

**Decentralized cooperation between
Dutch municipalities and
municipalities in migrant countries**

**Main developments and
main theoretical debates
Illustrated by several case studies**

Report for NCDO

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1. Introduction

This report presents information on the main developments and theoretical debates about decentralized cooperation or municipal international cooperation. The report focuses on the cooperation between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in the main countries of migration to the Netherlands. Several descriptions of links between Dutch and their partner municipalities are presented at the end of the report. The report was compiled within the larger framework of a co-production between NCDO and the University of Amsterdam to support a PhD study on the subject.

Municipal International Cooperation (MIC) between municipalities in the global North and South is an approach to development cooperation that puts local governments, utilizing local-to-local transnational ties, involving public, private and civil society actors, at the centre of development cooperation efforts. It is known by different names, such as twinning, city-to-city cooperation, city link, jumelage, or decentralised cooperation. The most common form is based on an agreement between two local governments aiming to work together and encourage exchange of information and activities between their staff (a colleague-to-colleague approach). MIC has various objectives, of which the main one is to contribute to the local development and capacity building of local government bodies. Activities can range from cultural exchange programmes to support programmes on waste management, water and sanitation, housing and public administration. MIC distinguishes itself by the process of knowledge exchange between colleagues. A new focus is the growing interest of Dutch municipalities with large immigrant groups in establishing contacts with municipalities in the main migrant countries of origin (Morocco, Ghana and Cape Verde Islands in Africa, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles in the Caribbean and Turkey in Europe/Asia). In addition to the general objectives of MIC, these new twinning arrangements seek to promote mutual understanding between migrant and host societies, social cohesion and integration of migrants through contacts and the exchange of information.

Information about the PhD study

This study aims at identifying how decentralised cooperation between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries leads to new partnerships and mutual learning. The research focuses on partnerships between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in two of the main migrant countries: Morocco and Turkey. Three main issues are analysed: the actors involved in the cooperation, the process of cooperation and exchange, and the outcomes of the cooperation.

The research fits within several debates. First, the research is linked to the debate on effects of strengthening local decentralisation, as MIC implies cooperation between two local government bodies and strengthening local governments is one of its main aims. Secondly, the study fits within the debate on how processes of knowledge exchange, relocation of production (globalisation), personal mobility (trans-nationalism and migration) affect the ways in which local governments in both the North and South deal with their citizens and civil society organisations. Central to MIC is the process of knowledge exchange and learning between different partners involved; between local governments, but also between municipalities and NGO's and private organisations. Such knowledge exchange and learning in the context of MIC has rarely been studied. By focusing on trans-national ties between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries, good opportunities exist to investigate the dimension of reciprocity in the process. This particular form allows an empirical examination of the extent to which both partners involved actually benefit from the exchange. Finally, the study is set within the debate on outcomes of development cooperation, and looks at the designated and spin-off effects of such MIC processes. This report outlines the main theoretical debates, to provide the lay reader with more insights into the discussions¹. The report is compiled for NCDO by drs. Edith van Ewijk, PhD candidate. The research is supervised by Prof. Dr. Isa Baud and Dr. Johan Post of the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies.

¹ A more elaborate theoretical framework has been compiled for the PhD research.

2. Municipal International Cooperation: developments and main characteristics

Many municipalities worldwide are involved in MIC or city-to-city cooperation (C2C), whose character has undergone some major changes over the last 50 years. It has even been estimated that 70% of the cities in the world are engaged in municipal international cooperation (UCLG, 2006). This chapter provides information on the main developments, and in turn provides a better understanding of the position of international cooperation between Dutch municipalities and municipalities with migrant countries, which is a recent phenomenon. This discussion is placed within the context of MIC in the more theoretical debate.

Main developments in period 1945 to 2008

The first international links between municipalities were established in Europe and the US after the Second World War, focusing mainly on building friendship and facilitating cultural exchange, facilitating the process of reconciliation after the war. Dutch municipalities started engaging in cooperation with municipalities in developing countries from 1969 onwards, when the General Assembly of the UN proclaimed the 1970s the 'second decade of development'. This motivated many Dutch Municipalities to support the UN campaign by educating the public or contributing financial resources (Schuman, 1994). Many contacts were established in the period of 'solidarity' movements in the 1980's with Nicaragua and South Africa, such as the solidarity movement with the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua and the Local Governments against Apartheid movement with respect to South Africa. Most of the ties between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in the South still focus on Nicaragua and South Africa today. Several of these relations have existed for well over 20 years. Over the last two decades, and particularly from the nineteen-nineties onwards, there has been a clear shift in the objectives of municipalities to be engaged in C2C. It is increasingly focused on strengthening local government bodies and on the process of urban development in the southern partner municipalities. Central to these relations, in general, are the Northern municipalities assisting the southern partner municipalities in strengthening local government bodies. Different subjects can be addressed within the cooperation, including support on waste management, water management, public administration, registration of population, tax collection etc.

Since the early 1990's the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through a support programme executed by VNG International (Association of Dutch local Authorities), supports Dutch municipalities and other local governments in their efforts to strengthen the governance capacities of their partners abroad through decentralised co-operation. A primary reason to do this was, at the start, the potential of city-to-city cooperation for strengthening public support for international cooperation. Through direct ties between municipalities, municipal international cooperation was, and still is, expected to bring international cooperation closer to the people. However, on the basis of an evaluation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (IOB), in which the Ministry evaluated the support programmes of VNG International, the Ministry advised VNG to focus the programme on specific themes directed to strengthening local government bodies in the South (and in Middle and Eastern Europe). As a result of VNG International developed two new support programmes (LOGO East and LOGO South)² in which initiatives directed to 'strengthening public support' are no longer supported. It must be mentioned that although strengthening public support was initially included as an area for support, funds to support these activities were never made available. Nevertheless, 44% of the municipalities included in a study by VNG said that they did support activities strengthening public support and informing citizens about international Cooperation (VNG, 2006).

According to a survey by VNG International (2006), 72% of Dutch municipalities are involved in international cooperation. Of the municipalities with 50 000 to 100 000 inhabitants, 95% are active in international cooperation, while all municipalities with more than 100 000 inhabitants are also involved (VNG International, 2006). However, only 21% of the municipalities have formulated policies on international cooperation and 10% of municipal efforts in international cooperation are directed to

² VNG International runs two programmes to support Dutch municipalities in their international activities: LOGO South, operational in 11 developing countries in the 'South' (in Africa, Asia, Latin America) and LOGO East, for the Middle- and Eastern European countries. Most Dutch municipalities with international relations are participating in programmes belonging to VNG. The subsidies provided by the VNG are generally a part of the total budget (next to own financial support and other subsidies) As the LOGO South and LOGO East Programmes only run in certain countries and on certain themes, the programmes have a significant influence on policies of the Dutch municipalities.

developing countries (OESO-DAC - countries). (NCDO, 2006) This indicates that for most municipalities MIC is not an important issue on the municipal agenda.

Mutual learning more important; orientation migrant countries

A recent development in the Netherlands is an increased focus on mutual learning within the municipal framework. Whereas MIC used to focus on aspects such as solidarity, strengthening local governance in developing countries and countries in Eastern Europe, municipalities now increasingly regard international cooperation as a tool for working on their own programmes and projects in the municipality itself. Motives include economic benefits and promoting the integration of migrants. International cooperation should, in short, include reciprocity, which has become a more prominent issue in MIC. As a consequence two important shifts in the geographical focus in MIC can be identified in the Netherlands; more focus on ties with municipalities with the main migrant countries and/or on ties with new EU member states.

The majority of the city links between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries exist in the three main non-western countries where migrants who are living in the Netherlands originate from; Turkey, Suriname and Morocco. The number of migrants (first and second generation) originating from these countries and currently living in the Netherlands are: 368 600 migrants from Turkey, 333 504 from Suriname and 329 493 from Morocco (CBS, 1 January 2007) of a total population of 16,339,835 (August 2006, CBS). Other important migrant countries where Dutch municipalities have established relations include the Netherlands Antilles and Ghana, while there are a few links with Cape Verde and Indonesia. As mentioned above, the growing interest of Dutch municipalities with large immigrant groups in establishing contacts with municipalities of migrant countries of origin is relatively new. Most ties between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries were established from 1999 onwards, with a few exceptions, like the city partnership Almelo (The Netherlands) – Denizli (Turkey) which dates back to 1975 (van Ewijk, 2007). This research focuses on existing ties between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in Turkey and Morocco.

According to a first inventory, 22 Dutch municipalities are involved in decentralised cooperation with migrant countries (approximately 5% of all Dutch municipalities). The four largest municipalities are engaged in more than one city link. In total there were 39 twinning relations between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries of which 13 with municipalities in Turkey, 7 with municipalities in Morocco, 6 with the country Suriname, 7 with the islands which are part of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, 4 with Ghana, 1 with Cape Verde and 1 with Indonesia. Waste management and education are the themes most frequently mentioned within the programmes for cooperation; 11 out of 39 ties focus on it. Other popular themes for cooperation include information management, tax collection, water and sanitation, fire prevention, preservation of monuments, job creation and management of urban green areas. Many municipalities have contributed to rebuilding areas affected by natural disasters like earthquakes (Turkey 1999 and Morocco, 2004) a flood (Suriname 2006) and the tsunami (among other countries, Indonesia, 2004). VNG International seems to have an important influence on the main themes addressed and the form of cooperation, as VNG International provides funding for particular areas and themes, e.g. service delivery for municipal programmes in Turkey and waste management and tax collection for municipal programmes in Ghana. Programmes have to be finalised within a period of two or three years. The support programmes of VNG international are based, to a large extent, on the results of an IOB evaluation published in 2004, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (van Ewijk, E., 2007).

The majority of these ties were initiated by Dutch municipalities as a result of policies of connecting international cooperation to issues related to integration. Apart from strengthening local governance in the partner municipality, Dutch municipalities try to contribute positively towards the integration of migrant groups within the municipality. They try to do so by: 1) stimulating the involvement of migrants in international cooperation with a municipality in their home country; 2) gaining knowledge of migrant groups living in their municipalities, in order to reach these groups or adjust policies; and 3) creating a positive feeling among migrant groups, in order to facilitate communication and involvement of migrant groups in policies related to integration; the cooperation can function as a bridge between the municipal government and migrant groups.

Apart from stimulating integration, there are some other important opportunities for mutual exchange. Economical benefits can be an objective within the twinning relationship. For example, Rotterdam

focuses mostly on the economical benefits within their international relations. Municipalities in migrant countries generally also want to simulate business. Another possibility for reciprocity is related to the trans-national movements of citizens. Many migrants occasionally visit their home countries for a short or long term visit, or they might live alternately in the Netherlands and abroad. Therefore it might be useful to link the departments involved in public administration and certain other organisations, like institutions for health care, schools and the police.

The development of MIC with migrant countries is also related to the increased attention for legitimacy of international activities of municipalities. International activities are generally followed critically by (local) politicians and (part of) the electorate. By establishing links with municipalities in migrant countries, Dutch municipalities have more opportunities to benefit from international exchanges making it easier to justify the engagement of the municipality with municipalities abroad.

As indicated before, there has also been a shift towards a growing interest by Dutch municipalities to be engaged in cooperation with new and candidate member states to the European Union. While the number of migrants has increased significantly after the extension of the EU with ten countries of Eastern Europe in 2004, the primary reason to seek collaboration was not so much related to the integration of migrants but to economic development.

Connecting city to city cooperation to the MDG's

Another new development is to link MIC to the Millennium Development Goals³ (MDGs), set by the United Nations. In April 2007 the Association of Dutch municipalities (VNG), in cooperation with the National Commission for Sustainable Development in the Netherlands (NCDO) started a campaign to stimulate municipalities to contribute to the achievement of the MDGs. The campaign focuses on city to city cooperation to support municipalities in the South on issues such as access to safe water, education, health and waste management. Furthermore, municipalities are motivated to contribute to sustainable development by undertaking action in their own municipalities (saving energy, using Fair Trade products, etc). (www.millenniumgemeenten.nl, conference "Wethouder waarom doen we dit" – 11th April 2007).

Interestingly two separate developments can thus be identified; the development to link MIC to the MDG's in which international solidarity is important and a development towards connecting international development to benefits for the own municipality in the Netherlands (like economic benefits and stimulating integration). These developments occur in parallel but are likely to also conflict as only a part of the municipalities dedicate more time and financial resources to their international activities.

³ The eight millennium developments goals are: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Achieve universal primary education; Promote gender equality and empower women; Reduce child mortality; Improve maternal health; Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; Ensure environmental sustainability; and Develop a global partnership for development. See for more information on MDG's: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>.

3. Research on Municipal International Cooperation

While a large number of local governments worldwide are involved in international cooperation, MIC is a fairly recent theme in academic debates. Shuman once wrote that MIC was 'the best-kept secret in international relations' (Shuman 1994, quoted in Van Tongeren 1997). Since 1994 several publications have come out on the subject. However, empirical research is still scarce. The most valuable publications, related to this research, focus on the process of knowledge and (mutual) learning and on North-South partnerships and were published recently (Johnson and Wilson, 2006; Wilson and Johnson, 2007). Another group builds on empirical results based on case studies, mainly focusing on links between Canadian municipalities and municipalities in Latin America (Hewitt, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004) and on a city link between a Japanese and Malaysian city (Tjandradewi et al., 2006). Special mention should be made of a PhD study carried out by Marike Bontenbal (University Utrecht, The Netherlands) focusing on the role of North-South city partnerships improving local governance in the urban South. She focuses her research on case studies between municipalities in the North and municipalities in Nicaragua, South Africa and Peru. A small number of articles focus on the international relations of local authorities in general (like Hobbs 1994). Lastly several studies on MIC have been written by practioners working on MIC (Schep et al, 1995, UNDP, 2000, UN Habitat 2003, Green Game & Delay, 2005).

The 'presence of ethnic minorities' was probably mentioned for the first time as one of the motivations for municipalities to be engaged in international cooperation in 1995 (Schep et al., 1995)⁴. Examples of city links presented in this publication, included the City of Sao Vincente (Brazil) linked to Naha (Japan) through the Japanese community in Sao Vincente, and the partnership between Marseille and Dakar, which dates back to 1968. Both links were inspired by the fact that each city hosts a sizeable minority originating from the other city. Mention is also made of the Vice Consulate of Pakistan who chose the city of Sahiwal (Pakistan) as a counterpart for Rochdale (United Kingdom) because most Pakistanis in Rochdale originate from the Punjab, where Sahiwal is located (Schep et al, 1993). The publication mentions that many local communities are confronted with the issues surrounding the position of migrants (refugees and workers) and local reactions to them, thereby drawing in increasing numbers of municipalities into dealing with certain exigencies of international affairs (Schuman 1994: 57) Schep et al. (1995). However, in the Netherlands, Dutch municipalities only started to focus on cooperation with municipalities in migrant countries from 1999 onwards (with a few exceptions).

Terminology

Hafteck presents an overview of existing definitions and terminology set out by various support programmes and local government associations to cover the international relations between municipalities worldwide. Terms include; Municipal International Cooperation (Schep et al, 1995), International Municipal Cooperation (Hewitt 1999/2000), linking (UNDP, 2000), city-to-city cooperation (used by UN-Habitat and the organization United Cities and Local Governments – UCLG) and decentralized cooperation (Hafteck, 2003) (See also Bontenbal 2005). Each term is challenged for several reasons. City to city cooperation has become 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 leading to sustainable urban development' (Bontenbal, 2005). Hafteck proposed the following definition; 'C2C consist in substantial collaborative, relationships between sub-national governments from different countries, aiming at sustainable local development, implying some form of exchange or support carried out by these institutions or other locally based actors' (Hafteck, 2003). It should be noted that the term 'aiming at sustainable local development' can be confusing as it can refer to 'long lasting' developments but as well to 'environmental' sustainability. An alternative term could be 'aimed to serve public interests'.

Hafteck, however notes that the term City-to-city cooperation might also lead to misunderstandings as the term 'city' does not reflect the entire range of sub-national governments that are involved in such partnerships (Hafteck, 2003). The term decentralised cooperation can also lead to confusion as it is not limited to local government bodies only. In general the term twinning is avoided for the same reasons. Twinning is widely used in development practice and refers to cooperation efforts between institutions, universities, hospitals and other public services (Jones and Blunt, 1999 and Avskik, 1999). In general twinning is connected to a North-South relationship (World Bank, 1993, Cooper, 1984). The World Bank recognized twinning as one of four delivery modes for technical assistance and is defined

⁴ Other motives for city to city cooperation mentioned, included political, humanitarian, economic, technical and human interest (including enhancement of cross-cultural understanding).

as the 'transfer, adaptation, mobilization and utilization of services, skills, knowledge, technology and engineering to build national capacity on a sustainable basis' (World Bank 1994, Ouchi, 2004). The term Municipal International Cooperation (or International Municipal Cooperation) might only be conceived as cooperation between local government bodies (like de Villiers does in a conference paper, de Villiers 2006), but the word 'municipal' might also refer to inclusion of other organizations within the municipal borders.

In this study, use is made of different terms including Municipal International Cooperation, city-to-city cooperation and decentralized cooperation between municipalities.

4. New challenges for local governments

Worldwide many national governments support the process of decentralisation. The process of decentralisation and democratisation are important factors which have led to an expansion of MIC. MIC generally focuses on the cooperation between two local governments and aims at strengthening local governments functions. A precondition for useful international exchange between local government bodies is therefore that each local government involved should have a certain degree of autonomy and control over their own budget.

Governments are not the only actors determining what happens in urban areas. Due to decentralization, but also due to foreign investments and migration, actors and development are more and more interlinked with each other. Also donor agencies and international organizations have given shape to what can be termed the interface between local and 'global governance'. In sum, urban governance, referring to the question of how governments work together with other actors in governing their localities, has become more and more important (Baud & de Wit 2008, Pierre and Peters 2000, Stroker 2000).

Decentralization and local governance

Local governance has become more important as a result of widespread decentralisation processes (Baud and de Wit, 2008; Pierre 2000, Pierre & Peters 2000, Baud, 2004; UNDP, 2003; Helmsing, 2000). Not only do these reforms bring new powers and duties to local governments, they also stimulate local authorities to move beyond their traditional roles; local governments are expected to function more as 'enablers' (UNCHS, 1998). Pierre's definition of governance ('governance concerns the forms of cooperation between different parts of the state, the private sector and civil society) places a strong emphasis on cooperation between different actors dealing with (local) governance issues as well. Local governments are one type of actor in the process of governance. In general it is fair to say that 'political institutions no longer exercise a monopoly of the orchestration of governance' (Pierre, 2000: 4), but have to work with civil society organizations and the private sector in coordinating processes of local development.

Related to the process of decentralization is the development that more and more services which were executed by the local government bodies are being outsourced and taken over by private organizations (Pierre and Peters, 2000). (Local) governments and private organizations are working together in 'public-private partnerships' which can take different forms (Batley et al., 1996). It was believed when this shift started taking place that private organizations would be able to work more efficiently as providers, due to the competition they would face as several providers would compete to receive contracts from local governments. The question whether or not privatization and public private partnerships leads to better service deliver and more efficiency is however highly debated. Awortwi has shown that when the local government is not a strong 'principal agent', the power to enable and control the private sector providers is quite limited (Awortwi 2004).

There are numerous forms and degrees of decentralisation identified. The main forms or types of decentralization are political, administrative and fiscal decentralization. The four major forms of decentralization include devolution, delegation, de-concentration and divestment (Work, 2002: 6). In the case of deconcentration only administrative tasks are delegated, while power and control of funds remain on national level. Divestment refers to the process whereby only financial resources are delegated to the local level. Devolution or democratic decentralization is the most ambitious form of decentralization where power, tasks and responsibilities and funds are devolved from higher to lower levels of government (Robinson, Hewitt, Harriss, 2000). Devolution implies far reaching nationwide reforms, with national ministries and institutions transferring some of their financial and policy making powers to local government (including provincial and district) bodies. Democratic decentralization is 'about the establishment of new systems of local representation and election' (Baud & de Wit, 2008).

Urbanization

As we have seen in the previous section decentralization leads to new challenges for local governments. The process of urbanization leads to even more challenges both with regard to the pace and the magnitude of urban growth. At the moment 30% of the world's poor people live in urban areas. This figure is expected to grow to 40% in 2020 and to 50% by 2035 (UNDP, 2007; RAWOO, 2005). The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) concludes that within one generation, in 2030, the number of inhabitants of cities in Africa and Asia will have doubled. All these new urban dwellers either migrated from outside or born within the city borders require space to live, housing, access to public

services, etc. According to the UN Population report, the pace and magnitude of urban growth make it difficult to provide land, infrastructure, housing, services to enterprises and the population at the necessary scale (UN Population Report 2007).

The link between governance and urban development is clearly put forward in the theoretical debate. The quality of urban governance is considered the most important factor for the eradication of urban poverty and for making cities more prosperous (RAWOO, UN Habitat, Helmsing 2001). One important area in which governments can help to reduce poverty is by improving living conditions (Baud, 2004). Local governments coordinate many resources and control access to land, housing, and basic services, like water and sanitation (Baud, 2004). As discussed above, in fulfilling their new role most local governments in developing countries face several constraints, such as lack of technical and managerial capacity, and financial resources (Baud, 2004). Capacity building of local governments can thus have a positive impact on development and poverty reduction. In general municipalities in the North seek to contribute to the development of local government bodies in order to improve their capacities to fulfil their tasks, while municipalities in the South hope to learn from experiences in the North. Through capacity building they hope governments will be able to improve service delivery and by doing so also to contribute to poverty reduction.

Baud and de Wit argue that despite the urbanization process, major changes in the role of local governments and the connection between governance and development, donor agencies fail to pay much attention to these issues. (De Wit 2002, Baud & de Wit, 2008). The role of City to City cooperation in the wider development debate is interesting with regard to the general lack of interest in issues related to urban development by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by most donor agencies. Interestingly, the director of UNFPA, Purnima Mane sees a role for 'sister cities in the richer countries' to contribute to urban development. 'National governments, companies, NGOs and sister cities should finance the facilities. It is an investment that pays back itself by economic growth' (translated from Dutch Volkskrant 28 juni 2006 "Aantal stedelingen Afrika en Azië in 2030 verdubbeld").

5. Beyond geographical borders; globalization, migration and trans-nationalism

There is an ongoing debate about the question whether or not municipalities should be involved in international cooperation. (Local) politicians who argue that international cooperation should only be dealt with at a national level use the argument that municipalities should only focus on issues within their municipal borders. (Local) politicians who support international engagements by municipalities argue that the world doesn't stop at the municipal borders and that issues are interlinked. This debate cannot be seen in isolation from wider debates on globalization, migration and trans-nationalism, and general trends with regard to the integration of migrants in the Dutch society (Scheffer, 2007). It goes too far to discuss these theories in depth in this research. However, some issues will be briefly highlighted.

Globalization

Central to the globalization discourse, is the often explicit assumption of the growing insignificance of national borders, boundaries and identities. Globalization and the nation-state are treated as mutually exclusive. In contrast, the trans-national discourse insists on the continuing significance of borders, state policies, and national identities even as they are often transgressed by trans-national communication circuits and social practices. Within this debate globalization and the nation state are seen as mutually constitutive (Smith, 2001). Pries distinguishes two main globalization approaches; globalization as the spatial widening of social relations and globalizations, as the annihilation of space. The first approach could be conceptualized as the spatial expansion of social spaces (Giddens 1990, Albrow 1996, Urry 2000 cited in Pries, 2001: 13-14). The second approach focuses on the shrinking or disappearance of spatial dimensions with respect to social relations (Robertson 1992, Harvey 1989, Castells and Allbrow, 1996; cited in Pries 2001: 13-14). In both approaches, geographic space is reduced in importance in the structuring of social relations and interactions.

On a national level, Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton-Blanc use the words 'de-territorialized nation states' to refer to the expanded activities and intensified links between immigrants, home-country politics and politicians (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton-Blanc, 1994 in Vertovec, 1999). Mazzucato argues that "The ability of the state to govern who is a member of a nation and who is not, and what the rules are for living within that nation are increasingly put to the test. As a result of cross-border flows, new social, economic, political and cultural spaces are being created that cannot be superimposed on the geographical space of the nation" (Mazzucato, 2001). On a local level governments can also face this kind of new challenges. For example Amsterdam started cooperation with Suriname on the registration of the population. As people travel and might temporarily live in the country they originated from, or might re-migrate when they get older it can be very practical for governments to cooperate on the registration of citizens. Furthermore, it can be necessary to trace people who travel in between countries, e.g. in case they are suspected of criminal activities. So, Amsterdam can directly profit of a good administration of population in Suriname. Interestingly, the president of the Council of Europe's Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Halvdan Skard, highlighted the importance of twinning for the Council of Europe: "We are currently debating the ways to tackle human trafficking, and we have reached the conclusion that twinning is one of the tools to use" (CEMR, 2007).

Trans-nationalism

More and more developments are thus highly correlated to each other due to globalization and migration. Trans-nationalism offers a way to conceptualize and understand "disjointed spaces" (Mazzucato, 2001). Theories on trans-nationalism try to capture the relations and connections between individuals and organizations in different space. A distinction should be made between *international* and *trans-national* relations. With regard to international relations different actors or occasions do not necessarily have to be linked to each other. If a municipality starts working together with a municipality in Ghana because of the stable conditions and the use of the English language the municipality will establish international relations, not trans-national ones. In case this municipality hosts a population originally deriving from Ghana who, somehow are involved in the relationships, then this international relationship will have, more or less, trans-national dimensions. With regard to city to city cooperation targeting migrant countries, the extent to which trans-nationalism plays a role, will vary from case to case. Trans-nationalism is expected to be of more significance in C2C related to migrant countries like Turkey and Morocco than in C2C Cooperation related to other countries in the South.

'Localizing the global'

In contrast to 'too-global globalization thinking' some authors such as Robertson (1994), Sassen (1998 and in this volume), Albrow et al. (1997), Guarnizo and Smith (1999) and Held et al. (1999) stress 'the dialectics of globalization and localization' (in Pries, 2001:14). Globalization does not cover all, and does not connect all places with each other. The experience of globalization and its impact on places and institutions is rather partial. "It installs itself in very specific structures. And it is this specificity that we need to study along with macro-structures, and for which we need to develop particular categories of analysis" (Sassen, 2001).

Smith uses the term 'trans-national urbanism' to "a marker of the criss-crossing transnational circuits of communication and cross-cutting local, trans-local and trans-national social practices that 'come together' in particular places at particular times and enter into the contested politics of place-making, the social construction of power differentials, and the making of individual, group, national, and trans-national identities and their corresponding fields of difference" (Smith, 2001: 5).

So, trans-national flows often have important geographical characteristics. This applies for city-to-city cooperation as well. An example is the fact that the majority of migrants in the Netherlands originating from Morocco, were born in rural areas in the Northern part of Morocco. Likewise, several migrants living within one specific municipality in the Netherlands originate from one particularly municipality or region in Morocco or Turkey. E.g. the majority of Turkish migrants currently living in the Dutch municipality of Almelo originate from Denizli, as a result of recruitment policies in years of textile industries (van Ewijk, 2007: 33).

With this regard, the work of Liza Nell is also interesting. She introduces the term 'locally specific trans-national ties', defined as 'active formal and informal ties between individual, collective and governmental actors between emigrants and non migrants originating from the same region'. Liza Nell analyses three cases on locally specific trans-national ties. One of the cases portrays how Turkish communities and Turkish city councillors affected the creation of governmental ties between Dutch and Turkish cities. In particular, it shows the emergence of new locally specific international relations between municipalities in the Netherlands and Turkey. It examines how immigrant communities and city councillors not only use locally specific trans-national social capital to do so, but also how they direct their activities to specific localities, be that their town of settlement in the Netherlands, or their region of origin (Nell, 2007).

In general it can be concluded that due to globalization, migration and an increased diversity local governments face new challenges that are, more than before, often connected to development outside the municipal borders. Citizens at local level might feel threatened by the new developments, increased diversity and complexity and by new forces which are beyond their control. This can lead to feelings of fear resulting in a more inward orientation. The last decade in the Netherlands clearly shows characteristics of a more inward orientation. Local authorities are the geographical spaces where local and global are connected. This can pose them for new questions which might require new knowledge and new policies.

6. Local governments and the challenge of integration

The growing interest of Dutch municipalities in cooperation with municipalities in migrant countries cannot be seen in isolation from some major events in the recent history of the Netherlands. After 9/11 (11th September 2001), - and later the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh (2nd November 2004), tensions within Dutch society increased. The politician Pim Fortuyn had an important impact on the discourse on issues related to the integration of migrants in Dutch society. Fortuyn was murdered 6th May 2006 by an animal rights activist who said his main motive was that he considered Fortuyn as a threat to the weak in society. The article 'the multicultural tragedy' (het multiculturele drama) by scientist Paul Scheffer also had an important impact on the discussion about the integration of migrants in society. As a result of these developments, the general political climate became less tolerant towards people with a different ethnic background. Dutch municipalities were searching for ways to stimulate the dialogue and build bridges with minority groups and between different groups in society. In this perspective MIC with municipalities of migrant countries, and particular the links with municipalities in Turkey and Morocco, can be regarded as one of the tools municipalities used in trying to make a positive contribution to the integration debate.

Integration policies in the Netherlands

Dutch policy with regard to settled migrants and their descendants' has had different names over the course of time. It was initially called minority policy. Afterwards, the Scientific Advisory Council on Government Policy (WRR) proposed the term 'allochtonen' policy (WRR, 1989)⁵

While the term 'allochtonen' (or ethnic minorities, literally non-native) was in fashion, the government never adopted the term 'allochtonen' policy. In the nineties, the term minority policy was slowly replaced by the term integration policy (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000: 20).

In the Netherlands (as well as in Belgium, France, Germany and Great Britain) the term integration was already introduced in the sixties and seventies to replace the notion of assimilation and to indicate a greater degree of tolerance and respect for ethno cultural differences (Kruyt & Niessen 1997 in Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000). The term integration might have different meanings and the definition of integration varies significantly. A central aspect in the variety of meanings and definition is the degree of pluralism. In general the term suggests a need for unity, harmony and normative consensus (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000). The primary goal of policies towards integration in the Netherlands has been to improve the socio-economic position of disadvantaged ethnic minorities. Other important elements are, full and equal participation in societal institutions, mutual acceptance and combating discrimination. Vermeulen and Penninx mention that a link has been made between integration and citizenship since 1994 when the so-called Contourennota (Framework memorandum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) appeared. This has led to a shift in the main aim of integration policy towards full and active citizenship, which implies rights and duties on both sides (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000: 4).

Another term which has been used for years is the concept of 'multiculturalism' which was used to refer to a society in which people with different ethnic backgrounds and different cultures are all part of the Dutch population. The term has been recently criticized within the political debate and a shift towards the direction of assimilation has been visible. The debate whether or not migrants should assimilate or integrated while staying close to their own culture and religion is ongoing today. In February 2008 the debate was reactivated by Turkish and Moroccan political leaders who try to foster the specific roots of people with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds who are living in western European countries.

⁵ WRR defined 'allochtonen' as people of non-Dutch origin (people born outside the Netherlands or people of whom at least one of the parents was born outside the Netherlands), until the third generation (WRR 1989:15). The CBS in the Netherlands distinguishes between migrants and 'allochtonen'. A proper translation of the word 'allochtonen' does not exist in English. Use is sometimes made of the term 'minority groups' or people with a foreign background'. Although there are slight differences, in this report for practical reasons, use is made of the wider and more neutral term 'migrants'. A distinction is made between the western and non-western migrant countries. Non-western migrant countries include Turkey and countries in Africa, South America and Asia with the exception of Indonesia⁵ and Japan. Another distinction is made between the first generation 'allochtonen' and second generation 'allochtonen'. The first generation are people who were born outside the Netherlands and the second generation are people who were born in the Netherlands but who have at least one parent who was born outside the Netherlands. Migrants are all people who are part of the immigration and emigration flows, regardless their origin (CBS, 2006). Immigrants are people who arrive from another country to live in the Netherlands, and are registered in the municipal population registration. Municipal registration takes place if the person expects to stay in the Netherlands for longer than four months in the six months after arrival. (CBS, 2006).

Role of religion

Religion is an important aspect within the integration debate, especially with regard to the integration of migrants originating from Turkey and Morocco. Both Turkey and Morocco are countries where a large proportion of the population is Muslim and for most migrants religion is an important aspect of their culture and identity. Recent events which connected Islam to violence and terrorism have had an important impact on the perception of Islam in Dutch society. This has resulted in distrust in the influence of Islam on Dutch society and prevented an open approach towards integration in relation to religion. The influence of Islam on the integration of migrants in Dutch society has become one of the most important and influential topics on the political agenda in the Netherlands (Scheffer, 2007). Within the debate of the candidate membership to the EU, the fact that Turkey is an Islam-dominated country also plays a key role.

7. Partnerships, knowledge exchange and learning

Introduction

This chapter explores the theoretical debate with regard to partnerships, knowledge exchange, (organisational) learning and capacity building. MIC is largely about learning interactions, assumed to be mutual between different partners. Within most municipal links knowledge exchange and mutual learning underpins is the most important forms of cooperation. Municipalities involved can have very different objectives to be engaged in cooperation, but they share that they want to learn from the exchange. Funding of projects in general plays a minor role.

The main partners involved in the process of cooperation, are the two local government bodies. Under the umbrella of MIC, NGO's like schools, migrant organisations and private organisations can be involved as well. These organisations often cooperate with local governments, but can equally have direct relations with NGO's and private organisation in the partner municipality. Therefore different types of partnerships can be identified; horizontal partnerships (between local governments bodies and NGO's and private organisations in the Northern municipality and between local governments bodies and NGO's and private organisations in the Southern or Eastern municipality), as well as vertical partnerships (between local government bodies in the North and South/ East and between NGO's and private organisation in the North and South/East). Since trans-national ties already exist between citizens in the Netherlands and their partner country there is a potential to involve (new) partners in the twinning relation. New partners might include migrant organisations not previously active in international cooperation. An important question is whether the involvement of these (new) partners has helped to produce new types of knowledge and new policy approaches possibly based on greater reciprocity.

Partnerships

The term 'partnerships' is very broad. It can include all kind of partners, ranging from NGO's, authorities and private organisations. It is used within the North, within the South and between organisations in the global North and South. Within the governance and decentralisation debate, it refers to relationships between public and private organisations (public-private partnerships), relationships between public organisations and NGO's or a combination of both (multi-actor arrangements). It can also refer to relationships between organisations in the North and South (North – South partnerships); with an emphasis on relations between NGO's. The term can therefore mean 'different things to different people' (Robinson, Hewitt & Harriss,. 2000: 15). In general it refers to 'a form of working together' (Robinson, Hewitt and Harriss, 2000: 15) Due to its broad use, it has been argued that the term has become a 'something nothing' word (Malhotra 1997, in Fowler 1998). According to Fowler, however, authentic partnership implies a joint commitment to long term interaction, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality and balance of power (Fowler 1998: 3). Within the theoretical debate on North-South partnerships and development, the focus is mainly on linkages between NGO's and more specifically co-financing agencies in the North and their partner organizations in the South. Although N-S partnerships between municipalities are different in nature than N-S partnerships between NGO's it is believed some lessons can be drawn from the theoretical debate on NGO's.

Knowledge exchange

Knowledge exchange is central to most city-to-city partnerships. Within MIC it can occur in different ways; through participant observation, study visits, exchange visits, internships etc. To be able to review the process of knowledge exchange between municipalities and other partners involved, it is important to understand what kind of knowledge is exchanged. A distinction can be made with regard to the different types of knowledge and the scope of knowledge (the scale the knowledge is produced, used and exchanged).

With regard to the different types of knowledge, a distinction is often made between codified and tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge: refers to that 'which is understood internally by an individual but which has not been systemically expressed, while codified knowledge is that which has been explicitly and systematically expressed' (King and McGrath, 2004: 6). Tacit knowledge refers to knowledge which is based on personal experiences. Ways of transferring tacit knowledge include direct interaction, personal observation or shared experience, like accompanying an experienced colleague during a field visit (Smith 2006: 12 in Verkoren, 2008: 79). A third category which is often distinguished is 'implicit knowledge'; knowledge that takes into account what is socially and culturally appropriate in a

given circumstance. "It represents implicit codes of behaviour that are often not universal but culturally specific - whether to an organisational culture or a national or regional one" (Verkoren, 2008: 80). Within the framework of MIC the different kinds of knowledge all play a role although individuals involved in the exchange process might not be aware of these different types and different characteristics of types of knowledge. The exchange of knowledge can as well lead to the construction of new knowledge.

The scope of knowledge ranges from local, craft and practice-based knowledge (Chambers, 1997; Rip, 2001) to the more generalised, 'cosmopolitan' knowledge produced by the scientific community (cf. Rip, 2001). Baud adds the 'middle range' of locally embedded knowledge to this distinction, built up and circulated at the level of cities and their regions (Baud, 2002; e.g. Van Westen, 2001; Helmsing, 2000). Knowledge exchanged within the framework of MIC involves both practice-based knowledge as well as middle-range or locally embedded knowledge. This research will analyze to what extent the social setting of knowledge production is taken into account, if and how new knowledge is generated within this particular setting and exchange, in what ways this knowledge is disseminated and implemented.

The process of exchanging knowledge between different human being is complex in itself as knowledge is subjective and 'the words allocated to a particular piece of knowledge may mean different things to different people' (Verkoren, 2008). Therefore exchanging knowledge requires explanation of what is meant by individuals or organizations involved. The process of knowledge exchange between partners in countries in the "North" and "South" or in Eastern Europe is even more complex as differences in language and culture can complicate what is understood by individuals involved in the process of knowledge exchange (see also 'implicit knowledge').

Learning

Learning is directly connected to knowledge exchange; if the process of knowledge exchange is truly connected to the objectives of actors to be engaged in the exchange process and if the process of knowledge exchange in itself is successful, learning can take place. From the perspective of Argyris et al., learning has not occurred until a match or a mismatch is produced. This means that 'learning may not occur if someone (acting for an organization) discovers a new problem or invents a solution to a problem. Learning occurs when the invented solution is actually produced'. Argyris argues it is important to make this distinction because 'it implies that discovering problems and inventing solutions are necessary but not sufficient conditions, for organisational learning' (Argyris, 1999: 68).

On the basis of existing theories of practitioner to practitioner partnerships, Wilson and Johnson (2007) conclude that "learning is not simply a matter of linear knowledge transfer from one party to another, but a process of joint knowledge construction through interaction and conscious reflection." For this reason the terms 'knowledge exchange' and is preferred above the term 'knowledge transfer' in this report and in the PhD study. In case knowledge exchange leads to new knowledge reference is made to knowledge construction. Furthermore, it is useful to distinguish between different types of learning benefits. Learning benefits might include 'soft ones' (cultural awareness, mutual understanding and learning) and more 'concrete ones' related to issues like adapting participation processes, innovations decentralized government in the South (Rossiter, 2000). Both types occur within the framework of MIC; however, the more concrete ones are usually directly related to the objective of MIC. The 'soft ones' generally don't get recognition as an important effect of the relationship.

Organisational learning

An important subject for study is to what extent knowledge becomes institutionalized and organisational learning does take place. Knowledge which becomes institutionalized will be more sustainable and less vulnerable to change and therefore has a more significant contribution to development. Jones and Blunt and Cooper conclude that the twinning method has potential advantages over other methods of development cooperation, particularly in offering enhanced possibilities for organisational learning and sustainable capacity building (Jones and Blunt 1999, Cooper 1984 in Ouchi, 2004). However, according to the literature on MIC, one of the weaknesses of MIC is precisely to take the knowledge exchange a step beyond the exchange between individuals. Johnsen and Wilson conclude that 'on an organisational level the research mentioned that scaling up from individual to organisational learning was perhaps the most challenging aspect' (Johnsen & Wilson, 2006: 79). Jones and Blunt conclude something similar; although twinning arrangements were successful in professional/ technical upgrading, there is less evidence of outcomes at the level of sustainable institutional capacity building. Both Wilson and Johnson, as well as Jones and Blunt,

argue that the practioner-to-practioner approach within MIC itself provides no mechanism for organisational learning, activities such as on the job training and study visits are unlikely to encourage learning at the organisational level (Wilson & Johnson 2007, Jones and Blunt, 1999).

Mutuality in partnerships

The development of a growing interest by Dutch municipalities to start cooperation with partner municipalities in migrant countries is related to the fact that Dutch municipalities also want to benefit, in one way or the other, from the international exchange. Mutual learning is not exclusively an aim of Dutch municipalities working together with migrant countries; municipalities working with other municipalities in the South (like South Africa or Nicaragua) and in Middle and Eastern Europe generally opt for some form of reciprocity. As mentioned before, the relations between Dutch municipalities with migrant countries have more potential for reciprocity as Dutch municipalities have an important objective - to stimulate the integration of migrants within their municipality – to be engaged in international exchange with partners' municipalities. In comparison to 'the more traditional form of MIC' and with the danger of making too many generalizations, the Dutch practice is generally regarded as 'best practice', the partner municipality in the South or East can learn from. This applies to the more technical practices like the system of waste management as well as to the organisational aspect of governance; e.g. public administration, registration, informing and involving the public etc. With regard to MIC with migrant countries the Dutch municipalities themselves are searching to reach and/ or involve migrant groups and to find good policy approaches which addresses the complex society as a whole or particular migrant groups. Both municipalities have their own objectives to be engaged in international cooperation and both partners want to gain knowledge and learn through the exchange.

Mutual learning and the extent of equality in relations between Northern and Southern partners are important aspects in the literature. As discussed earlier, the body of knowledge on municipal international cooperation or city-to-city cooperation is scarce. Yet, this kind of cooperation has the potential for more equal partnerships because of the cooperation between colleagues. Mutual understanding or reciprocity is mentioned as an important precondition for successful links. UNDP concluded in the evaluation report on municipal international cooperation 'the Challenge of Linking; "Links based on the combined efforts of city hall and the community at large, and drawing on the resources of the partner towns themselves to provide the core contributions to their link, appear to be the most sustainable. Thus, the features which we have found common to successful links are community-wide participation, commitment by all parties to their link, *mutual understanding and the concept of reciprocity.*" (UNDP, 2000)

Strengths and weaknesses of MIC– based on literature

Several publications on MIC highlight the strengths and weaknesses of MIC. Most issues are more or less similar to the wider body of knowledge on North- South partnerships. Strengths which are mentioned include, MIC generally implies long-term relationships including friendship, there is a direct approach from colleague-to-colleague, MIC implies working at local level on concrete issues, there is often a direct community impact, generally enthusiastic and motivated people are involved, several organizations within municipalities involved (city wide approach), potential for efficiency (...).

Critical issues raised include questions such as:

- Is C2C cooperation demand-driven?
(Does it take into account existing capacities and needs? Who sets the agenda?);
- Are C2C partnerships genuine?
(Is there mutuality of efforts, benefits and a learning reality? Do partnerships include equity, 'friendship' and 'trust' and benefits for both sides?);
- Are local governments' professional agents for development?
(There is specific municipal expertise but in most cases limited knowledge and experience of N-S relations and the local governance context in the South; in which ways does this influence the partnerships and the outcomes of projects for cooperation? C2C is voluntary and there is a need for public and political support. This can make C2C partnerships vulnerable and might be a threat for its sustainability);
- To what extent is C2C shaped by limited financial means and restricting policies?
(Municipalities have often limited financial means, there is a dependency on external funding and subsidy criteria may undermine demand-driven cooperation, municipalities need to perform and deliver which leaves little room for different way of working);

- There is a danger of politicisation Municipal cooperation is inherently political (Politicisation of partner organisations, Politicisation of partnerships);
- To what extent is cooperation focused beyond personal exchange? Does organisational learning take place?
(Twinning has potential for organisational learning. Organisational learning is important for the sustainability of projects for cooperation. According to several studies this potential is insufficiently tapped.); and
- Monitoring and evaluation occurs sporadic and not systematic.

(Overview used in presentation International symposium on city-to-city partnerships in achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Africa by Bontenbal, M. & E. van Ewijk, Stellenbosch, South Africa, 15-17 February 2008).

Fowler's work on partnerships related to NGO relations contains some interesting lessons which are likely to also apply for MIC. Lessons include;

- Only start a relationship if you are clear about why you want it and what you realistically can and cannot put into it (clear objectives, enough capacity);
- Apply the principle of interdependence. To be authentic partnership cannot be an 'add-on' It must be a intrinsic feature of organisational perspective and behaviour. Premised on interdependency with others in a complex, dynamic world;
- Adopt a contextual, systems approach and perspective. Do not look at your relationship(s) in isolation from others that you and your counterpart have now and will need to have to be sustainable in the future;
- Adopt an organisational not a project focus. Partnership is about gaining a deep organisational relationship which is not a 'project';
- Create a process for local validation and shared control;
- Invest in your own reform. Partnership is a two way, not a one-way process. (mutuality, organisational learning); and
- Employ the achievement of downward accountability as proxy for partnership.(accountability)

(Fowler, 2000).

8. A short description of cases

The following section presents various cases of cooperation between municipalities in the Netherlands and migrant countries of origin. The examples are selective and do not aim to give a 'representative' overview of municipal international cooperation. However, they provide the reader with a good idea of municipal international cooperation between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in the main migrant countries. (An overview of all municipal links is presented in the first inventory report, funded by Cordaid. See van Ewijk, 2007). The most important sources of information for the case studies were interviews with the policy officers, mainly of Dutch municipalities, in charge of the coordination of the specific city-to-city partnership. The interviews were carried out in the period May – June 2007. Further information was gathered by studying relevant policy documents, websites and articles. The PhD research will include further fieldwork in four Dutch municipalities and their partner municipalities in Turkey and Morocco.

8.1 Turkey

a. Almelo (The Netherlands) - Denizli (Turkey)

Start of cooperation

The partnership between Almelo and Denizli dates back to the end of the 1960's and is probably the oldest link between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries. Both cities were traditionally important textile producing centres and the Dutch textile company Nijverdal Ten Cate from Almelo opened a recruitment office in Denizli (district and province Anatolia). In 1975 the contacts between both municipalities were formalized. The link was somewhat dormant for several years, but was recently intensified as new aims were added to the existing contact. In February 2007 the two municipalities signed a new agreement which is valid until January 1st 2010.

Focus of cooperation

The municipalities aim: 1) to create and strengthen mutual understanding of each others morals, values and culture; 2) to improve the quality of local government and of the relation between citizens and government; and 3) to stimulate sustainable development in social economic and spatial;-physical perspective. The municipalities cooperate on 6 different projects. The projects include a program to establish a community school in Denizli which wants to stimulate the integration migrant community in Denizli. The program includes a parents' project aiming at increasing skills of parents. A similar program was developed in the Netherlands and is successful in schools in Almelo. Furthermore, the municipalities cooperate on waste management; the possibilities for the extraction of methane gas in waste are explored. Another program on waste focuses on the promotion of the separation of waste products and on the reduction of waste that is left on the streets.

Actors involved (Municipality of Almelo)

Several NGO's are involved in the cooperation; Denizli committee, schools (MBO, ROC van Twente), welfare organisation scoop, energy company Cogas, Twente milieu and waste management company Twence.

Example of benefits for the municipality of Almelo

According to the policy officer in Almelo, a small municipality like Almelo cannot afford to only spend money on international cooperation. Each activity within the municipality has to be sustainable, also in financial terms. The next agenda for cooperation will focus more on the acquisition of European funds for urban renewal and will include trade missions. Another example is a literacy program in which both municipalities will cooperate in the development of methodologies for addressing adult illiteracy).

Sources: Interview policy officers municipality of Almelo, project document 'Denizli – Almelo 2007 - 2010 Together into the future, Gemeente Almelo 2006', website www.almelo.nl

b. The municipality of Haarlem (The Netherlands) – Emirdag (Turkey)

Start of cooperation

First contacts between the municipality of Haarlem and the municipality of Emirdag were established in 1995 after civil society in Haarlem approached the municipality to start cooperation with the region most Turkish migrants living in Haarlem originated from. In 2005 an official agreement was signed by both municipalities.

Focus of cooperation

The cooperation focuses mainly on waste management. Interestingly, waste management is directly related to trans-national ties which exist between Almelo and Emirdag. During the summer period Emirdag is confronted with a temporarily double sized population; former inhabitants of Emirdag now living in the Netherlands and in other western European countries spend their holidays in the city where they originated from. As a consequence the municipality of Emirdag experiences problems with regard to waste management. Another important reason to focus on waste management is related to the candidate membership status of Turkey to the EU. This means, among other issues, that waste collection and treatment has to meet EU standards. Turkish municipalities are interested to learn from the Dutch experience on waste management. The municipality of Haarlem assists the municipality of Emirdag with the development of a sound waste management system.

Actors involved (municipality of Haarlem)

NGO's involved include Stichting Haarlem Emirdag, NV Spaarnelanden, Schools, an organisation for ecotourism and hospitals.

Sources: e-mail correspondence and interview policy officer Haarlem, Article: Haarlem en Emirdag werken samen aan afvalbeleid, in Afval! 23-10-2007, website: www.haarlem.nl

8.2 Morocco

a. Zeist (The Netherlands) – Berkane (Morocco)

Start of cooperation

First contacts between the municipality of Zeist and the municipality of Berkane (Morocco) were established in spring 2003 when a delegation from Berkane followed a practical training course lasting one week in the municipality of Zeist. In February 2004 the aldermen of education and multicultural policy and the policy advisor (concerning staff and international cooperation) from Zeist participated in a conference on youth and citizenship in Al Hoceima (Morocco). During this conference the delegations of Zeist and Berkane had intensive contact. After the conference the delegation of Zeist visited Berkane (the visit was planned in advance) and the first official contacts were established. The fact that most of the Moroccan population in Zeist came from the area around Berkane and the fact that the SSR (Stichting Steun Remigranten) has an office in Berkane were important factors in the decision to start the cooperation (interview policy officer municipality of Zeist).

Focus of cooperation

In January 2007 a declaration was signed for an environmental and waste project. For a first pilot for the waste management program, funds from the MATRA program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were found. The municipality focuses mainly on cooperation on a municipal level.

Actors involved (municipality of Zeist)

Two experts are joining the project; an expert from the province of Utrecht (who happened to be a citizen of Zeist) and a waste management expert from the province Noord-Holland (only travel, accommodation and research equipment are paid for). The environmental office of Zeist is also involved. The Dutch organisation IKV (cooperation between different churches promoting peace) took the initiative to start an exchange between schools through internet. The municipality of Zeist facilitated the contacts between school in Zeist and Berkane. According to the coordinator and Municipal officer of Zeist citizens are not so much involved, basically because there are no funds available for activities related to public support. However, the municipality does provide information on the cooperation with Berkane by means of press releases, website, local newspapers etc.

Example of benefits for municipality of Zeist

According to the policy officer, Zeist the link with Berkane had an important effect on the building of trust between the municipalities and migrant groups and organisations. The cooperation has bridged gaps between the municipality and the migrant groups in Zeist. When a board member of a mosque was killed in 2005, the Moroccan community approached the municipality to discuss the event and the tensions within society which occurred as a result of the murder. Before the cooperation between Zeist and Berkane this would not have happened.

Sources: interview policy officer Zeist, Nieuwsbrief platform gemeentelijke samenwerking Nederland - Marokko 3 april 2007

8.3 Suriname

a. Amsterdam (The Netherlands) - Suriname

Start of cooperation

The municipality of Amsterdam started cooperation with Suriname in 2002. The cooperation fits in the larger policy framework of Amsterdam on international relations. Amsterdam focuses on the main migrant countries and on the new and candidate member state of the EU. Apart from Suriname Amsterdam is involved in cooperation with municipalities in Morocco, Turkey, Ghana, the Netherlands Antilles and the municipalities Sofia (Bulgaria), Budapest (Hungary) and Riga (Latvia). Of all these contacts cooperation with Suriname is most intensive.

Focus of cooperation

Since the start of the cooperation Amsterdam has been involved in nearly 40 projects for cooperation in Suriname, of which some have now been finalized. Themes addressed included facilitating and improving of water & sanitation in the inlands of Suriname, supporting a social housing program in Paramaribo, improvement of health care, cooperation of the fire brigade and the police, cooperation on decentralisation, renovation, archives, cooperation between the ports and cultural exchange. The municipality of Amsterdam host an international desk which is responsible for the coordination of all international relations. The total budget is determined at 1 euro per inhabitant per year, which means approximately € 750 000 per year. The international desk is equipped with 2,2 FTEs for all the international relations.

Actors involved (municipality of Amsterdam + Suriname)

Apart from the municipality the following NGO's are involved in the cooperation; Stichting Brasa and Stichting Sekrepatu, De Meren (AMC) and Psychiatric centre Suriname, Stichting herstelling, SAO Stichting gebouw Erfgoed Suriname and Universities.

Benefits for Amsterdam

Mutual exchange is an important aspect within the relationship. The municipality of Amsterdam benefits from the relationship in several ways. A few examples of programs with mutual benefits include:

- A project on the digitalization of the history on the slave trade, which will also mean an enrichment of the archives of Amsterdam;
- Amsterdam supports Suriname on the registration of the population. Amsterdam benefits from a good registration system in Suriname because several people remigrate or might temporarily live in Suriname or Amsterdam; and
- The psychiatric centre De Meren, related to the Academic Hospital in Amsterdam (AMC) and Psychiatric centre in Suriname exchange information on patients who might temporarily spend time in Suriname. The organizations cooperate in the prescription of medication. Moreover, De Meren learnt a lot about the background of migrants with Surinamese roots which was important for a good diagnosis and the adjustment of treatment for these patients.

Sources: interview municipal officer Amsterdam, overview De samenwerking tussen Amsterdam en Suriname, website www.amsterdam.nl

8.4 The Netherlands Antilles

a. The municipality of Den Helder (The Netherlands) – Curacao (Netherlands Antilles)

Start of cooperation

The municipality of Den Helder started Cooperation with Curacao in 2004.

Focus for cooperation

Mainly safety (see below).

Actors involved (municipality of Den Helder)

Partners working on safety issues (like the police, the municipality, the office for youth care, care for people with an addiction, etc)

Benefits for municipality of Den Helder

Through the cooperation, Den Helder learnt a lot about the background of young people originating from the Netherlands Antilles and currently living in Den Helder. A small portion of these young people are a nuisance. The municipality of Den Helder was inclined to perceive the group of migrants from the Netherlands Antilles as one, but learnt that there is a strong division within the group. The background, the neighbourhood people originate from, but also the level of education and the upbringing young people have had in Curacao, are important factor in relation to their identity. A backlog in language and a lack of bonds causes deep rooted feelings of shame among many youngsters. Den Helder uses this knowledge in the implementation of their policies. The cooperation with Curacao also improved the cooperation between various municipal organisations in Den Helder. This contributed to the establishment of the 'safety house' in Den Helder; a cooperation between partners working on safety issues (like the police, the municipality, the office for youth care, care for people with an addiction, etc). Partners who are working on issues with common target groups and common theme's are situated in one building which facilitates the cooperation.

Sources: Interview and e-mail correspondence policy officer Den Helder.

8.5 Ghana

a. The municipality of Gouda (The Netherlands) – Elmina (Ghana)

Start of the cooperation

Cooperation between Gouda and Elmina started in 2004 and was initiated by VNG International.

Focus of cooperation

The cooperation focuses mainly on waste management. Gouda assisted Elmina with the development of a waste management plan, and was highly involved with the reconstructing of an area called 'Java Hill'. An illegal landfill was cleared, stairs to improve the access for pedestrians were constructed, a sanitation facility was set up and another landfill site is being constructed. Gouda donated and transported a thousand mini-containers, eight pick-up trucks and two small vans. According to the coordinator of the Logo South programme, the donation of goods is important for the involvement of people in Elmina. "People can really see: this one is from Gouda". The whole community in Elmina is involved in the cooperation projects; schools participate, the population has been sensitised to the importance of sanitation, etc.

Actors involve (municipality of Gouda)

The involvement of Gouda has also stimulated some other organisation to be involved in the cooperation. Cyclus is setting up a waste recycling plant for plastic (60% of all waste in Elmina consist of plastic). Recently, the fire agencies started cooperation and the ambulance service has decided to donate several ambulances. Lastly schools are involved in the cooperation.

Historical ties

The origin of the city to city partnership is not so much related to migrants living in Gouda; there are hardly Ghanaians living in Gouda; the majority of Ghanaians live in Amsterdam Zuidoost. However the Netherlands and Ghana do share a part of the history related to the slave trade. The Dutch

government and Ashanti rulers negotiated on the numbers of slaves and the conditions for slave trade. The slaves were transported from St. George's fort in Elmina; most of them to Suriname. Today Elmina still has a Dutch cemetery, a Dutch neighbourhood and many inhabitants have a Dutch name. According to the LOGO South coordinator in Ghana, the historical ties between the Netherlands and Ghana and in particular Elmina contribute to the success of the cooperation. Another important condition for the success is the involvement of both mayors to the cooperation.

Sources: persbericht jaarverslag 2006 afvalproject Gouda - Elmina (14-6-2007) at website www.Gouda.nl, interview Logo South coördinator Ghana

b. Almere (The Netherlands) - Kumasi (Ghana)

Start of cooperation

Cooperation between Almere and Kumasi (Ghana) started as a private initiative. An employee of the University of Amsterdam initiated cooperation between a private organisation in Almere with the municipality of Kumasi where he had been as a researcher. In the first years of the twinning relation the university was involved, which greatly contributed to the cooperation (interview NGO Samenwerk). The municipality started cooperation with the municipality of Kumasi in 2001 when the cooperation was formalized. The city link between Almere and Kumasi was established in 1996.

Focus for cooperation

The cooperation mainly focuses on waste management and tax collection in Kumasi. Almere is also involved in the support of a children home in Kumasi, as well as a women's project on handcraft.

Actors involved (municipality of Almere)

Samenwerk is coordinating the twinning relation between Almere and Kumasi. Recently Ghanaian migrant organisations, like Stichting women concern, are involved in the twinning as Almere hosts a small migrant group from Ghana; they are mostly middle class people who moved from Amsterdam Zuidooost to Almere. Schools are also involved.

Benefits for municipality of Almere

In a publication on the city link between Almere and Kumasi, (October 2006) several administrators and civil servants indicated what they have learnt from the cooperation:

"Has Mr Rosch (Almere sanitation Department) learnt anything from this exchange with Kumasi? "Definitely! He assures us 'What really amazed me was the optimism and inventiveness of the people. With limited means they can achieve big things. It also struck me how passionate they are in trying to keep things rolling. I mean, when a lorry can no longer be repaired in Kumasi, it really means it is beyond any repair."

Sources: e-mail correspondence coördinator Samenwerk June 2007, publicatie De stedenband tussen Almere en Kumasi, gemeente Almere, oktober 2006, Tussenrapportage Afvalproject Elmina Gouda, periode januari 2005-december 2005, 18th April 2005, LOGO South Country program 2005-2008.

8.6 Indonesia

The municipality of Apeldoorn (The Netherlands) and Banda Aceh (Indonesia); An example of municipal support after natural disasters

Start of cooperation

There are hardly links between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in Indonesia despite the fact that Indonesia was a colony of the Netherlands (from 1789 until 1945, with an exception of the period 1811-1816) and the Netherlands hosts a significant group of migrants from Indonesia. The tsunami of December 2004 however did trigger several municipalities to collect money for reconstruction after the tsunami in all of the countries affected, including Indonesia. The municipality of Apeldoorn has established a partnership with the municipality of Banda Aceh (Indonesia) to assist in the reconstruction of Banda Aceh and its surrounding. Banda Aceh was heavily affected by the Tsunami.

Focus of cooperation

The cooperation focuses on the registration of the population, the registration of land property, sustainable waste management and on remigration. The municipality of Apeldoorn is also coordinating the assistance of the Dutch municipalities of Deventer, Zutphen and Voorts.

Actors involved (municipality of Apeldoorn)

NGO's involved in the cooperation include Stichting Mondial Apeldoorn (25 local organisations), Community Indonesian migrants is involved, Ruwent groep Zwolle, Kadaster International, Werkgroep Indisch Erfgoed

Sources: interview policy officer Apeldoorn, website [www. Apeldoorn.nl](http://www.Apeldoorn.nl)

8.7 An example of policy on international relations

The Municipality of Rotterdam

The municipality of Rotterdam is engaged in cooperation with the following migrant countries; Suriname, Casablanca and Nador (Morocco), Istanbul and Gölcük (Turkey), Curacao (Netherlands Antilles) and Praia (Cape Verde). Within the municipality of Rotterdam there has been a lot of criticism on the international activities of the municipality. In the new policy on international affairs there will be no specific distinction for cooperation with migrant countries. Cooperation with these municipalities will continue, but all under the umbrella of international affairs. The purpose is to value ties, and their opportunities for exchange, equally. This provides a more equal base for cooperation (Interview policy officer Municipality of Rotterdam). Economical value of the international activities has gained more significance. Rotterdam established an economic focal point in Nador (Morocco); in the Rif area where most Moroccan migrants originate from. The Rotterdam Development Corporation (Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam) and the Chamber of Commerce are involved in this centre. The initiative is directly linked to the support of small enterprises set up by migrants in Rotterdam. Migrants establish most of the enterprises while the success rate of these companies has proved to be small. The municipality is committed to support these initiatives (interview policy officer municipality of Rotterdam).

A policy officer from the municipality of Rotterdam mentioned that the cooperation of Rotterdam with several municipalities in migrant countries is also symbolic and political in the sense that it is regarded as a "positive gesture" to the citizens of Rotterdam, especially by migrants living in Rotterdam. The focus is on an extensive form of knowledge exchange. The budget involved is limited. "we remain a municipality focusing on the inhabitants of Rotterdam" (Interview policy officer municipality of Rotterdam). The focus is on cooperation on a municipal level. A specialized service desk is involved in the assistance of NGO's (servicebureau migranten en vluchtelingen organisaties). The municipality also have a specialized subsidy program for initiatives of migrants and refugees.

Sources: interview policy officer Rotterdam, website [www. Rotterdam.nl](http://www.Rotterdam.nl), June 2007

10. Conclusions

Municipal International Cooperation is a relatively new theme in the research debate; the body of knowledge is limited. Yet worldwide many municipalities are involved in international exchange. Through knowledge exchange they seek to learn from experiences elsewhere. A recent phenomena is the cooperation between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries which were mainly initiated by Dutch municipalities with the objective to contribute positively towards the integration of migrants in Dutch society. Municipalities in the North generally have different objectives to be engaged in MIC than municipalities in the South. Objectives of municipalities in the South are generally linked to decentralization processes and urbanization. Objectives of municipalities in the North are linked to globalization, migration and an increased diversity. Municipalities are confronted with new challenges that are, more than before, often connected to development outside the municipal borders. This can pose them for new questions which might require new knowledge, new policies and new partnerships. Cooperation with other municipalities in the countries migrants originate from might be a useful tool for municipalities to learn from. Cooperation between municipalities in the Netherlands and municipalities in migrant countries like Morocco and Turkey might be beneficial to both municipalities involved. The process of knowledge exchange and learning between partners is however, not straightforward. Especially between partners in the North and South, where cultural differences, aspects of trust and power, can have an important influence on the process of exchange. Theories on partnerships, knowledge exchange and (organisational) learning can be helpful to understand the process of cooperation and exchange within city-to-city partnerships.

As the examples presented in chapter 8 indicate city to city partnerships between Dutch and their partner municipalities in migrant countries are very differs in terms of issues like the theme's which are addressed, and the partners involved. The examples also show that different kinds of benefits for Dutch municipalities can be identified. More research is needed to study in which ways the process of knowledge exchange between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in the migrant countries leads to new partnerships, changes in policy arrangements and policy structures. The PhD study will look at these issues in four twinning relations between Dutch municipalities and municipalities in Turkey and Morocco.

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