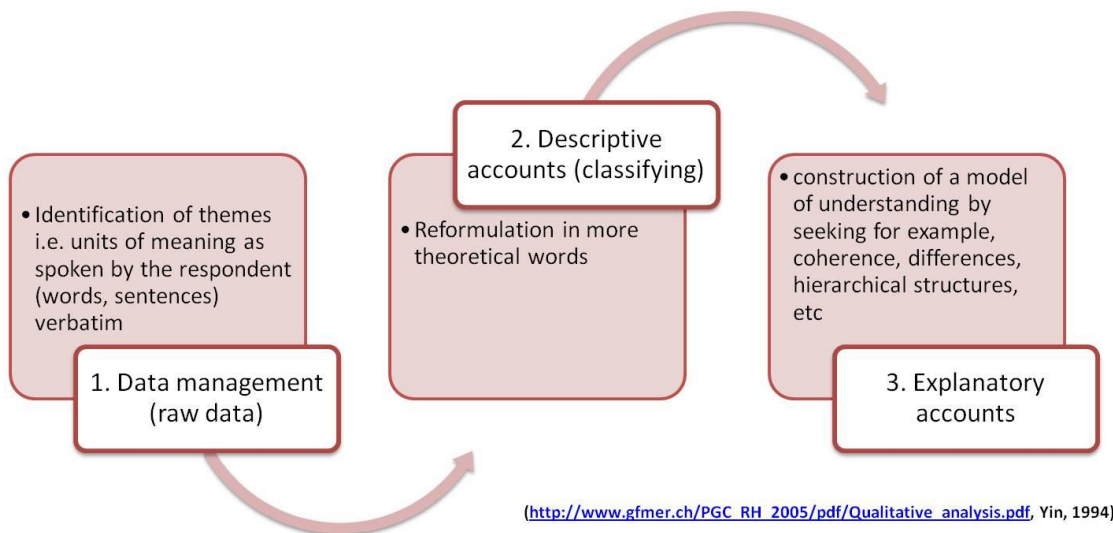
The qualitative data collected from the primary and secondary sources was analysed through individual and comparative analysis within the different thematic categories set up in the study. Three components of this process are:

- Data management (raw data)
- Descriptive accounts (classifying)
- Explanatory accounts

Analysis was done in three stages of coding:

- Pattern matching* (explanatory / descriptive)- Identification of themes i.e. units of meaning as spoken by the respondent (words, sentences) verbatim
- Explanation-building* (mainly explanatory)- Reformulation in more theoretical words
- Time-series analysis* -“How”- and “why”- questions about relationships & changes of events over time. Analyzing: construction of a model of understanding by seeking for example, coherence, differences, hierarchical structures, etc

(http://www.gfmer.ch/PGC_RH_2005/pdf/Qualitative_analysis.pdf, Yin, 1994)



3.7 Limitations to the study

One of the imitations to the study was that although the use of snowball sampling was quite effective in identifying key actors, it also meant that there was in some cases, a delay in arranging interviews with would-be respondents. In some cases, it was too late and respondents were not able to meet with the researcher. Also, a lot of secondary documentation was in Dutch making it difficult for the researcher to consult certain sources. There were also certain limitations with regards to political sensitivity, and some key respondents requested utmost discretion regarding some of their responses. This made it difficult in some instances to explicitly discuss some findings.

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter presents a qualitative account of the primary data research findings gathered from the collection of in-depth/ semi-structured interviews conducted during the fieldwork period. It also incorporates findings from the secondary data research comprising various documents, archival as well as desk research components. The chapter pursues a correlative account with regards to the individual research questions. As such, the chapter will frame a better understanding of the city link's life cycle thus far, and the actors involved in it from its inception to where it currently is now.

4.1 Drivers of the Haarlem- Mutare C2C formation

The Haarlem-Mutare city partnership was officially started in October 1991. According to a Haarlem coordinator, the driving factors were primarily based on a taking a democratic, solidarity stance with the developing world. On the other hand, the city of Mutare had been actively seeking development partners via the United Nations. Mutare had been initially sought out by Groningen City which then decided to forfeit and hand over to Haarlem. To date, Haarlem has 4 other twinning arrangements with French, German, Turkish and Ghananian partners. Mutare also has had other partnerships with various cities from Canada, UK, US and Mozambique. As noted in chapter 2, there are several reasons why cities may decide to venture into city- to – city partnership and this is evidenced by the immensely diverse range of socio-economic and political thematic foci represented. This part of the study sought to establish in more detail the driving factors behind the formation of the Haarlem-Mutare city link.

4.1.1. 'Compatibility' factors

When it comes to compatibility factors i.e. the factors that influence why some cities are chosen over others for C2C, it was seen in the Literature, particularly with Levent, Kundak, and Gülümser's study (2006, 2008) that there must be some similar interests between the two cities e.g. historical connections, economic relations, shared cultural concerns, ideological interest, educational exchanges, sportive activities, geographic location and environmental concerns. In the case of the Haarlem -Mutare C2C, the study revealed mainly ideological interest as a compatibility factor or driving force.

For instance, when asked what made the city of Haarlem take up the relationship with Mutare, one of the Haarlem coordinators' responses was:

“In that period a lot of cities started relations with towns in South America especially Nicaragua, and Haarlem wanted something different, wanted to focus on Africa. One of the reasons for Zimbabwe was that it was one of the Frontline states, with the apartheid regime in South Africa...”

The Frontline States, comprising Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, came together in 1970 in a solidarity stance, to co-ordinate their

responses to apartheid and formulate a uniform policy towards the South African apartheid government and the liberation movement. A representative of the Haarlem Municipality had this to say about the driving factors behind the C2C formation;

“(The) City link with Mutare was established by a group of people involved in this ideal that they can mean something for Mutare...”

The Dutch resident coordinator based in Mutare, when asked what his motivations were to go and live so far from his country, he said,

“I was born in 1953 in Groningen, the most Northern Province of the Netherlands. My teenage years were in a time that many young people became active on social and political issues. Numerous pressure groups for peace, anti apartheid, fair trade and environment conservation have their origin in that period. This spirit of time and the social upbringing by my parents will have had a significant effect on my future choices and actions.” (Excerpt from Newsletter interview conducted September 18, 2009)

These responses affirm the dominantly ideological drive behind the C2C in Haarlem as identified by Buis (2008). Besides ideological factors, there were also more practical issues to be considered as demonstrated by the importance of language for communication reasons – as the Haarlem coordinator emphatically added that,

“...and of course -the people in Zimbabwe speak English.”

This is also according to the negotiation stage of the formation process as presented by de Villiers. It is also clear that at this point, there was a dominantly top-down drive for the initiation of the City Link in Mutare, whilst there was an interplay of top-down and dominantly bottom up initiative in Haarlem- incorporating the City council, a third world platform and other local development agencies (Report: The Future of the Haarlem- Mutare City Link- March 2008).

4.1.2 Thematic precepts of the partnership

In the early days of the partnership, there was a strong focus on the environmental aspect of development. Arising from Mutare’s ever growing saw-dust waste problem (Mutare is the leading timber centre in Zimbabwe) cooperation between the two cities started to solidify as official exchanges began to take place in search of an alternative method of use for the vast amounts of sawdust being produced. The LA21 also provided an important impetus at the time for the development of dialogue regarding sustainability matters between various sectors of the community and the local authorities.

Agenda 21- Chapter 28

28.3. Each local authority should enter into a dialogue with its citizens, local organizations and private enterprises and adopt "a local Agenda 21". Through consultation and consensus-building, local authorities would learn from citizens and from local, civic, community, business and industrial organizations and acquire the information needed for formulating the best strategies. The process of consultation would increase household awareness of sustainable development issues.

The following excerpt from the Mutare Mayor's farewell speech for the resident coordinator of the City link, gives insight into the overall aims of the City link and how they have since evolved over time:

“Indeed through the profound concept of sustainable development in which the two communities of Mutare and Haarlem complement each other for a better future, the following shared goals remain our everyday targets in all our activities; bringing the people in the Mutare communities and Haarlem together; creating appreciation for our ethnical and cultural diverse societies; improving the lives of the poor and other disadvantaged members of our community; working for social and economic development and preserving the environment.”

These concepts are further explored in the document “Two cities, one common future: The Mutare/Haarlem Charter on sustainable Development and Cooperation”. Signed in November 2001, the Charter was based on 5 principles:

- Sustainable development;
- Reciprocity;
- Exchange of Knowledge and experience on the basis of an equal relationship;
- Activities are based upon sound analysis;
- Transparency and evaluation of activities on the basis of clear indicators of success.

Founded on these principles, core project areas that the Foundation pursues are Sport, Education, Culture, Health and Housing. Another interesting aspect of the Charter document is that it synthesises the two cities' efforts towards sustainability by giving a common definition of it. Sustainable development as jointly defined by the two cities is “...an integrated process in which the social, economic and ecological qualities of their cities and communities are strengthened ensuring a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”,(excerpt from the Haarlem Mutare City Link Charter). The respondents explained that they acknowledge that even in the framework of a common definition, the two cities have different development needs. The differing project scopes in the cities shows this as shall be discussed in upcoming sections.

4.2 From First Contact to City-to- City Partnership

“The first person who came after sensitization of the link, that is, the first person who was sent from the Netherlands had a microphone just like you, and a camera. He came here then went back and that's when things started. In the beginning it was more aligned to environmental health because they had interviewed me and that was my area.”

Director of Health Services, Mutare

The above quote gives a glimpse into the early days of the City link's development processes. The following section gives further insight into the findings regarding the processes and the

actors that have been involved in developing the Link into what it is today. With regards to the actors, it also seeks to elaborate on the different roles and responsibilities of each.

4.2.1 Processes

From the first contact, the city link was officialised in October 1991 with a signing of a memorandum of agreement (MOU) between the two cities. From then on, periodically certain milestones were achieved that signified the constitutional and functional strengthening of the link. Below is a summary of the timeline showing milestones in establishing the link:

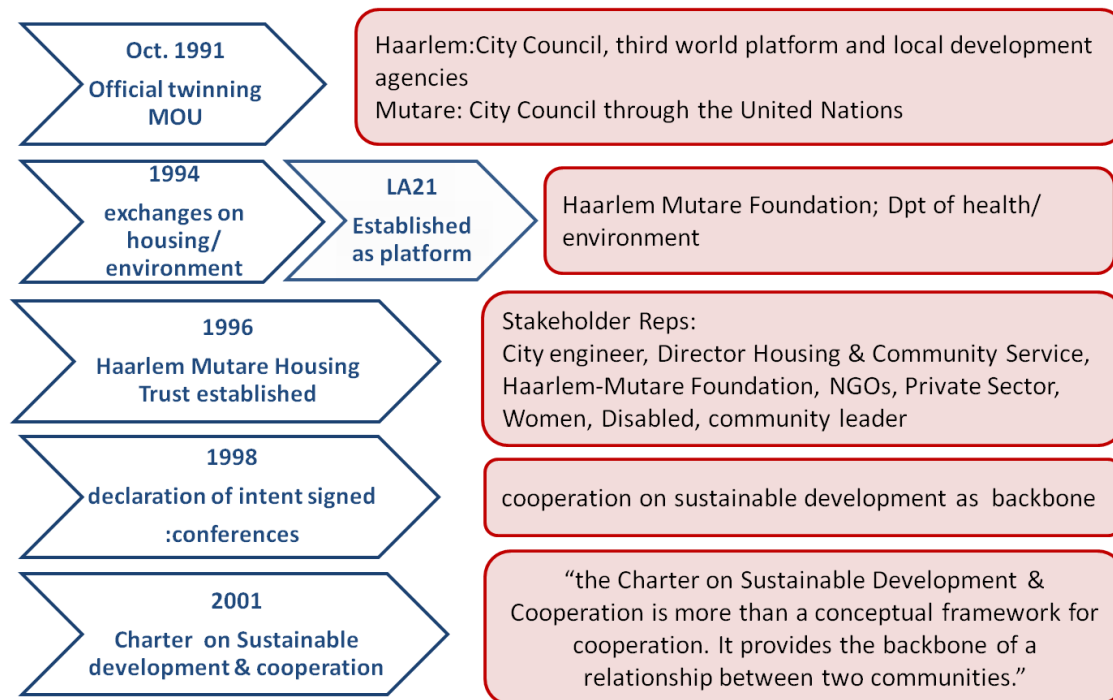


Figure 11: Timeline – Milestones

4.2.2. Identifying the Actors, roles and responsibilities

From the study it was clear that on both sides of the Link, there has been a wide array in terms of stakeholder involvement. This next section will give a more detailed account of the stakeholder involvement and their respective roles within the City Link.

4.2.2.1 Coordinating Civil Society Entity (CCSE)

At the heart of coordination and facilitation in both Haarlem and Mutare, the core entity of the partnership activities has been the Stichting Stedenband Haarlem-Mutare (SHM)/ Foundation. Its apparent role has been as the Coordinating Civil Society Entity (CCSE) (see Chapter 2, Bontenbal (2009).

The Foundation has a Board in both cities which is the highest governing body of the city Link. The Board’s aim is cited in the Reports as “setting out policies and examining the project plans of working groups”. In Mutare the board meets quarterly, whilst in Haarlem the board meets more regularly. There are also working groups to tackle projects as per the main themes set out in the Charter. The working groups made up of volunteers, experts and City

Link staff, are coordinated by their respective coordinators in each city. The different coordinators themselves meet as often as bi-weekly. In Mutare, a Dutch overall coordinator who has since retired, oversaw the City Link’s activities. Since his retirement in 2009, the duties in Mutare have been taken over by a local coordinator who acts as the overall coordinator as well as that of Housing and community building. He also works with 3 other sector coordinators.

“We have the project officer who is the City Link Coordinator Work. He works directly with me because he now steers everything, so whenever there are issues to be dealt with, he comes and we sit down –we make decisions, then he also convenes meetings and also receives the reports, then he compiles a comprehensive quarterly report from all the sectors.”

Chairman of the City Link Board, Mutare

Below is a diagrammatic representation of the overall administrative structure of the City Link:

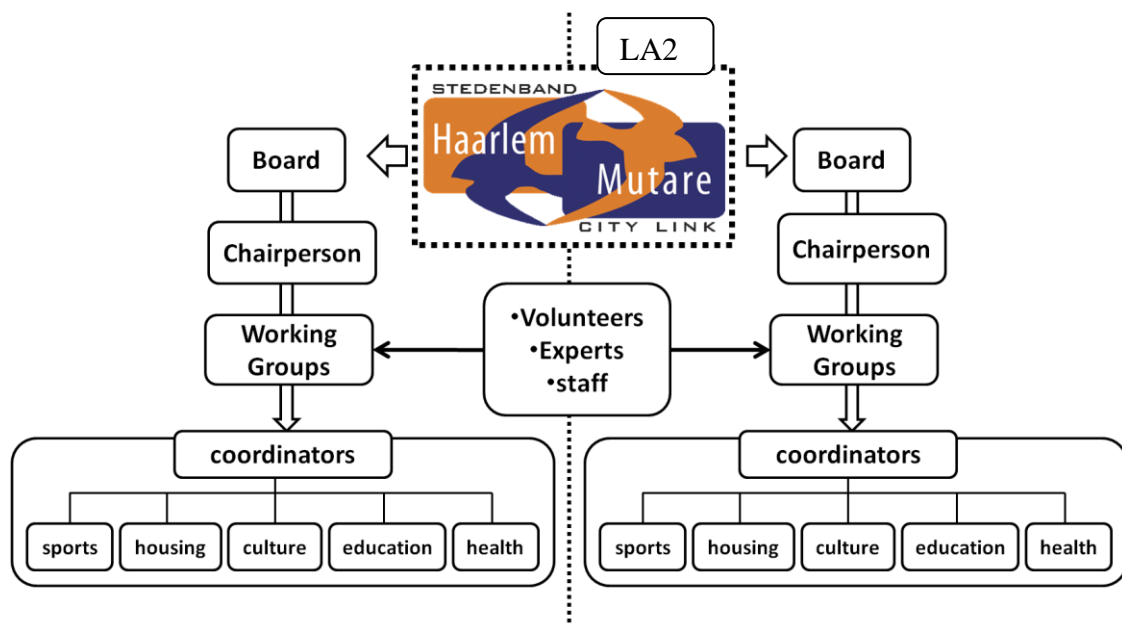


Figure 12 Administrative Structure of the Foundation Board (Source: – own construct)

5 main roles of the Foundation as the CCSE, were identified: Coordination, Fund raising, Identification of project beneficiaries, Relations with the city authorities and, Awareness raising. These are discussed more in detail as follows;

1. Coordination between the two cities.

The coordinators in both cities work extensively with different stakeholders in order to ensure that there is a high level of coordination of activities and projects. Constant communication between the sector coordinators in the 2 cities ensures that there is synergistic effort in

bringing together stakeholders and setting goals. This coordination also ensures matching of expectations in that each city has a clear contextual understanding of the stakeholders and hence, making it easier to set realistic project parameters.

“Wherever possible the City Link acts as an intermediary between groups and organisations in Haarlem and Mutare that are prepared to work on joint activities.”

Annual report 2009

2. Fund raising

In both Haarlem and Mutare, the issue of finance is at the fore of the Foundation’s activities. According to the Annual Report of 2009, a policy *‘for 2010 to 2012 is in the making to generate extra income for the City Link and projects.’*

Many critics of North- South C2C argue that when it comes to the financial issues, the North paternalistically takes the bulk of the responsibility in both actively seeking for funds and supplying money, whilst the Southern partner takes a backseat in typical recipient mode. Respondents in Mutare acknowledged their weaker financial role in that they were not able to contribute significantly to the funding of projects but did indicate that the **duty** of fundraising is becoming a joint effort. Interviews in Mutare revealed that measures are being taken there to ensure that fund raising activities are also actively pursued.

“Right now we have been given a fund by Haarlem, to employ someone to fundraise. We have taken someone from the University and he now has 2 projects that are meant to do the fundraising for the City Link and we were discussing with him... he has made a lot of inroads.”

Chairman of City Link board Mutare

3. Identification of project beneficiaries

Making use of the principle of subsidiarity, this role lies within the jurisdiction of the project site. The local coordinators in Mutare liaise with the communities to establish who the most fitting beneficiaries for the projects would be. For example, with the housing project, the local coordinators in Mutare worked with the local authorities to establish those who had been on the housing waiting list for a long time and with communities to determine the neediest. This process however takes place within commonly agreed selection criteria.

4. Relations with Local Authorities and other organisations.

“Council has lost touch with its people and that’s what we’re trying to do, to be more transparent and open it up and get public participation into civic affairs. And the Haarlem Mutare city link actually helps quite a lot with that with that because they are active at ground level and they need council cooperation on various issues, it sort of opens up those doors to a certain extent.”

Mayor, Mutare

The Mayor of Mutare acknowledged the role that the City Link has played in facilitating the resuscitation of open dialogue with and participation of the community in relation to the council affairs. The City Link therefore not only relates to the local authority and community in the city, but also assumes an intermediary role between the two. This was a role that was nurtured from the time of the inception of LA21 in the city. In Mutare, the coordinators also take on the role of facilitators bridging the gap between project beneficiaries and bureaucratic processes;

“A local guy set up a project to support people with licences, materials, tools etc.(for the housing project). He also organised a couple of neighbours to start building together and then they had more support. Also, buying materials in bulk to make it cheaper.”

Haarlem coordinator

The following is an excerpt from an interview with the former Dutch Coordinator in Mutare where he was asked about his duties. Although given from a personal perspective, it gives further insight regarding how even at present the City Link engages with different stakeholders in the community:

“In brief it has been to assist in: matching City link partners and stakeholders; the identification of activities and projects; facilitating capacity building; planning and implementation activities; networking, communication and reporting. I contributed to the development of the Mutare Local Action 21 platform. I represented the City Link in most of the board meetings and a range of project/activity meetings of the 5 City Link / Mutare LA21 Sectors.”

The Annual Report 2009 also refers to the City Link as *“... a meeting place and a point of reference for parties in Haarlem that are interested in international cooperation.”*

5. Awareness raising

Raising awareness in both cities is one of the key joint responsibilities that the City Link has and over the years, the City Link has devised various methods of doing so. In Mutare, as mentioned before, Local Agenda 21 established in 1994 (now Local Action), also played a pivotal role as a meeting platform for the Link and city stakeholders. As the umbrella organisation, LA21 was considered important as a platform for consulting important local government officials in Mutare in an informal way. The former Mutare coordinator for the City Link/LA21 in Mutare affirmed awareness raising as a main task:

“A regular task was to inform the Mutare people about the City Link organization on both sides, its people, goals, plans activities and projects.”

According to the 2009 report, it gave “voice to groups otherwise unheard” thereby raising awareness not just about the City Link but also regarding the problems faced by the residents. It was important to make sure that awareness was raised across all sectors of the community:

“A major challenge we faced when we were still in LA21, was to ensure that whatever we did touches on the grassroots people so that people appreciate the things that were happening. And that is not always easy. If you’re not careful, you’re working with a certain class of people and you leave out the other class and we kept on reminding ourselves that we must not have certain groups that are not represented in some of the things that we do.”

Former LA21 Chairperson, Mutare

The City Link/LA21 activities were supported by the Local authority in Mutare. On the other hand, respondents from the Haarlem Municipality made it clear that the responsibility of awareness- raising in Haarlem lay squarely on the shoulders of the Foundation itself:

“... it’s not an official link that we would promote from the town hall. It’s (up) to the foundation itself to see that the people of Haarlem are aware of their work...”

The following are some of the awareness raising initiatives the City Link has come up with:

- An interactive website that offers insight into various events, projects and access to reports and other documents.
- Art and Photo exhibitions
- School exchange and interactive learning programmes.
- YouTube videos, documentaries
- Media campaigns
- Theatrical and Musical productions
- Cultural and sporting festivals
- Twinning newsletters/magazines on a regular basis – in both Dutch and English though mostly in Dutch as translation is costly.



Figure 13: Some issues of the Twinning Newsletters

Source: Haarlem-Mutare City Link Website

4.2.2.2 Local Authorities and Public Sector

“And these projects are people to people. Funding from Haarlem goes straight to the people, to the beneficiaries, to the communities. It doesn’t go through the Central Government or Local Government as the conception goes that city linkages are just a mere formality of making some Local Government or Central government staff to go to the other side of the equator –it’s not like that.”

“So, the aspect of the city linkage here is totally divorced from the operations of the local government or the central government...”

Mutare coordinator

The role of the Local governments within the City Link has evolved over time in both cities. In Mutare, although respondents agreed that the City Link is not domiciled in the Local Authority and independently makes decisions, unlike as is the case with a lot of other C2Cs, the local government is cited as one of the most important stakeholders in the C2C, and still plays a pivotal role in terms of supporting the projects. For example, in the Hobhouse Low income Housing scheme, land was sold to the City Link at its intrinsic value by the City Council i.e. without added cost for servicing which helped in reducing costs. The Council also assisted with building licences and inspection procedures. Limited financial capacity however, soon reduced the local government’s further active involvement somewhat:

“When the project started, the city of Mutare would support people in the project but the (financial) capacity wasn’t there.”

Haarlem coordinator.

During the study, it was also noted that in Mutare, several high level government officials hold key positions in the City Link Board. For instance, the current Chairman of the Board is also the Director of Housing and Community Services in the City of Mutare. The Secretariat of the LA21 is also headed by officials from of the Health Department. On the other hand in Haarlem, this is seen as a conflict of interest and forbidden. When asked if any municipality members sat on the City Link board, one of the Haarlem Municipality representatives had this to say:

“No no, in terms of conflicts we’re not allowed to do that. There was one colleague who’d been asked to take a place on the board but he had to step down. So there is no mixture between the civil servants and the board.”

Whilst the Haarlem Municipality distances itself from the City Link, they do subsidise the day to day running of the City Link Foundation office in Haarlem but, that is as far as the connection goes.

“When we talk about city links, we are talking about when there are exchanges on the highest level of local government and informal when these exchanges are not there. With Mutare and Haarlem, it’s a city link that is based on exchange between the people of the

*cities and not the local politicians. We have met (the Mutare mayor) but he was here on invitation from the foundation. He had a very brief unofficial meeting with our mayor, just for a cup of coffee and they did not discuss local politics.... We support the foundation here and they have their own projects...they get a subvention from the municipality and that covers their costs for the office, for the salaries of staff. We support their office- we **do not** support their work in Mutare. Therefore they have other grants other subventions that they have to apply for but they don't get them from us."*

Haarlem Municipality Official

The Haarlem side of the Link affirmed this in saying:

"So we are a stichting, a foundation and we are independent of the city of Haarlem. We get a subsidy from the city of Haarlem and we give them a report about what we do but they don't tell us what to do. So we are independent... it is important also because of the political trouble in Zimbabwe, the city council in Haarlem keeps a distance from the relation. There are no official exchanges between Haarlem and Mutare, the exchanges that take place are all organised by us."

Haarlem coordinator

So in terms of the level and structure of local authority involvement in the link, the scenarios are very different in the two cities.

The City Link has also had input from several public sector organisations apart from the Local Authorities themselves- at national and sub-national level. For example, in Mutare, there was special mention of the Sport and Recreation Commission of Zimbabwe which has played a significant role in the development of the Sports sector of the City Link. The National Galleries of Zimbabwe, and the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture have also been key actors. In Haarlem, decentralised public institutions such as VNG through the LOGO-South programme, played a role until stringent financial reforms in the Dutch development cooperation arena that ended Haarlem-Mutare's beneficiary status.

"VNG International in the beginning were a big supporter of the Haarlem-Mutare City Link. Through them it was possible to get extra funding for sport and housing for example. In that way there was good relationship. But VNG International Logo SOUTH are diminishing on that- they are now more focused on East Europe, Asia, etc. So it's a little bit more difficult for direct support for Mutare."

Mayor Gemeente Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude

According to the respondents and the Reports, also contributing to in the financial and strategic partnership, have been the Housing associations in Haarlem as well as the DIGH i.e. the Dutch International Guarantees for Housing which is looking into loans to finance the new Housing project in Mutare.

4.2.2.3. NGOs and External development agents

This category of actors refers to those that have played a role in bringing into the C2C, external financial and knowledge resources, as documented in the interviews and City Link reports and publications. They fall under two categories as per Bontenbal (2009) which are national subsidy schemes and subcontracted technical project consultants (see Chapter 2). In Mutare, UNICEF and Environment Africa (formerly Environment 2000) are examples of major NGO involvement in the C2C. An example in Haarlem is the involvement of Centre for International Cooperation in North-Holland (COS-NH) consultants in conducting intercultural communications workshops for Dutch and Zimbabwean youth exchange programmes. NCDO which is the National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development in the Netherlands, as well as ICCO, the Inter-Church Organisation for Development Cooperation, have also been instrumental in resource partnering with the City Link. Other examples include Xplore, International Korfball Federation, Family in Need Trust (FIN) and the Johan Cruijff Foundation.

4.2.2.4. Civil Society

In both cities there was a wide range of stakeholders involved from civil society.

“The aim was from the beginning not to be a link only between the municipalities but between the people of the two cities.”

Haarlem coordinator

Collectively, the different civil sector actors represented are as follows:

- Education sector- primary schools, high schools, tertiary education institutions,
- Youth groups
- Community Based organisations (CBOs)
- Environment groups
- Libraries
- Churches
- Hospitals

To a lesser extent, there is the private sector involvement. Respondents, particularly in Mutare felt that this was a major drawback.

The following diagrams give an illustration of the various stakeholders in Mutare and Haarlem respectively:

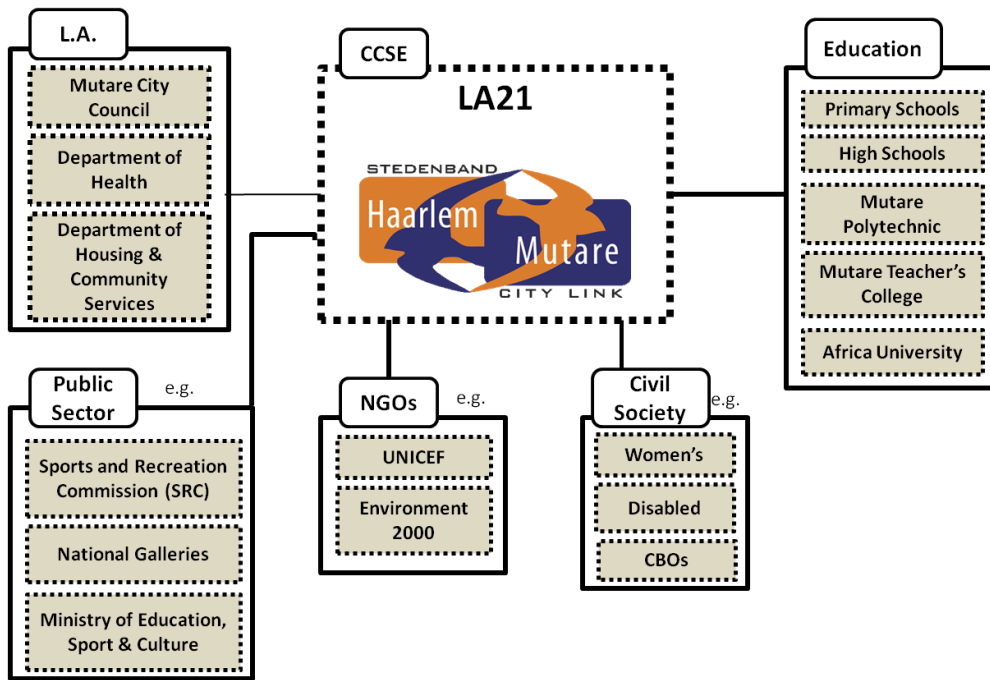


Figure 14: C2C Network- Mutare (Source: Own construct)

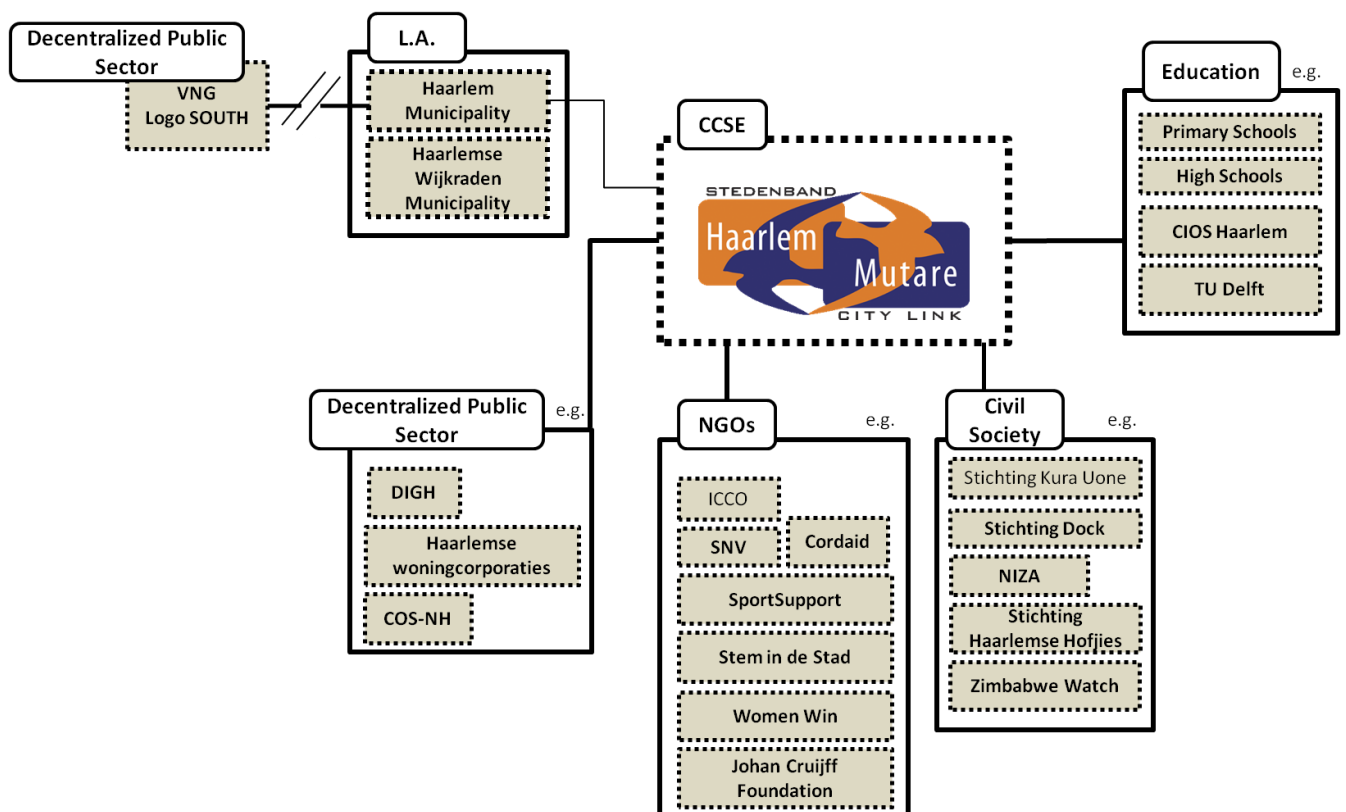


Figure 15: C2C Network- Haarlem (Source: Own construct)

4.3 Contributions to Sustainable Urban Development

The study revealed that there is a general perception in both cities that the partnership has yielded a great amount of benefits in terms of tangible projects. These projects have been seen to contribute to the economic, social, environmental and to a lesser extent, the institutional aspects of the cities' development. An account here is given of the projects as per the sectors defined in the City link Charter.

"...it has been quite a fruitful partnership...no other has lasted as long or is as strong."

Mutare council official

*"Sometimes it's difficult, it's not always clear what's happening there coz it's a privately held foundation and because we do not support their projects there and only the staff here, we do not know exactly what's happening- we do not give the foundation grants for that. So they are not obliged to inform us of everything they're doing there **but we know basically what's going on; we know they're doing very good things...**"*

Haarlem municipality official

4.3.1 Housing and neighbourhood management

"Right now we think housing can create the benchmark for all sustainable programs, because housing easily creates a revolving fund. And therefore we can now use it to integrate other sectors like where you put up housing, you put up sports facilities, you put up health facilities, you put up education (facilities), you look at the environment. Now that's as a community building process. Therefore you're now looking at a compact community with all those aspects but benchmarked on the housing delivery."

Chairman of the City Link Board Mutare; Director of Housing

The Housing sector in the City Link was viewed by most of the respondents as the foundation on which the City Link grew and developed. From the first exchanges regarding Housing in 1994, the City Link has since seen the establishment of the Haarlem Mutare Housing Foundation Trust (HMHFT). The Trust was officially declared an independent non-profit organisation in 1996. Under the Housing Trust, the Hobhouse Housing project was undertaken and successfully completed. Interest free loans were granted to low income earners such as guards, street vendors and day labourers in order to acquire serviced stands. A total of 220 stands of 150square metres in area, were purchased. 2 of the stands were used to build a community centre where various meetings and training activities take place. In total approximately 1800 people have settled in the neighbourhood to date. The houses were built by the families themselves although they received assistance in attaining licences, tools and materials which the HMHFT procured in bulk. In 2009, a resident's association was chosen to represent the residents.



(Source: author)



(Source: City Link Website)

Figure 16: Housing Project in Hobhouse

Currently plans are underway to commence development of another housing project on a piece of land in the suburb of Chikanga that has already been purchased. The HMHFT together with the Mutare City Council has approached the DIGH in the Netherlands for a loan, also with the support of some housing associations. Respondents cited that this project was significant in more ways than one. For instance, the project is to be a prototype for a new high quality, High Density Living model that will see a deviation from the conventional stand alone housing, and will instead adapt the Dutch model of multi-level living. Thus, the project is aimed at reducing the problem of urban sprawl in the City. The project will also see the adoption of several green-energy measures such as wind and solar power. The project will bring about a collaboration of architects, planners and residents from both cities, as well as students from the TU Delft School of architecture. Tenure will be a mixture of rental and ownership. The Mutare Mayor said the project would ultimately, be presented to the Ministry of Housing as a prototype for new urban design concepts to be used country wide.

Box 4.3.1

The Purpose of the Foundation

The Haarlem Mutare Housing Foundation Trust is a creation of the City of Mutare in association with the Haarlem Mutare Foundation for the purpose of alleviating homelessness in Mutare by assisting homeless low-income residents on the Housing Waiting List in acquiring serviced residential high density stands, and to design and accelerate housing development that effectively meets their urgent needs.

The aims and Objectives of the Foundation

- (a) To work to ensure the continued existence and growth of a housing revolving fund in order to assist the low income homeless in Mutare readily acquire residential serviced stands.
- (b) To ensure that all the funds accruing to the Foundation are used for the Purpose for which the foundation exists.
- (c) To implement in letter and spirit all the aspects of the Housing Project agreement which relate to the purpose of Housing Development for the low-income in Mutare.
- (d) To report annually to both the City of Mutare and the Haarlem Mutare Foundation in Holland on the Foundation's activities.

Source: Original Constitution of the HMHFT, August 1996



(Source: City link website)

Figure 17: Land purchased in Chikanga for the second Housing Project

4.3.2. Social and Economic development

This section presents an overview of projects under the Social and economic development theme. Results were from both secondary and primary sources.

4.3.2.1. Mutare

In Mutare, it was found that there have been several income generating initiatives targeted at the less privileged and vulnerable sectors of the community. Below are some examples:

Projects	Beneficiaries	Support
Mushroom Project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self help project 	Women's group	City Link, Africa University
Tariro Sewing Project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vocational training 	Orphans/vulnerable children	Stichting Kurauone (Dutch foundation)
Mitambo Gallery <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zimbabwean Art , sculptors for sale 	Local artists	City Link

Besides access to foreign markets that the artists receive, further benefits include training in various skills such as photography.



Figure 18: Some of the Zimbabwean artwork on sale

4.3.2.2 Haarlem

In Haarlem, respondents felt the social benefits of the City link most manifest themselves in the neighbourhood of Damastraat where the community came together to initiate and implement a public space sculpture project where various Mutare sculptors were commissioned to create approximately 70 pieces for the redevelopment of the neighbourhood. Some of the creators of the sculptures were then invited to come to Haarlem. Respondents cited social benefits mainly as being:

(a) Social Cohesion

The collective effort brought the neighbours together in a participatory planning exercise.

“the project was one thing to keep them together after the new projects were built...They are very proud that the sculptures are there because they are theirs.”

Haarlem Coordinator

(b) Social responsibility

Since the project was commissioned, there have been no reports of vandalism in the neighbourhood as the sense of ownership and pride causes the residents to ‘jealously guard’ their environs:

“It was all developed with 2 or 3 sculptors going there to ask the neighbourhood people what they wanted..When the big container full of statues came, they were placed there. And now it’s been 3 or 4 years since they were placed there and the people in that area they really guard their (street) furniture. So there’s no vandalism, nothing whatsoever...and now another housing corporation said, “Ah, we also want something like this.”

Mayor Gemeente Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude

Although both the Haarlem and Mutare respondents involved with the City Link felt that this project had produced some valid results in terms of sustainable development in Haarlem, some external respondents did not see this as a major contribution at all. This again raises the question of sustainable urban development as being a relative concept to some. For instance, most positive responses echoed the sentiments of Lachman (1997) who states the importance of ‘fostering a sense of community’ is an important aspect of sustainability. She further says that “such sustainability activities try to enhance individuals' and organizations' feelings of attachment, value, and connection to the community. Many experts feel that only by caring about and feeling a part of their neighbourhood, town, county, and/or city will individuals truly work together over the long term to develop a healthy community.”

“Good social relationships, participation and involvement of people in their own environment and employment are also important aspects.”

2009 Annual Report



Source: author

Figure 19: Sculptures at the Damastraat Neighbourhood project

4.3.3.1 Environment

The City Link has seen various initiatives in the area of environmental sustainability. Firstly in Mutare, the city benefited from the donation of equipment and vehicles to aid in solid waste disposal (domestic, industrial, hazardous). Haarlem aided in the development and implementation of strategies and plans for solid waste management. This was under the banner of LA 21.

Box 4.3 North-South cooperation upgrades waste management in Mutare, Zimbabwe

C2C Context: Within the context of a broadly-based twinning relationship formed in 1992, Haarlem, Netherlands and Mutare have worked together under the banner of Local Agenda 21 on improvements to several municipal services including housing, social services, education, and waste management. **Outcomes/Lessons:** The programme included the preparation of a master plan for handling domestic refuse and industrial and hazardous waste, and to control dumping and leakage. The plan is being implemented progressively in conjunction with an NGO. The link has provided assistance with vehicles and training, and has also led to the production of national guidelines on the management of hazardous waste. Funding has come from Haarlem's own budget, community sources, and technical assistance funds administered by the Association of Netherlands Municipalities. **Issues Arising:** The priorities in service improvements have been determined by Mutare but input from Haarlem has served as a catalyst in achieving better living conditions. Reciprocity is a basic principle in the relationship, expressed through dialogue and input of expertise on both sides rather than at a material level. NGO participation is fundamental at both ends of the link.

Source: UNDP Report 'The Challenge of Linking', 2000

Also, as mentioned earlier, at the height of the city's timber industry, there was a collaborative effort to come up with a solution to the acute problem of saw dust faced by the city. There were feasibility studies done by both cities on the alternative use of the saw dust such as use as an energy source or briquetting. Educational visits, technical assistance and research has also been ongoing since the C2C's inception. Another project is that of Urban Agriculture which was set up with the support of Haarlem's Environmental department.

One of the earlier projects in which Mutare made a contribution to Haarlem, was an environment assessment programme of Haarlem in which Mutare officials were invited to take part in a 6 week evaluation project. It involved research methodology design and implementation. Also in Haarlem, there was an environmental forum held at the Nature fair to raise awareness on the impact of Climate change in Mutare.

4.3.4. Education

The issue of education in North –South C2C is quite a thorny one as perceptions are that true learning, especially at institutional level, only takes place in the South. The study shows that the education sectors in both cities have collaborated on a number of projects in both cities as summarized in the following table.

Table 7: Education Projects

Mutare	Haarlem
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community library in Hobhouse • Student and teacher exchanges • Environmental assessment • Twinning of primary and secondary schools • Research • IT training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental assessment of city • Peer education programmes modelled on the Mutare project • Community sport projects modelled on Mutare project • Exchanges/ internships (accredited by the Dutch educational authorities)

Mutare	Haarlem
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development of school for Special needs Children in Chikanga 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zimsurf: free internet program for secondary schools in Haarlem in use since 2001. It's aimed at getting kids acquaint with life in Mutare through a virtual journey. It also aims to conscientise children of the consequences of western consumption patterns for the future and for developing countries. The project is used for VMBO (lower secondary professional schools), and HAVO/VWO (senior general and pre-university education)



Figure 20: Education projects

Although the study shows that there is a variety of projects that have taken place, the extent to which these are perceived as grounds for ‘equal learning’, will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4. 3.5 Sport

"Sport Has The power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. Sport can awaken hope where there was only despair previously ... it's an instrument for peace."

Nelson Mandela

Sport has been one of the City Link’s Flagship projects. From it, the Mutare Haarlem Sports Leaders project was developed and it has gone on to even win awards for its innovative and sustainable approach to development cooperation. Many sports leaders between 16 and 30 years in recent years have been trained by MHS. At present there are 43 active sports leaders. The Sportleaders project is now an independent self- sustaining entity of the City Link.

Community sporting projects in Haarlem based on the Sportleaders are held and Sportleaders from Mutare often visit to train others.

“We support development of organisations and we support training of young people e.g. Sport leaders, trained with help from CIOS Haarlem that started in 1999, so far over 60-70 sport leaders have been trained. Some are still active, some now have jobs in schools, various organisations, they are now capable themselves, self sufficient because the programme is now an independent organisation in Mutare with capacity themselves, to train new sport leaders. So now we don’t assist with the training, they do that themselves and also students from CIOS last year followed a trainership of a man from Mutare and it was officially recognised by education authorities.”

Haarlem Coordinator

4.3.6. Health

The Health sector has seen several initiatives in Mutare.

Table 8: Summary of health projects

Project/ initiative	Type of City Link support
HIV Teen peer education	Sponsorship for peer educators
Home Based care	Grants for care givers, medicines
Sakubva clinic	Sanitation equipment/ construction of Multipurpose Hall
Care for the Aged	general assistance

In Haarlem, there is a drive for the introduction of Peer sex education amongst Haarlem youths modelled on the Mutare programme.

4.3.7. Culture

Several cultural initiatives have been undertaken in the two cities. Various large scale exhibitions have been put on in Haarlem to showcase the art from Zimbabwe as well as enhance global awareness on various subjects. There have also been joint cultural exchange programmes designed for the youth. Projects range from Theatre, Photography (Haarlem is well known as a city of Photography), Sculpture, Painting and Literature. There has also been a Cartoons Expo held in Haarlem. Several capacity building programmes have also been undertaken in Mutare for these fields.

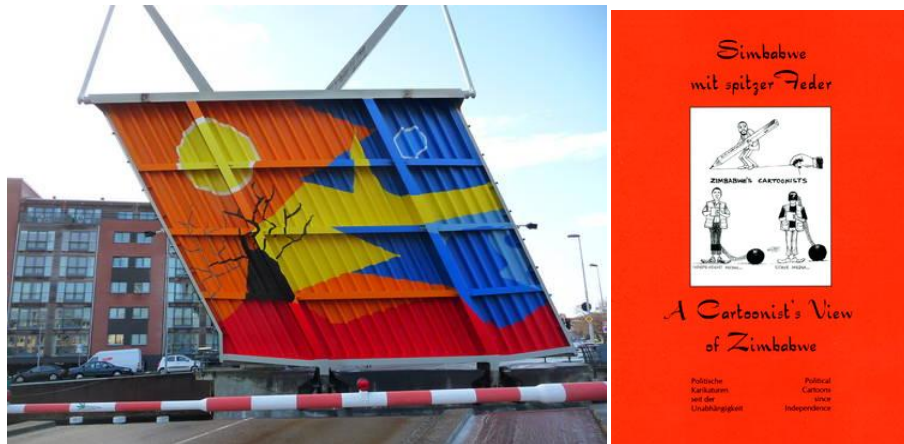


Figure 21: Some cultural aspects

4.4 Success Factors

Literature puts forward a variety of possible success factors for North- South C2C but is in agreement that more research needs to be done in that regard. In light of this, although a framework of indicators was developed from the literature (see previous chapter), the researcher tried as much as possible not to influence the respondent's answers by neither implicitly nor explicitly referring to the indicators. Respondents were simply asked what they perceived to be the main success factors in the City Link's development. Interestingly enough, the study shows that the most acknowledged success factors were actually correspondent to the indicators developed from literature. They were:

- Reciprocity, also expressed by respondents as equality and mutuality.
- Commitment to the partnership
- Common understanding
- Yielding of concrete results
- Community participation/ownership
- Public Awareness

These factors will be discussed more at length in the following section.

4.4.1 Reciprocity/Mutuality

The discussion around issues of reciprocity in North- South C2C as seen in Chapter 2, seems to actually lean towards its non-existence. The study sought to find out from the respondents what their own perceptions of this issue were. The findings show that the majority of the respondents felt that the relationship's success was actually anchored on the mutuality or reciprocity between the 2 cities. In most instances, it was the first thing to be mentioned.

“This is not a donor –recipient but it's a reciprocal relationship...we see Haarlem and Mutare as equal partners.”

“The projects that have come out of the partnership are like children out of a marriage- the city of Haarlem is married to the city of Mutare. I don’t know who is the husband and who is the wife...”

Mutare coordinator

“Relation must be on equal basis, learning both ways.”

“Our main success has been the trust between each other...”

Haarlem Coordinator

Cultural understanding as well as an exhibition of mutual trust and respect were also prevalent themes amongst the respondents in the context of reciprocity. The involvement of intercultural communications consultants was also seen as an indication of the efforts both sides put in to cultivate that respect. The return trips and exchanges between the two cities were also considered to be an important component of reciprocity as they also enhanced the quality of intercultural experience and understanding.

“When you learn about the world, you learn about yourself.”

COS-NH Intercultural communications expert

“...through exchanges...they recognise that people living in another culture doesn’t mean it’s more or less –but it’s different.”

Haarlem Coordinator

The study however, also revealed some mixed sentiment as some respondents felt that the relationship was more one sided.

“...as usual, the poorer tends to benefit more.”

Mutare Council Official

From the responses, it is clear that on both sides of the Link, reciprocity is at the heart of their success as demonstrated by the respondents’ general consensus that the City Link strives to ensure that there is joint analysis of problems, agreement upon strategy, and joint steps in implementation which are key factors according to Buis (2009). However, there are apparent mixed feelings regarding the relative weighting of contributions e.g. cultural against financial.

“Obviously a city link is a two way thing and sometimes we get quite embarrassed here in Zimbabwe because, because of our situation we need a lot of assistance to keep the city going and that sort of thing. But Haarlem have benefited from it by the cultural side of it... as I said earlier, we don’t really want to look at it as a donor situation where we’re on the receiving side the whole time. We want to be able to offer something ourselves and I know it’s minimal to start with but the cultural exchanges are big.”

Mutare Council Official

“We need to give out what we have for them to give us what they have. In some sectors we have areas where we have strength but in some they have strength. e.g. when it comes to financial resources they have strength.”

Mutare Coordinator

“To me that’s the biggest thing- it’s more than the tangibles, it’s more than the money. It’s that new opening up and understanding of peoples. You can’t put a value to it and yet it’s so important...”

Former LA21 Chairperson, Mutare

4.4.2 Commitment to Partnership

Commitment to the partnership was another major success factor which respondents felt was expressed through various ways:

- **Time spent with the link:**

Most respondents directly involved with the Link had been with the City Link for more than 10years. This has been seen to have played a role in maintaining continuity but also seen to pose a risk in the event that these committed persons have to leave.

“You need to have key drivers and most of the people who were driving the process ended up being sucked out by other organizations...you needed new leadership...”

Former LA21 Chairperson, Mutare

- **Personal passion:**

Personal passion to the link is what has been seen to fuel the organisation given that a lot of the participants are voluntary. Some respondents although no longer formally involved like the Mutare Former Chairperson maintain links with the Foundation to render their support and advise.

“...All the 8 years I was involved, I did everything from my own pocket- it’s not as if I had a budget from which I would get money for fuel or anything. I made sure all my travel was at my own cost. Yes, if we were going to Netherlands or having workshops yes we had funding but the day to day, because every week I spent at least a day dealing with issues- either meetings...”

Former LA21 Chairperson, Mutare

- **Willingness to learn about the 2 different cultures:**

This was considered an indication of commitment as both sides acknowledged that cultural barriers are difficult to cross at times. One Mutare respondent had this to say;

“I guess for me the biggest challenge was when you work with a different society, the first thing is you have to understand them from their perspective, for you to understand why they say what they say because if you don’t you won’t be able to

appreciate why they do the things that they do or you may think somebody is being bad when they're not being bad..."

4.4.3 Common understanding

The City Link in regards to common understanding has collaboratively established mutually agreed upon goals. This is reflected in the C2C Charter on Sustainable Development and Cooperation which makes clear the intended purpose and results of the partnership. The establishment of clear goals also helps in managing expectations. Regular contact between the two sides also bolsters common understanding as does joint review of progress.

"Their challenges are different from our challenges, yet we are all working towards one common future."

Mutare official

4.4.4 Concrete Results

As discussed in the previous section regarding projects, several projects have been realised through the City Link and respondents acknowledged this as a contributing factor to the success of the C2C. Many respondents, particularly in Mutare, felt that because the Link has so many tangible projects, it has managed to advertise itself.

4.4.5 Community participation

Despite the somewhat unsatisfactory participation of the business community, respondents agreed that there was a satisfactory diversity of stakeholders involved and that this also brought about a sense of ownership amongst the two communities. This is also confirmed in the prior section regarding the actors.

4.4.6 Public Awareness

"I must say we did so many activities. The major success was really awareness creation. I recall that as one of our major successes because every year we had a big meeting that brought many people together from the city. We spent two days talking about issues that affect the city. And people were very enthusiastic and we could see that the message was getting across about the need to preserve the city."

Former LA21 Chairperson, Mutare

In addition to publicity in the local media, public awareness through school programmes and exhibitions has been viewed as pivotal in the C2C's success. It was not always a success however and was pointed out by one of the respondents in Mutare as being a major challenge in the beginning,

"...because it involved community mobilisation of people from the youths to the elderly and trying to streamline activities, because the start was quite difficult as people were not really keen on this idea of voluntarism, of trying to come and really try to help the city of Mutare through the city link relationship in a way that would improve service delivery. Also (had to engage in) cultural exchange and education so that they can appreciate what was going on. So it was quite a tricky situation but we were through it now."

4.4.7 Other Success Factors

Referring back to the indicator framework, there were other success factors pointed out by some of the respondents although relatively not as unanimously as the ones aforementioned. They include:

- Consistent leadership i.e. senior level official involvement as well as that of decision makers was not considered as particularly important particularly from the Haarlem respondents. Mutare respondents however, felt that endorsement from local government was relatively a contributing factor to the C2C success.
- High level Government support i.e. both sides conceded that recognition by central government was of no consequence.
- Free flow of information i.e. communication frequency
- Cost Sharing- this was not mentioned as a success factor by any respondent.

Below is a diagrammatic summary of respondents' views on the C2C success factors:



Figure 22: Respondents' view on success factors by frequency

The above success factors were part of the variables and indicators devised for the operationalization of the study. The author however, also found that there were other strengths which were not included but were recurring amongst the respondents. These are;

(a) The apolitical nature of the link.

Many respondents felt that the city link has been able to survive for so long due to its exclusion of political influences. This was especially important relative to the socio-political context within which the partnership has developed.

“I think the success of this one (city link) is that it has been apolitical. Its concentrated on the main focus of humanitarian assistance pro poor, cultural exchanges and they’ve generally worked with people on both sides of the ocean as it were who have

seen the benefits of it and have kept it going and tried to keep the raw side of politics out of it.”

Mayor, Mutare

“We worked very well with the city councils, whether they were ZANU PF or MDC, it didn’t matter...”

Former LA21 Chairman

(b) Role of Local coordinators

This was interesting as some respondents from Haarlem bemoaned the fact that it had taken so long to set up local coordinators, thus it had taken a while to establish ‘true connections with the grassroots’. On the other hand, most Mutare respondents did not mention this as a factor but attributed a lot of the success to the Dutch coordinator based in Mutare, now retired.

4.5. Challenges of the C2C

Respondents were asked to give their point of view on what were the main challenges that the C2C faced. The table below shows what concerns were raised among the respondents and where they were mutual or independent concerns.

Common Challenges

a) Funding

Both Haarlem and Mutare respondents pointed to funding as a major challenge they were facing. In Mutare, just the mere **inability** of the City to make significant financial contributions to the partnership was seen as a challenge in itself as cited by the former LA21 chairperson:

“Just the fact that you come from a city that can’t contribute financially to the things that are happening is in itself is a major handicap because you want to be able to be an equal partner in terms of financial contributions which we could not be...”

In Haarlem, dwindling of resources caused by the decline in the economy was a problem. This was further exacerbated by the Zimbabwean economic crisis as hyper-inflation took its toll on the resource pool, causing downscaling of projects and making repayment of loans by the housing beneficiaries virtually impossible due to devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar.

b) Politics

The volatile political landscape in Zimbabwe and the changing sentiment in the Dutch foreign relations has taken a heavy toll on the Partnership according to the respondents in both cities. The first impact of politics has been that the political tension has limited the peer to peer exchange typical of most C2C and considered to be important. The relationship therefore has seen a drastic decline in technical exchanges at the local government level which was more active about ten years ago.

Another consequence was that with change of political parties in leadership, media coverage also declined as highlighted by one respondent:

“When we had the (opposition party) Mayor, all of a sudden, the coverage of some of the activities changed from our own press because the TV, the radio could not come...”

“If there was a way to let this be a professional link between two cities divorced from national politics, I’m sure people could achieve more than when they are hamstrung by politics of the day...”

As seen in previous responses from the Haarlem municipality, relations with the City Link at a formal level are seen as a conflict of interest. In Mutare, it became increasingly difficult to keep communication lines open with Haarlem. One of the coordinators from Haarlem said,

“...We had to keep under the radar and made no contacts with government but with departments in the city.”

Haarlem Coordinator

Another consequence of the political tensions is that potential stakeholders or contributors to the Partnership tend to shy away and also affect the funding sources for the City Link.

Mutare Challenges

- Limited private sector involvement

Mutare respondents felt that lack of interest on the part of the private sector was hindering prospects for greater results and sustainability of the Partnership as the sector is seen to be capable of making a significant contribution.

Haarlem Challenges

- Different institutional structures

One of the issues raised in Haarlem was that the differences in institutional organisation made it difficult sometimes to match expectations and expand the scope of projects. For example, in the cultural sector Haarlem felt that at times it may be limited in its capacity to create broader opportunities for the Mutare cultural sector at the scale that it may expect since in Haarlem there are less formal cultural institutions like in Mutare where there are several e.g. National Galleries Associations, Artists associations, etc through which initiatives are easily channelled. Instead, most are informal voluntary organisations.

Change of local governance also had an impact as highlighted by one respondent,

“When a new council comes in, in a place like Haarlem, you can have a council that is very pro- environment after some time you get a council that is less pro environment and the people at the council would tell us that the Alderman we have now is not so helpful...”

Former chairperson, Mutare

Despite the challenges raised, there is still optimism as expressed by one Haarlem respondent, that there is still opportunity,

“Now that the climate in the Netherlands is turning the other way, it’s getting more difficult and you have to become inventive...”

Table 9: Summary of Challenges

Challenges	Mutare	Haarlem
1. Politics affects perception, dissuades other stakeholders (no official status)	✗	✗
2. The private sector not keen	✗	
3. Funding	✗	✗
4. Different institutional organisation		✗
5. Depressed economic conditions/ hyper inflation	✗	✗

4.6 Conclusions and revisiting the Conceptual Framework

The revised conceptual framework shown below summarises the findings discussed. It shows a more appropriate repositioning of the feedback loop of actual benefits to success factors instead of the initiative. It also shows challenges exerting pressure on the C2C. The following Chapter will give a synthesised view of the findings.

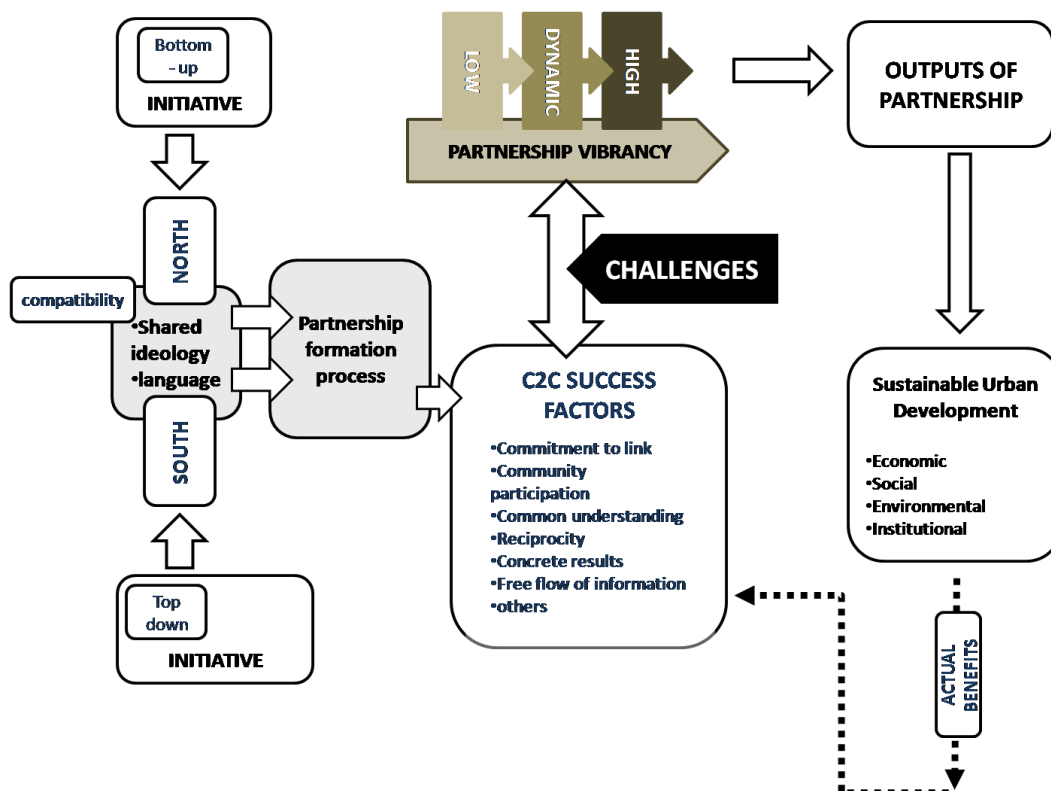


Figure 23: revisiting the conceptual framework

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

"I come from Kisumu and I know that Cheltenham is our sister city. There are often exchange programmes and opportunities for students to visit Cheltenham but only the people close to the powers that be benefit. It's been like this for a long time and most of us don't know the benefits of having a sister city. For twinning to succeed, the authorities must be honest and include all sectors of the community."

Jackline Onyango, Kenyan in Berlin

*"Twinning is a powerful tool for development **if** done well."*

Andrew Murphy, USA

...Are student exchange programmes the best that C2C has to offer? Is it truly only those close to the powers that be that benefit? What exactly does it mean for a C2C to be said to have been done well? Is it just a waste of taxpayers' money?...

The above quotations, once again exemplify the existing 'opacity' on the subject of C2C that was part of the initial motivation for this study as highlighted in Chapter 1. The questions following thereafter are just some of the questions that arose and that the study sought to answer. By aiming to answer the main question: "What are the factors influencing the performance of the Haarlem-Mutare C2C as a contributor to sustainable urban development?" the study sought to also, in the process, establish the following:

- i) The processes and outputs of the partnership, as well as motives for participation from both parties.
- ii) Who the actors are in the partnerships and their level of participation and lastly,
- iii) Notions of mutuality given that North-South C2C operate under different socio-economic, institutional and political conditions.

This final chapter seeks to offer a more synthesised view of the findings in relation to the overall research questions and objectives as well as in relation to the literature. The first section is framed by the research questions whilst the second section, seeks to put the case study further into perspective by 'putting it up' against the main criticisms that have been levelled against C2C and to see how the it fares as part of the final evaluation. The last section will then conclude with general conclusions and recommendations.

5.2 Answering the research questions.

5.2.1 Main drivers of the C2C formation.

- i. What are the perceived benefits of or motives driving formation of C2C on both sides of the partnership?

The study did not reveal any particularly surprising results with regards to the question. Reverting back to chapter 2, when it comes to the drivers behind the C2C, the best summarization of the Northern partners' motivation may be found with Buis (2008) who distinguished 3 main motives:

- **The idealistic motive:** an obstacle for the outbreak of a third great war in Europe, helping the poor in underdeveloped countries.
- **The political motive:** supporting liberations movements or in opposition to political systems or nuclear armament.
- **The economical motive:** looking for business opportunities, trade, investments, employment.

With specific regards to formation of the Haarlem City Link, the respondents' answers seem to point to a mixture of the largely bottom-up, idealistic and political (solidarity) motive behind the linking with Mutare. This result is not surprising given the background of the times the partnership was initiated. For Mutare, it also comes as no surprise that the city was top-down, actively seeking development partners through the UN, who are widely acknowledged as a key player in the facilitation and promotion of C2C, probably, because during that period, the "less than satisfactory" effects of the 'infamous' Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) instituted by the World Bank, had begun to sink in and, the country was also reeling from the effects of a severe drought. As a result, the need for development cooperation in the form of technical assistance and capacity building was important.

Having said this, the foundation laid for the city link Foundation in those early times seems to have been made of the right 'stuff'.

5.2.2 Processes and Actors in the C2C establishment.

- ii. What are the procedures, and actors involved in the establishment of C2C?

The literature paints an elaborate picture of the actors involved in C2C and the back and forth linkages that could possibly exist between them. The study showed that there is a diverse actor participation in both the cities with the exception of the private sector which the Mutare respondents left much to be desired. Of most interest regarding the actors and their roles, is the rather unusual, and candid, detachment of the Haarlem Municipality from the City Link. As the study revealed, apart from the subsidy it provides for the day to day running of the Foundation's office, the City Link is almost as a non- entity to the Municipality.

There are no official 'peer to peer' exchanges between the two cities and the last record of any such was about 10years ago according to one respondent, a Professor from Utrecht who was part of an evaluation team sent to Mutare by IULA/ICLEI. Given then that the literature reviewed almost unanimously puts the involvement of the 'local state apparatus' as manifested through the 'formal political or technical encounters between mayors, municipal councils, and technical personnel' at the centre of successful C2C (Bontenbal and van Lindert, 2006), and that the City of Haarlem sees involvement of municipality members as a direct 'conflict of interest', the Haarlem-Mutare City Link takes on an interesting character.

The Haarlem side of the C2C seems to also have taken a nonchalant attitude towards the Municipality's lack of involvement. One Haarlem respondent when asked what he thought made the Haarlem-Mutare Link different from other C2Cs of Haarlem said,

“Other city links are much more traditional you know, they have some exchange programme with sport and basically that's it and every year maybe some councillors will meet. We don't work so much...on a VIP basis, that the exchange is only for city councillors- we don't do that, maybe that makes it strong as well. Because it's much more important that key people from the community have contacts...other links are more concerned with meetings of officials- mayors and mayors, councillors and councillors...”

In sharp contrast, in Mutare, although the City Link is not domiciled in the City Council 'chambers' but is also independent, the Board has numerous key members from the Municipality including the Chairperson. Still, the city link coordinators largely remain the ones behind the running of the projects and other activities, and both cities maintain that the partnership was never meant to be between the municipalities but more between the people, the communities. Having said this, the City Link then becomes quite unique in that it has managed to sustain itself without the official linkages and public sector infrastructure deemed necessary for C2C survival.

5.2.3 Contributions to SUD

- iii. What are the contributions of C2C to sustainable local urban development?

The Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) adopts two approaches when addressing the issues concerning sustainable cities (see <http://sei-international.org/>)

- i. A **Systemic Approach** - Urban environmental problems involve complex webs of interconnected and changing problems, which cannot be addressed effectively in isolation. Urban strategies must *recognize* these *interconnections*, and work with them. In most cities, this requires a fundamental shift in approach, greater inter-sectoral co-operation, and more forward-looking strategies.
- ii. A **Participatory Approach** - Urban residents and stakeholders need not be passive recipients of urban environmental planning. Indeed, public engagement has historically been one of the main catalysts of urban environmental improvement, and the role of urban residents as agents of change is likely to be central in the future as well.

Using the above approaches, regarding the concrete results spawned of the City Link, the study has sufficiently shown that the City Link has indeed produced tangible products, both tangible and intangible, on both sides of the partnerships. Through inter-sectoral cooperation and encouraging a participatory engagement of residents, the City Link has seen growth in the development of both cities. Over the almost 20 years it has been in existence, the City Link has gone to great lengths to realise projects directly in line with the City Link Charter on Sustainable Development. The closest match in terms of project range in the Literature, would be that of CITYNET Member Cities and Selected Intercity Networks (Ishinabe, 2010).

5.2.4 Success factors and Challenges

- iv. What are the perceived mutual and/or individual success indicators for the two partners?
- v. What have been the strengths of & challenges faced by the C2C and how can local authorities/communities further tap into its potential benefits?

Regarding the strengths and challenges faced by the City Link, most of the findings were in line with what the literature says. For instance, reciprocity, commitment, concrete results and common understanding were all top factors mentioned by the respondents on both sides. An interesting point to note on the commitment was the hiring of inter-cultural communications expert from the then COS-NH for the youth exchange programmes. Meanwhile, concurrent with queries raised in section 5.2.2, what may have been a somewhat ‘surprising’ result according to the literature, was the unanimous sentiment that one of the major strengths of the City Link, has been its apolitical stance. This however, ceases to be surprising given the specific context of the C2C, severe political and economic crisis. One of the respondents from Haarlem mentioned that besides avoiding complications of being caught in-between a political dispute, it also allowed the Link to circumvent financial corruption.

Another success factor worth mentioning would be the pursuit of self sustaining projects. The City Link representatives spoke often of the need to make as many of the projects self sustaining like the Sportleaders and the Housing Trust through the revolving fund. Perhaps this may also be considered a different strain of ‘cost sharing’ that the literature makes reference to. A Haarlem respondent said,

“...basically in a couple of years, they (Housing Trust) won’t need Haarlem anymore, they’ll be a successful housing corporation – same goes for the Sportleaders.”

Despite the Link’s ongoing successes, the political issue frequently resurfaced as a challenge mainly as a detractor of potential funders. Some respondents like the Mutare Mayor also felt that the official links despite the politics would be beneficial in other ways,

“...there are a lot of parties there that feel that a total disengagement with Zimbabwe is the right way to go and we tried to tell them that we need engagement now more than ever because it assists us to provide service delivery and by doing that it helps the democratic process- people begin to feel more comfortable in their service delivery and their surroundings they put less emphasis on the politics of the day.”

The Haarlem municipality were straight-forward with their reasons behind their detachment from the Zimbabwe scenario and yet the respondents also said that,

“It’s always a discussion here also by the members of our city council. There are members that...they say the projects are good but we don’t want to support the regime..others said we have to support the people of Zimbabwe.”

This issue is clearly a dilemma for both cities and perhaps more dialogue should be encouraged. It is difficult to take a conclusive stance as both present convincing reasons. In summary, Politics and Funding were the major challenges to both cities.

5.3 Haarlem Mutare City Link and C2C criticism

Having discussed the study within the framework of the research objectives and questions, it would be interesting at this point to assess the City Link in terms of how it fares against the common shortcomings or criticisms cited in literature, of North-South C2C in particular, as it brings us back to the research problem defined in the very beginning of the study. As mentioned before, Cremer (2001) lists 3 main criticisms by ‘detractors’ of C2C in general:

- a) public unawareness/ apathy
- b) strange choice of cities i.e. compatibility
- c) C2C is a ‘junket for politicians’ financed from rate payers money.

a) “Noone knows about it”.

When asked about public awareness of the City Link, respondents in both cities, involved with the Link responded positively and felt that the Link was very well known throughout Mutare. Even then, based on the researcher’s personal interaction with peers and relatives resident in the city, knowledge of the City Link is not that wide spread. On the other hand, responses relating to public awareness in Haarlem were less uniform with responses ranging from, *“apart from a few schools, if you ask anyone on the street here in Haarlem about the City Link people say no,- it’s not an issue for the people of our city..”* to answers like, *“...people here in Haarlem recognise the capacity of the people in Mutare...”*. It is therefore quite difficult to conclusively dispel or affirm this criticism. Perhaps it would be fair to say that the City Link puts in a lot of effort in trying to extensively raise awareness as seen in Chapter 4, but whether or not the optimal level of public awareness has been attained would require another study to say.

b) “Equal North, Equal South?”

The second criticism is that of strange choice of cities as partners. Some authors such as Vagale and Zelinsky (see Bontenbal and van Lindert 2006) feel that compatibility of the partners in the relationship is a pre-requisite for good partnership. Examples of these compatibilities include ‘some sharing of economic, cultural, ideological, historical, recreational...’ or the hierarchical position in the national urban system, to name but a few. This would then bring us back to the issue of reciprocity and mutuality given that North-South C2C operate under different socio-economic, institutional and political conditions. These differences have often led to fears of Northern paternalism in the partnership.

In the case of Mutare and Haarlem, from the study it was evident that actively involved partners on both sides pride themselves in the ‘equal learning’ that the partnership has produced despite the differences. Again there were one or two that did not concede to this- namely representatives from the Haarlem Municipality who whilst convinced that the City Link was doing ‘good things’, felt there was no learning in Haarlem. This is further illustrated in this response to the question on if they felt there was mutual learning in the partnership,

“Not so much. I think that in the 80s the society was far more open for influence from the developing countries. Now 30yrs later the situation’s changed.”

Although there are differences of perception again in this case, the projects have shown that there has been mutual learning and not just on a personal level, but also on an institutional level i.e. Haarlem has adopted some systems from Mutare initiatives for their own e.g. the Youth peer to peer education programme and the housing fund revolving fund. The accreditation of some sports programmes run by Mutare trainers and offering of internships in Mutare, also shows different type of learning for Haarlem besides the global awareness and intercultural- cultural interactions. Further to this, the cultural learning has been assimilated into the school curricula as documented in Chapter 4. Given these findings, it would therefore be fair to say that the so-called ‘myth of mutuality’, may be in fact reality despite the staunch rebuttal to be found in literature. However, the variance of perceptions render this issue inconclusive but perhaps one may revert to Curwell *et al.* (2005) conclusion that sustainable urban development is a relative rather than an absolute concept. Still more research will have to be done to substantiate this.

c) **“...other than providing a destination for councillors in need of a holiday, what is the point of twin towns and have they had their day?”**

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jul/27/twin-towns-relevant-holiday-perk>

There have been recorded cases of new mayors or councillors severing C2C ties with certain links upon taking office on the premise that the relationships were a waste of taxpayers’ money e.g. Peter Davies, mayor of Doncaster, UK, who nullified Doncaster's five town-twinning arrangements two years ago. Through this study, both the literature and the fieldwork, what has become evident is that each case of C2C is unique to its context. Even respondents, particularly subject experts and those working with the link, acknowledged that there were many C2C partnerships that were rife with mismanagement of funds, elitist tendencies and were failures. Similarly, there are many documented examples of good C2C practice. In this particular case however, in Mutare, the question may not even be relevant as there are no public funds involved in the implementation of the C2C projects. In Haarlem, a similar view point may be taken as the Municipality only subsidises costs of office maintenance and not external projects. Again, this response from representatives of the Municipality seemingly exonerates the City Link from this criticism,

*“We support their office- we **do not** support their work in Mutare. Therefore they have other grants other subventions that they have to apply for but they don’t get them from us.”*

Given these facts, it would be safe to say that the Haarlem Mutare City Link, is an example of where C2C does not result in wastage of taxpayers’ money as it is not domiciled in either Municipality.

5.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

In conclusion, the author considers that apart from answering the research questions, meeting the research objectives and providing an overview of the Haarlem Mutare City Link as a unit of analysis in the study of C2C, the study has also managed to reiterate the appropriateness of the chosen research methodology. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the qualitative, case study research, combining descriptive and exploratory methods was seen as appropriate since the practice of city to city cooperation is embedded in social, cultural, political, economic and institutional contexts which are impossible to isolate but crucial to consider to gain a deeper understanding of the subject, (Bontenbal, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2006). By allowing the respondents to elaborate on their experiences by means of semi-structure/ in-depth interviews, the author feels that the data collected was sufficient in quality and quantity to build up a clear picture of the case study through invoking responses that were “meaningful and culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher, rich and explanatory in nature.”

Having said this, it would then be relevant to make recommendations for further study based on section 5.3. i.e. more in-depth study on the extent of public awareness and notions of mutuality. Also of interest would be to assess the extent to which the C2C is weakened or jeopardised by the unusual lack of strong, official municipal ties between the two cities since this study was not extensive enough to do so. This would allow for a clearer picture of advantages and disadvantages of the model and enable a more conclusive assessment, exploring even potential for transferability.

Regarding the actual City Link, from the study findings, 2 main recommendations come to mind, particularly regarding Mutare.

- i) First, is the issue of the lack of private sector involvement in Mutare. A more concerted effort should be made by the City leadership in conjunction with the City Link to woo the businesses e.g. through the Chamber of Commerce.
- ii) Literature shows that the extent to which MIC objectives are embedded in national strategies and development priorities can be strength for translocal development (Bontenbal, van Lindert, 2011). Thus, as a model C2C, recognised not only by international organisations such as the UN but also admired by fellow cities, Mutare should take the opportunity to help develop a framework for C2C policy in the country. Since enquiries on best practice have already been received by Mutare from other members ofUCAZ, it shows that it could be a relevant need especially in the politically sensitive climate of Zimbabwe.

Finally, in the beginning of the study, various definitions for C2C were looked at and in the case of Haarlem -Mutare, a hybrid of UNDP’s and Ahmad’s definitions would seem the most applicable: “A long term working relationship based on mutuality and equity, between people of different cities, sharing resources and adapting to each other’s priority, strength and weakness to achieve a common good.”

*“two deeply held convictions
unite us in common purpose. First is our belief in effective
and responsive local
government as a principal bulwark of freedom. Second is
our faith in the great promise
of people-to-people and sister city affiliations in helping
build the solid structure of world peace”.*

US President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House conference on Citizen
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Appendices

Appendix A : Agenda 21 - Section III Chapter 2

STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF MAJOR GROUPS

Chapter 28

Local Authorities' Initiatives in Support of Agenda 21

PROGRAMME AREA

BASIS FOR ACTION

28.1. Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives. Local authorities construct, operate and maintain economic, social and environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local environmental policies and regulations, and assist in implementing national and sub-national environmental policies. As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote sustainable development.

OBJECTIVES

28.2. The following objectives are proposed for this programme area:

- (a) By 1996, most local authorities in each country should have undertaken a consultative process with their populations and achieved a consensus on "a local Agenda 21" for the community;
- (b) By 1993, the international community should have initiated a consultative process aimed at increasing cooperation between local authorities;
- (c) By 1994, representatives of associations of cities and other local authorities should have increased levels of cooperation and coordination with the goal of enhancing the exchange of information and experience among local authorities;
- (d) All local authorities in each country should be encouraged to implement and monitor programmes which aim at ensuring that women and youth are represented in decision-making, planning and implementation processes.

ACTIVITIES

28.3. Each local authority should enter into a dialogue with its citizens, local organizations and private enterprises and adopt "a local Agenda 21". Through consultation and consensus-building, local authorities would learn from citizens and from local, civic, community, business and industrial organizations and acquire the information needed for formulating the best strategies. The process of consultation would increase household awareness of sustainable development issues. Local authority programmes, policies, laws and regulations to achieve Agenda 21 objectives would be assessed and modified, based on local programmes adopted. Strategies could also be used in supporting proposals for local, national, regional and international funding.

28.4. Partnerships should be fostered among relevant organs and organizations such as UNDP, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) and UNEP, the World Bank, regional banks, the International Union of Local Authorities, the World Association of the Major Metropolises, Summit of Great Cities of the World, the United Towns Organization and other relevant partners, with a view to mobilizing increased international support for local authority programmes. An important goal would be to support, extend and improve existing institutions working in the field of local authority capacity-building and local environment management. For this purpose:

- (a) Habitat and other relevant organs and organizations of the United Nations system are called upon to strengthen services in collecting information on strategies of local authorities, in particular for those that need international support;
- (b) Periodic consultations involving both international partners and developing countries could review strategies and consider how such international support could best be mobilized. Such a sectoral consultation would complement concurrent country-focused consultations, such as those taking place in consultative groups and round tables.

28.5. Representatives of associations of local authorities are encouraged to establish processes to increase the exchange of information, experience and mutual technical assistance among local authorities.

MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION

A) Financing and cost evaluation

28.6. It is recommended that all parties reassess funding needs in this area. The Conference secretariat has estimated the average total annual cost (1993-2000) for strengthening international secretariat services for implementing the activities in this chapter to be about \$1 million on grant or concessional terms. These are indicative and order-of-magnitude estimates only and have not been reviewed by Governments.

B) Human resource development and capacity-building

28.7. This programme should facilitate the capacity-building and training activities already contained in other chapters of Agenda 21.

APPENDIX B: Interview Question Guide

Date:.....
Time:.....
Place:.....
Name of the interviewee:
Organisation/ Role.....

Q1. Perceived benefits of/motives driving formation of C2C

- How many C2C links is your city involved in?
- What were the principle motivations behind the formation?
- What were your expectations in terms of inputs and outputs?

Q2. Procedures and actors

- In case of previous or other concurrent C2Cs, were procedures and actors the same? If not how are they different and why?

Q3. Contributions of C2C to sustainable local urban development

- In your opinion what are the most important aspects of sustainable development?
- What is the city's official policy on sustainable urban development (if any)?
- What capacity building activities have resulted from the partnership?
- Were these relevant to the most pressing needs at the time?
- How have these skills been put into practice?
- Would you say that public trust, accountability or civic participation has increased since the formation of the partnership?
- Has C2C played any part in improving the city's distinctive brand? If so how?
- How have the local community benefited?
- How have locals been empowered financially/economically through the C2C?

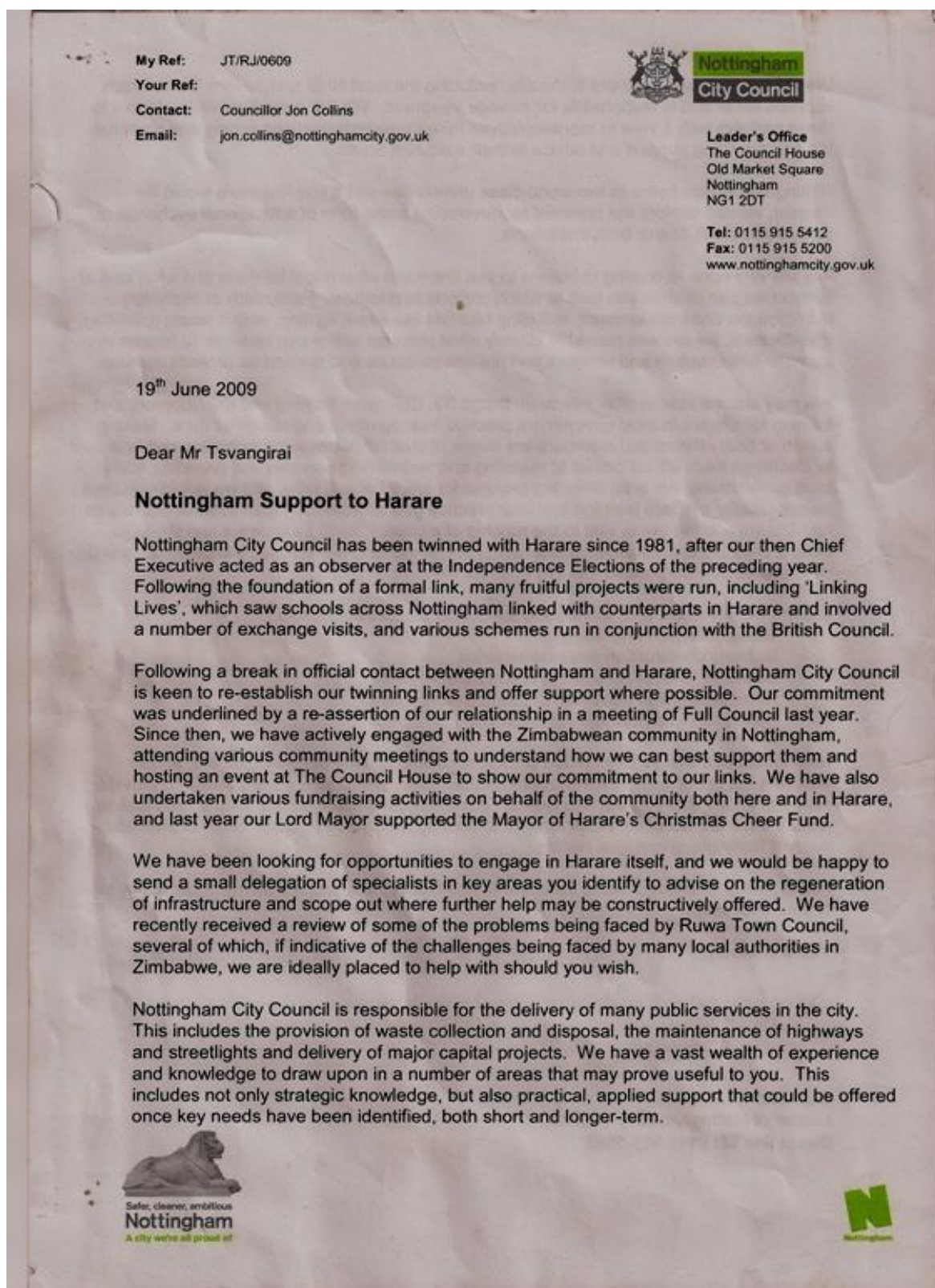
Q4. Perceived mutual and/or individual success indicators

- In your opinion, which success factors are most important;
 - As your expectations from the other partner?
 - As your own contribution?
 - For your mutual benefit?
- Has lack of any of these factors negatively impacted on a previous or current C2C in comparison to this C2C? Or vice versa?

Q5. Strengths & weaknesses of their C2C

- In what areas do you think your city has done well in making the C2C work?
- In what areas do you think your partner city has done well?
- What challenges have you faced as a city?
- What challenges have you faced as a partnership?
- How do you think the C2C can be improved?
 - What can you do better?
 - What can your partner do better?
- What has been the most rewarding part of the C2C in your opinion?
- If you decide to join in another C2C in future, what would you do differently?

APPENDIX C: Sample twinning letter



APPENDIX D: Dynamics of a Sister City partnership

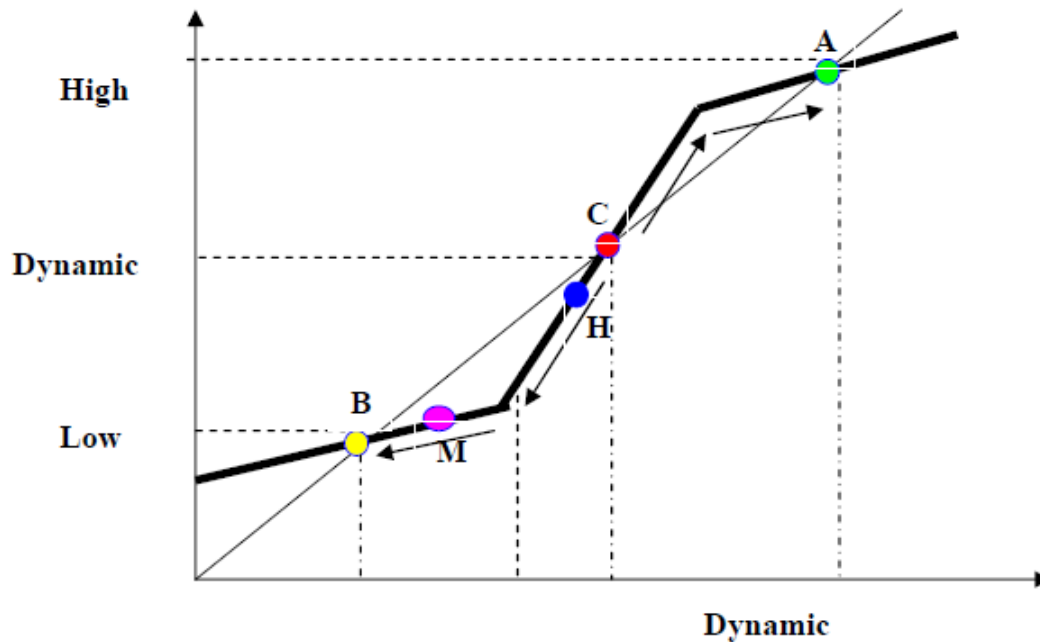


Figure 24: Source Khuong (2003)

The dynamics of a city-to-city partnership follow path BMHCA (the bold one). There are three equilibrium points in this path, including two stable equilibrium points A and B and an unstable equilibrium point C. At point A, the partnership is at its full vibrancy and at point B, the partnership is in stagnancy. The unstable equilibrium point C is the critical level: if a partnership has moved beyond C and lies between C and A, it will be self-reinforced and increasingly vibrant while moving toward the stable equilibrium point A level; On the other hand, if the partnership is still below point C and having no additional support, it will tend to decline overtime to the stable equilibrium point B, where the partnership is in a stagnant status.

Once two cities sign their Sister City agreement, their partnership is point M, just next to the right the stable equilibrium point B. If both sides make significant investments into their partnership, the partnership will move along the path BMHCA upward. It is crucial that their partnership moves beyond the critical point C so that it can be self reinforced and increasingly vibrant to move toward A.