

**T. C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ**

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPEAN
CITIES TO TURKEY'S INTEGRATION INTO THE EU**

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ
(M.A. THESIS)**

Arkam OĞRAK

İSTANBUL 2012

**T. C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ**

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPEAN
CITIES TO TURKEY'S INTEGRATION INTO THE EU**

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ
(M.A. THESIS)**

Arkam OĞRAK

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. M. Sait AKMAN

İSTANBUL 2012



T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Arkam OĞRAK'ın, "*CONTRIBUTION OF TRANS-NATIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPEAN CITIES TO THE INTEGRATION OF TURKEY TO THE EU*" konulu tez çalışması. 28/03/2012 tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından oybirliği / oyçokluğu ile başarılı / başarısız bulunmuştur.

Onaylayan:

Yrd. Doç. Dr. M. Sait AKMAN

Danışman

Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk GENÇKAYA

Jüri Üyesi

Doç. Dr. Sevim BUDAK

Jüri Üyesi

Onay

Prof. Dr. Müzaffer DARTAN

Müdür

15.04.2012...tarih ve 2012/IV Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

ABSTRACT

City to City Cooperation (C2C) has become an important transnational cooperation instrument over recent half century. Many cities in Europe, including cities in Turkey such as Kocaeli, have also established C2C partnerships with cities in other countries. During the initial years cultural cooperation was the main focus point in city partnerships while more recently it started to carry more functional tasks such as strengthening economic relations, accelerating local development through experience and knowledge exchange.

Most of the scholars studying C2C are mainly focused on these aspects of cooperation. But there is little evidence, in the studies of these academics, of whether C2C cooperation can be used as a tool for contributing in European integration. Integration in urban level can best be explained by urban Europeanization literature. In this respect, urban Europeanization has three dimensions: bottom up, top down and horizontal.

This study aims to identify a successful C2C cooperation model and will strive to adapt it to Europeanization and by this way it will develop ‘a model for contributing in integration via C2C’ comprising a number of success factors. Although there is not a perfect city which fulfils all of the success criteria defined, good examples and good performance in some particular criteria constitute a model for the other cities. As the case study, C2C cooperation partnerships of Kocaeli will be analyzed on the basis of success factors described and performance of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality (KMM) which is the responsible body for the partnerships of Kocaeli city will be evaluated.

This paper concludes that C2C is a promising tool of cooperation for cities and can be used as tool for contributing in European integration, when successfully managed.

ÖZET

Şehirlerarası işbirlikleri, son yarım yüzyılda önemli bir ulus aşırı işbirliği aracı haline gelmiştir. Türkiye'deki Kocaeli gibi şehirler dahil Avrupa'daki bir çok şehir de dünyanın diğer şehirleri ile şehirlerarası işbirliği ortaklığı kurmuştur. Fenomenin ilk yıllarında şehirlerarası ortaklıklarda kültürel işbirliği temel odak noktasıyken son yıllarda ekonomik ilişkilerin güçlendirilmesi ve deneyim ve bilgi paylaşımı yolu ile yerel kalkınmanın hızlandırılması gibi daha işlevsel görevler üstlenmeye başlamıştır.

Şehirlerarası işbirliği üzerinde çalışma yapan birçok araştırmacı işbirliklerinin bu yönüne odaklanmıştır. Ancak bu çalışmalarda işbirliklerinin Avrupa entegrasyonuna katkıda bulunmak amacıyla bir araç olarak kullanılıp kullanılmayacağı ile ilgili çok az bilgi bulunmaktadır. Kentsel düzeydeki entegrasyon en iyi 'kentsel Avrupalılaştırma literatürü' aracılığıyla açıklanabilir. Bu bağlamda, kentsel Avrupalılaştırma üç boyuta sahiptir: yukarıdan aşağıya, aşağıdan yukarıya ve yatay.

Bu çalışma bir şehirlerarası başarılı işbirliği modeli tanımlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu model Avrupalılaştırmaya uyarlanacak ve bazı başarı faktörlerinden oluşan 'şehirlerarası işbirliği yolu ile entegrasyona katkıda bulunmak için bir model' geliştirilecektir. Tanımlanan bütün başarı kriterlerini eksiksiz yerine getiren bir şehir olmamasına rağmen, iyi örnekler ve belli şehirlerin bazı kriterlerdeki başarısı diğer şehirler için örnek teşkil etmektedir. Örnek çalışma olarak, Kocaeli şehrinin şehirlerarası işbirliği ilişkileri, tanımlanan başarı faktörleri temelinde incelenecek ve Kocaeli şehrinin ortaklıklarından sorumlu olan Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesinin bu alandaki performansı değerlendirilecektir.

Çalışma, iyi yönetildiğinde şehirlerarası ortaklıkların işbirliği için gelecek vaat eden bir araç olduğu ve bu araç vasıtasıyla Avrupa entegrasyonuna katkıda bulunabileceği sonucuna ulaşacaktır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the people who have assisted me during the research process and who have shown patience. I am grateful to my supervisor Assistant Professor M. Sait Akman for his comments and ideas. I would like to thank all staff of the Directorate of EU and Foreign Affairs of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, namely the lovely, friendly and kind director of the department Mr. Bilal Barış, my helpful and smart friends Fatih Durmuş and Muzaffer Sabur and all the other staff who have contributed to my research with their ideas, comments, information and sources they have provided. I also would like to thank Mrs. Marleen de Groot from Municipality of Amsterdam for providing me sources and information on international policy and partnerships of City of Amsterdam. Finally, this is a great opportunity to express my respect to my family, especially my parents. I am grateful for my mother's support and encouragement throughout the thesis process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ÖZET	IV
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	VI
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VII
LIST OF TABLES	IX
ABBREVIATIONS	XI
INTRODUCTION	1
I. CITY TO CITY COOPERATION	5
1.1. Background: Definition and Conceptualization of C2C Cooperation	5
1.2. Different Approaches to Local Governance	9
1.3. Factors that Led Cities to Establish Transnational Partnerships	10
1.3.1. Urbanisation	11
1.3.2. Globalisation	11
1.3.3. Decentralization	12
1.3.4. Other Factors	13
1.4. Emergence and Institutionalisation of Long Term City Partnerships	13
1.4.1. Historical Overview	13
1.4.1.1. Early Twinnings	14
1.4.1.2. Post WWII Twinnings and Institutionalisation	14
1.4.1.3. 80's and Economic Development Approach to C2C Links	15
1.4.1.4. 90's and Efforts for Integration of New Comers	16
1.4.1.5. New Millenium and New Challanges to be Addressed by C2C Cooperation	16
1.4.2. Main Institutions Promoting C2C	16
1.4.2.1. The Sister Cities International	17
1.4.2.2. The United Nations	17
1.4.2.3. The United Cities and Local Governments	19
1.4.2.4. Union of Capitals of the European Union	19
1.5. Characteristics of C2C Cooperation	20
1.6. Functions of City Partnerships: Cultural, Political and Economical	23
1.6.1. Cultural Function of Partnerships	23

1.6.2. Political Function of Partnerships	24
1.6.3. Economic Function of Partnerships	24
1.7. Benefits of C2C Cooperation	25
1.8. Role of C2C Cooperation in Integration of Cities to the European Union	25
II. SUCCESS FACTORS IN CITY TO CITY PARTNERSHIPS FOR ACCELERATING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	27
2.1 General Success Factors in C2C Cooperation	27
2.1.1. Enabling Diplomatic Environment	27
2.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas	29
2.1.3. Clear objectives	30
2.1.4. Proper Partner Search and Selection	32
2.1.5. Legitimization	33
2.1.6. Partners' Commitment	34
2.1.7. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments	35
2.1.8. Local Community Involvement	36
2.1.9. Periodical Communication and Reassessment	38
2.1.10. Mutuality and Reciprocity	39
2.1.11. Sustainability	40
2.1.12. Membership in Network Associations	41
2.2. European Integration via C2C	42
2.2.1 The EU's Approach to C2C	42
2.2.2. Urban Europeanization	44
2.2.3. Dimensions of the Europeanization of Cities	47
2.2.3.1 Top Down Europeanization: Implementing EU legislation	47
2.2.3.2. Bottom up Urban Europeanization: Bypassing the Nation-state and Affecting Brussels	49
2.2.3.3. Horizontal Europeanization: Networking Between Cities	50
2.3. Success Factors in C2C Cooperation within European Integration Context	51
2.3.1. Application of the Common Factors	52
2.3.1.1 Enabling Diplomatic Environment	52
2.3.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas	54
2.3.1.3. Clear objectives; Involving European Dimension	55
2.3.1.4. Proper Partner Selection	56
2.3.1.5. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments	57
2.3.1.6. Membership in Network Associations	58
2.3.1.7. Other General Factors	60
2.3.2. Identification of Special Factors	60
2.3.2.1. Determination of a European Strategy	60
2.3.2.2. Implementation of EU Legislation	61
2.3.2.3. Upload Dimension: Influencing Brussels	62
2.3.2.4. Utilization of EU Funds	63
III. CITY TO CITY PARTNERSHIPS OF KOCAELI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY AND HOW THEY CAN BE USED AS A TOOL FOR INTEGRATION	65

3.1. Local Governance in Turkey	65
3.2. Kocaeli and Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality	66
3.3. City to City Partnerships in Turkey	68
3.3.1. Process and Procedure of City to City Cooperation in Turkey	68
3.3.2. Current Situation of City to City Cooperation in Turkey	70
3.3.3. Ways of Engagement in City to City Cooperation in Turkey	71
3.3.4. Distribution of Partnerships According to Country Groups	73
3.4. Kocaeli's City to City Partnerships	73
3.4.1. Amsterdam	75
3.4.2. Kassel	76
3.4.3. Ulsan	77
3.4.4. Szekesfehervar	77
3.4.5. Other Partners	78
3.5. The Analysis of Kocaeli's City to City Cooperation Partnerships	79
3.5.1. Common Factors	79
3.5.1.1. Enabling Diplomatic Environment	79
3.5.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas	81
3.5.1.3. Clear objectives; Determination of a European Strategy	82
3.5.1.4. Proper Partner Selection	83
3.5.1.5. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments	84
3.5.1.6. Local Community Involvement	85
3.5.1.7. Membership in Network Associations	85
3.5.1.8. Legitimization	86
3.5.1.9. Partners' Commitment	87
3.5.1.10. Periodical Communication and Reassessment	87
3.5.1.11. Mutuality and Reciprocity	87
3.5.1.12. Sustainability	88
3.5.2. Special Factors	89
3.5.2.1. Implementation of EU Legislation	89
3.5.2.2. Upload Dimension: Influencing Brussels	90
3.5.2.3. Utilization of EU Funds	91
CONCLUSION	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY	101

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	City partnership categorisation of different countries in the world	6
Table 2:	Respondent scores for areas where C2C contributes the most, according to Tjandradewi's survey	29
Table 3:	Process and procedure of starting and formalizing C2C Cooperation in Turkey	57
Table 4:	Geographical Distribution of C2C Cooperation between Municipalities in Turkey and Foreign Cities	60
Table 5:	Sister City and Cooperation Partnerships of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality	62

ABBREVIATIONS

AER	: Assembly of European Regions
AIMF	: International Association of French-Speaking Mayors
BaltMet	: Baltic Metropolises Network
C2C	: City to City Cooperation
CBO	: Community Based Organisations
CEEP	: Enterprises of General Economic Interest
CEM	: Council of European Municipalities
CEMR	: Council of European Municipalities and Regions
CITYNET	: The Regional Network of Local Authorities for the Management of Human Settlements
CoR	: Committee of the Regions
CUF	: United Cities of France
DC	: Decentralized Cooperation
ECOSOC	: United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECDPM	: European Centre for Development Policy Management
EEC	: European Economic Community
ERDF	: European Regional Development Fund
ESF	: European Social Fund
EU	: European Union
FP	: Foreign Policy
İBB	: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
ICDI	: International Community Development Initiatives
ICIB	: Istanbul Centre in Brussels
ICMA	: International City/County Management Association
IMC	: International Municipal Cooperation
IME	: International Municipal Exchange
IPA	: Instrument for Pre Accession
IULA	: International Union of Local Authorities
KCI	: Kocaeli Chamber of Industry
KMM	: Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality
KMM SDD	:Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality Strategy Development Department
KPI	: Key Performance Indicator

LAR	: Local Authority Reform
LI	: Liberal Intergovernmentalism
MATRA	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
MEP	: Member of European Parliament
MIC	: Municipal International Cooperation
MIR	: Municipal International Relations
MOU	: Memorandum of Understanding
NALAS	: Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South-East Europe
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organisation
SCI	: Sister Cities International
TBB	: Union of Municipalities of Turkey
TRNC	: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UCLG	: United Cities and Local Governments
UCLG CDC	: United Cities and Local Governments – Committee for Decentralized Cooperation
UCLG-MEWA	: United Cities and Local Governments- Middle East and West Asia
UCUE	: Union of Capitals of European Union
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nations
UN - HABITAT	: United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	: United Nations Environmental Programme
USA	: United States of America
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
UTO/FMCU	: United Towns Organisation
UTN	: Urban Technology Network
VNG	: Association of Netherlands Municipalities
WHD	: World Habitat Day
WHO	: World Health Organisation
YMCA	: The Young Men's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

Following the World War II, cities in the World started to get engaged in City to City (C2C) cooperation relationships with their peers in other countries. The main idea when this cooperation started was to strengthen the cultural ties between the people who had fought each other, on the basis of 'low diplomacy' via relationships coordinated by the local governments as closest public governments to the citizens. Development of the cooperation relationships in form of C2C showed variations in different countries as expectations, objectives and activities within the relationships also varied in each relationship developed. As a result of this, cities have developed their own models of C2C cooperation. This also caused the relationships to be called by different names by different cities and organisations. It has been called as 'sister city relationship' in the USA while as 'town twinning' in Europe. In the past two decades scholars such as Zelinsky (1991), Hafteck (2003) and de Villiers (2009) tried to sharpen the indistinct lines between concepts that have been used to define the phenomenon over the recent half century. Yet a 'hotchpotch' of the concepts is present. A common terminology is needed.

C2C cooperation provide many benefits in terms of mutual understanding and experience and knowledge exchange and this attracts more and more cities to sign partnership agreements with other cities in the World. Many factors have effect in birth, development and success of a C2C partnership. In order to understand the nature of the phenomenon, the research shall start from the conditions of the environment in which C2C cooperation takes place. Perception of C2C cooperation has a lot to do with understanding of local governance. Countries in the world adopt different approaches to local governance. In some countries local governance is prominently perceived as democratic service providing entities while in some perception is that local governments are representatives of central governments.

This understanding of local governance has gone through and shaped by several factors, especially by the processes of urbanisation, globalisation and decentralisation. In the evolution process of the governance from centralist-authoritarian to decentralized-democratic, cities and their governments have become more prominent actors. In this process they have taken over more responsibilities and capabilities. This process has also affected the 'international policies' of the local governments. As local governments became more competent levels of government and given more responsibility in their service areas and even new service areas, they began to seek opportunities, including international partnerships, to

enhance their service quality. Therefore starting from 80's, cultural understanding and friendship through C2C cooperation has become something taken for granted and cities sought to benefit from the ventures of this facility more functionally, e.g. as a means to contribute in economic development.

As local governments attached importance to C2C links, the phenomenon has become institutionalised. Especially international organisations which aims at development of poorer countries started to use C2C cooperation as a means to contribute in their efforts of economic development in those countries. International organisations such as United Nations have launched various programmes in which C2C cooperation occupied an important place as an instrument. Other network organisations of local governments such as UCLG, UTO and UCEU etc. have also given importance to the C2C links to reach their own particular goals in the field of local governance.

Despite the growing interest by local governments and networks of local governments, there are only few academic studies on C2C cooperation and most of the literature does not go beyond conceptualization of the phenomenon and only few of them stress the functions of C2C other than cultural understanding and (institutional) development through information exchange. Various academics, particularly Dutch scholars, have studied the phenomenon for this purpose. Van Ewijk (2008) studied the role of C2C in integration of migrants to the host societies in Europe. Bontenbal (2009) studied the role of C2C in development of 'global south'. But in the literature there is not a particular study which has brought into foreground the question, whether C2C links are tools to contribute in the European integration.

In order to analyze the city links with respect to European integration, what is understood by European integration of cities needs to be defined. The literature of 'urban Europeanization' provides this definition. Literature of urban Europeanization, particularly studies of Marshall (2005) and Kern (2007, 2009) have provided useful analytical basis by providing three dimensions of urban Europeanization.

Most of the city partnerships fail (De Villiers, 2009: 150). Therefore there is a strong need to propose a step by step model for success. Each cooperation relationship between two foreign cities has developed its own model over time as needs of the cities, their expectations from the cooperation, their administrative structure and vision varied. For the purpose of this study, it becomes even more complicated to identify the success factors as it will be sought to make the identification within the context of European Integration.

In order to measure the success of a city's contribution in the European integration, it is necessary to identify;

- 1- What is referred to by 'successful city to city relationship' in general terms, firstly excluding the European dimension, as objective success indicators, through various global examples, also shown as best practises by competent organisations in this field, identifying the points that make a relationship successful
- 2- What is referred to by 'European integration' within the context of city partnerships and through this definition postulated success indicators of cooperation's contribution in European Integration.

This identification will provide the research two models; a model of successful city to city relationships in general sense for the first part of the second chapter and a model of successful contribution in European integration for the second part of the second chapter. This will provide, in the third part, to analyse successful city cooperation relationships on the basis of European Integration. By this way it will be possible to analyse the examples of cooperation partnerships that contribute in European integration from Europe, strategies of prominent Cities of Europe in the field of city partnerships and the environment in which their strategies are shaped.

As for the case of Turkey, it has a complex and peculiar local governance structure. Question of local/central control is more apparent. Performing the analysis on provincial basis, there are two main institutions both of which are called 'local government'. Provincial Special Administrations, headed by the appointed governors represent the central government. Municipalities, headed by the elected mayors represent the local people. There is not a clearly defined hierarchy between these two local entities. Moreover, their tasks and responsibilities often collide with each other.

The legal authority to start and coordinate C2C cooperation in Turkey belongs to municipalities. Many municipalities exercise this legal right by establishing partnership with different cities around the world.

The case study of this study, Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality (KMM), which is the responsible body for transnational C2C cooperation partnerships of Kocaeli, is also engaged in number of C2C cooperation partnerships. However, the process of cooperation has developed as following an international fashion, as it happened for the general of municipalities in Turkey.

This study will seek an answer to the question whether C2C cooperation can be used as tool to contribute in integration of cities to the European Union and if it can, how it can be successfully achieved. In order to serve this purpose, the first chapter will provide the overview of C2C phenomenon, by explaining historical process it has evolved in, functions, characteristics and benefits of C2C cooperation and finally in order to connect it to the main purpose of this study, its contribution to European integration.

Second chapter will provide the analytical basis for analysis of the case study. It will demonstrate that C2C Cooperation can be used as an instrument for many purposes as well as contribution in the European Integration. But ‘European Integration’ in terms of cities has three dimensions and each of them will explained.

Third chapter will strive to provide analysis of C2C cooperation relations of KMM in terms of European integration, which is defined in the second chapter of the study. It will use the success factors defined in the Chapter 2, and will explain the current situation of KMM in the defined success factors based on the input provided by the Directorate of EU and Foreign Affairs and researchers’ own observations as a former employee of the organisation and will make recommendations for benefiting the C2C links more functionally, particularly for contributing in the integration. In order to achieve this, the chapter will start with a general overview of Turkish Local Governance, Kocaeli and current structuralization of KMM. This will be followed by an overview of C2C phenomenon in Turkey and Kocaeli’s partner cities will be presented. The relations with these partners will be analysed in the last chapter referring to the success factors in the 2nd chapter.

I. CITY TO CITY COOPERATION

1.1. Background: Definition and Conceptualization of C2C Cooperation

Transnational City Partnerships¹ in various forms of C2C (City to City) have become a phenomenon over the recent half century. Many cities around the world come together and establish bilateral or multilateral relationships to achieve some common goals. The relationships may emerge as one to one as well as in form of networks in which many cities come together for cooperation. The cooperation may focus on a particular project and disappear after its end however what is subjected in this research is long term city partnerships comprising projects that involve various activities to achieve certain goals.

First of all, a distinction is required between the project based activities and cooperation. The former centres the cooperation on a specific project which has specific objectives, a start and end date, clearly defined actors, activities, methodology and budget while the latter implies long term partnership comprising a set of objectives to be achieved jointly which also compresses the projects. The latter is a more comprehensive form of cooperation than the former.

Only over the recent decade there have been serious attempts by the scholars to provide strict definition of this phenomenon departing from the very few previous studies combined with the case studies. These case studies have mostly comprised on-site observation of the partnerships.

‘Sister city’ is a common use of the phenomenon. ‘Sister city’ relationship can be defined as a partnership of two cities from different countries that is based on cultural and social understanding to achieve cultural dialogue. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 87) Although the motivations behind the ambition of establishing transnational city partnerships and their functions differ from country to country, generally speaking it refers to the activity of

¹ Waldinger and Fitzgerald suggested that ‘*International phenomena must be distinguished from those that are transnational. As argued by international relations scholars since the 1960s, the former pertains to relations between states, the latter to institutions extending beyond and even encompassing states.*’ (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004: 1181) Since local governments surpass the central authority to some extent when they establish a cross-border partnership with their counterparts, it will be more appropriate to call this relationship as transnational. However as other non-state entities, such as NGOs, educational institutions (universities, vocational training centres), professional organisations and private companies engage in cross border relationships, the transnational relationship subjected in this research shall be represented and therefore mentioned with the word ‘city’.

establishing a wide or narrow² transnational cooperation partnership between two local authorities from two different countries.

The phenomenon of C2C cooperation has evolved in such a broad geography that its naming is very wide and differed through decades. For instance in Europe, where the phenomenon was invented (Handley, 2004: 4), the term is usually used as ‘town twinning’ while in the USA it is referred to as ‘sister city’. The International Union of Local Authorities (IULA-currently UCLG) refers to it as ‘decentralized (development) cooperation’ (Hafteck, 2003: 333). The phenomenon has other uses such as: City Link, Jumelages, Coopération Décentralisée, Town Twinning, Municipal Partnerships, Municipal International Cooperation, Decentralised Cooperation, City Partnerships and Networks, City to City Partnerships, City Transnational Cooperation etc. (Buis, 2009: 191; Zelinsky, 1991: 4) What are common to most of these uses are the terms such as ‘partnership’, ‘cooperation’, ‘city’ and ‘municipality’ or acronyms of these terms.

One of the most serious attempts to define and conceptualize the term was made by Hafteck (2003). He set out various uses and misuses of the term in order to avoid the confusion. Hafteck makes a distinction between the cooperation relationships developed between neighbouring municipalities and decentralized cooperation ‘...collaboration between two or more neighbouring municipalities for the delivery of specific services is known as ‘inter-municipal cooperation’, not decentralized cooperation. From another viewpoint, many municipal twinnings—for instance, those between municipalities from two industrialised countries—do not fall under DC either...’³ (Hafteck, 2003: 333) He conceptualizes the decentralized cooperation around development cooperation. So do many entities particularly established for or operates in the field of development. For these entities city partnerships are defined within the context of contributing in the development of the underdeveloped, the South. In the online publication, Capacity.org (ECDPM, 2004: 4) published by ECDPM, on the contrary to what Hafteck suggests, the term is conceptualized as Municipal International Cooperation (MIC) and defined as ‘MIC between Northern and Southern municipalities is an approach to development cooperation that puts local government and its interaction with its partners at the centre of development efforts.’ What is referred to as MIC, according to Hafteck, represents DC here.

² Wide or narrow in terms of its scope, geographical extent, actors involved etc.

³ In addition, cooperation developed between cities at the borders of neighbouring countries is called as ‘cross border cooperation’ which Zelinsky distinguishes as ‘twin cities’. See p.16.

Zelinsky makes a distinction between sister cities and twin cities: 'cities, the latter item a characteristic phenomenon found along the Mexican and Canadian borders of the U.S. The only instances in which such twin cities happened to be twinned formally were those of Port Huron, Michigan/Sarnia, Ontario and El Paso/Cuidad Juarez. But, clearly, there must be many other cases in Europe and Asia, as well as North America, in which pairs of cities facing each other across an international boundary have functioned effectively, if unofficially, as sister cities.' (Zelinsky, 1991: 4) Moreover for the case of a successful region, Northern Europe, on twin towns Joenniemi and Sergunin stated that 'they may brand themselves as connected cities, border-crossing cities, trans-border cities, partnership cities, bi-national cities or sister cities. Moreover, they may use some of the labels available on the EU-related menu such being a 'Euroregion'. For example Malmö and Copenhagen regard themselves as connected cities rather than twins. Helsinki and Tallinn have, for their part, employed the concept of Euroregion in their cooperation.' (Joenniemi and Sergunin, 2009: 5)

Tjandradewi explained 'the concept of city-to-city (C2C) cooperation, an acronym coined by Nigel Ringrose, is one form of the growing trans-national sub-national political relationships. C2C cooperation typically refers to a long-term partnership between communities in different cities or towns based on mutuality and equity. The UN-HABITAT and UTO/FMCU states that C2C cooperation includes all possible forms of relationships between local authorities at any level in two or more countries that are collaborating together for mutual interest and benefits, with or without external support.' (Tjandradewi, 2009: 165)

In this research, in parallel to suggestions of Bontenbal and de Villiers, the term City to City (C2C) is used, meaning that at least two local government bodies in different countries cooperate in a more or less official framework. Bontenbal puts any kind of cooperation relationship developed between two cities within the context of city to city cooperation by stating that 'City to city cooperation has become an umbrella covering all possible forms of relationships between local authorities at any level in two or more countries which are collaborating over matters of mutual interest leading to sustainable urban development.' (Bontenbal, 2009: 35)

According to de Villiers, a C2C partnership can be defined as a 'long-term strategic alliance between communities in different cities or towns, in which their municipalities are key actors'. (de Villiers, 2009: 150) De Villiers also tried to categorize the dispersed examples of C2C into three categories: sister city relations, decentralized cooperation and municipal

international cooperation. Definition made by de Villiers is used as a basis for this study as it comprehends all kinds of partnership initiatives and introduces them as different variations of C2C Cooperation.

Following is the table trying to crystallize the blur boundaries between these three types of C2C Cooperation, based on de Villiers speech on the 50th anniversary of SCI. (de Villiers, 2006)

Table 1: City partnership categorisation of different countries in the world

Category	Context	Prominent Countries and Organisations
Sister City Relations – usually called as town twinning in Europe	Relations within which municipalities bare facilitating role in promoting the relations between local communities, covering various topics from cultural exchange to economic development, involving local organisations such as civil society, business and educational organisations and local public authorities.	USA, Turkey, Germany, Sister Cities International (SCI), International City/County Management Association (ICMA)
Decentralized Cooperation (DC)	Relations which also involve international development agencies and provide development support, mostly between northern and southern local authorities.	EU, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Finland
Municipal International Cooperation (MIC)	International relations of the municipalities involving at least two municipalities	France, Cités Unies France (CUF), the Netherlands, Vereniging van Nederlands

	from two different countries aimed at technical cooperation through mutual knowledge and experience exchange.	Gementeen (VNG), Japan
--	---	------------------------

Source: (de Villiers, 2006)

Approach to C2C partnerships, cooperation methodology and also outcomes have a lot to do with the different local governance approaches of the partners involved in the cooperation. Therefore it is necessary to survey the different local governance models, particularly those developed in Europe.

1.2. Different Approaches to Local Governance

What is referred by ‘city’ in the literature is not only a settlement unit but also the local government that governs the city. However the local governance structure shows variations in each country due to different special conditions. As a result of this, the local governments in different countries in the world are referred to by various names such as city, city council, municipality, city hall, commune etc.

It is difficult to define certain models and categorize the local governments into these models. The services provided by the local governments have a wide range of concepts, which result in different interpretations and dimensions of their contents. (Council of Europe, 2000: 161) Therefore each country developed its own model of local governance over time.

Local authorities in different democracies often face the dilemma of local/central control. On one hand, the local authorities as the administrative bodies of an allegation unit within a country as a whole shall act as an agent of the central authority and on the other hand as administrative bodies designed to respond the needs of the local people their main concerns shall be the interest of the local people. Appointed officials provide the former purpose while the elected officials respond the latter need.

The model adopted to respond these two needs in local governance varied in different democracies and consequently each developed their own local governance model in time. For instance in France the Mayor, who is elected by the elected municipal councils, has two hats, since he or she is both the commune's elected authority and the state's representative in it. (Swift, City Mayors) In the Netherlands which is defined as ‘decentralized unitary state’ by

the county's constitution (VNG) and in which the local governments are autonomous, the Mayor is appointed by the Queen among the names in the list that is constituted by the municipal councils from the elected candidates. The deputies are elected directly by the local citizens. In Germany, municipalities are governed by councils headed by elected mayors. Their tasks and responsibilities are put by the state and the county administration (lander). (Gosciniak, City Mayors) Finally, Turkey has a complex and peculiar local governance structure. Question of local/central control is more apparent. Performing the analysis on provincial basis, there are two main institutions both of which are called 'local government'. Provincial Special Administrations, headed by the appointed governors represent the central government. Municipalities, headed by the elected mayors represent the local people. There is not a clearly defined hierarchy between these two local entities. Moreover, their tasks and responsibilities often collide with each other.

The authority to engage in C2C cooperation beyond the national borders belongs to municipalities. In case of such demand municipal council adopts the decision to accept a foreign city as sister city.

1.3. Factors that Led Cities to Establish Transnational Partnerships

At the very beginning of the emergence of the C2C phenomenon, the main reasons for engaging in the partnership were promoting mutual understanding between foreign cultures and sustaining friendship. In its evolution process it started to perform more functional tasks, mainly development. The rapid developments that the local authorities faced alongside the other factors in the second half of the 20th century pioneered C2C relationships to become more than a fashion.

From the historical evolution of city partnerships, Buis drew the following conclusions: 'the motives changed through the decades but a constant feature is that developed countries determined the content of C2C. It is possible to distillate from this short history three 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' (Buis, 2009: 191)

1.3.1. Urbanisation

Among the factors urging the cities to establish international city partnerships, urbanisation is a significant factor. Today more than half of the World population live in the cities (UNEP, UN HABITAT) Rural people move to cities attracted by the promise of work, higher salaries and a better social life. The rapid population growth results in deficiency of the services provided by the local governments especially in the developing countries. The officials therefore take action to improve their institutional capacity to improve living conditions of the city. The impact is being felt most keenly at the municipal level, where local governments and non-state actors are best placed to express and defend local interests. (ECDPM, 2004:1) Specialization and therefore information exchange has become a necessity in the institutionally developing local organisations. Rapidly growing cities in the developing world are in need of help and are actively seeking it. As Hewitt explained ‘the typically limited capacity of local governments in developing countries has hindered their ability to properly plan or control urban growth. In an attempt to overcome these limitations and provide a better quality of life for their citizenry, many local authorities have sought partnership arrangements with counterparts in developed countries with the hope of technical know-how and skills transfer’. (Hewitt, 1999: 315)

1.3.2. Globalisation

Globalization process has brought about the sharp national borders to become indistinct. National authorities that are central governments no longer have the adequate competence to manage the foreign relations of the whole nation including the entities other than the state itself and connect the local people and communities to the rest of the world. Particular needs and demands of the sub-state entities have become more apparent and these sub-state entities including local governments have begun to seek solution for their local problems across the borders.

Tjandradewi stated that ‘Globalization has offered opportunities for developing countries and cities to share vital information amongst themselves and their citizens. Underpinned by advanced information technologies, global flows, including people, information and knowledge have improved awareness among cities of the benefits of local cooperation. Cities, such as Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia and Naga2 in the Philippines, have developed their own extensive websites that cover information on their involvement in international cooperation.’ (B.I. Tjandradewi *et al*, 2006: 358) Thanks to the rapid

technological developments the connectivity to the world is no longer a privilege. Especially by development of internet technologies the local authorities have the chance to realize real time contacts with their counterparts in the foreign countries.

Development of information technologies and connectivity of sub-state entities to the world have brought about change also in the understanding of the state power. As Keohane *et al.* explained within the context of interdependence ‘...Cheap flows of information have enormously expanded the number and depth of transnational channels of contact. Nongovernmental actors have much greater opportunities to organize and propagate their views. States are more easily penetrated and less like black boxes. As a result, political leaders will find it more difficult to maintain a coherent ordering of foreign policy issues.’ (Keohane *et al.*, 1998: 94)

To describe the greatness of the influence of the process of globalization and gradually localizing global issues, some scholars invented the term *glocalization*.

1.3.3. Decentralization

Decentralization requires the local governments across the world to become more effective and responsive. Tjandradewi wrote ‘Decentralization and new forms of intra-governmental relationships between local and national governments have provided conducive environments for cross-border local cooperation. Decentralization provides opportunities for cities to make direct contact with other cities across national boundaries as opposed to contact with foreign entities mediated at the national level. Cities increasingly have the legal power and autonomy to establish different kinds of cooperation with other cities, without mediation from their central governments.’ (B.I. Tjandradewi *et al.*, 2006: 358)

The new developments in the field of governance as an outcome of the development in the 20th century urged the governments to reform their governance in a more decentralized manner. USAID pointed that ‘The prime motivations behind these reforms vary. Some countries are emerging from dictatorships seeking to disperse power among smaller governmental units. Others are reducing the size of the central government as part of a transition to a more efficient market economy. Many others seek to increase public involvement and accountability in government decision-making. Where one country is responding to donor pressures for popular reform, another is hoping that the poor performance of the national government can be overcome by allowing local governments to provide fundamentally local public services.’ (USAID, 2000: 5) It is argued that municipalities

should handle the role of entrepreneurship in order to ‘seize the new opportunities offered by globalization and localization and to cope with the attendant challenges’ (World Bank, 2000).

1.3.4. Other Factors

Besides the general factors that made cross border cooperation in local level a necessity, the specific conditions and needs of the local authorities play an important role in involvement in international partnerships. Zelinsky claims that the choice of a Sister city is not a random process but is based on a number of criteria including “historical connections, shared economic, cultural, recreational and ideological concerns, similar or identical place names, and, to a certain extent, the friction of distance” (Zelinsky, 1991, p.1). Moreover, the individual contacts and private initiatives also help in establishing and sustaining city-to-city relationships.

Levent *et al* wrote that ‘Mutual exchanges between Sister cities can be defined as both the reasons for and the benefits of these connections. Nevertheless, historical and ethnic connections of cities can be evaluated as one of the main reasons in establishing city-to-city connections’. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 89) Hewitt further explained that ‘Some of the most recent and innovative municipal linkages, however, have been oriented towards development. In these cases, ‘donor’ cities and towns from the developed ‘north’ have formed relationships with their poorer counterparts in the ‘south,’ as part of an attempt to facilitate improvements in local standards of living. Such arrangements have been referred to alternatively as international community development initiatives (ICDI), international municipal exchange (IME), or international municipal cooperation (IMC),...’ (Hewitt, 1999: 315)

1.4. Emergence and Institutionalisation of Long Term City Partnerships

1.4.1. Historical Overview

Buis summarizes the adventure of the half century old phenomenon as ‘Sitting together with the former enemies in Europe at the dinner table (the 1950s), the poor farmer in Africa was supported with new tools or a water pump (1970s), the average inhabitant of a country behind the Iron Curtain was not an enemy but a peace seeker like everybody (1980s), friendship is the foundation for linkage of two cities miles apart from each other (1990s), and even business is done because friendship between cities is established (2000s)’. (Buis, 2009: 190) It can be seen that C2C cooperation is shaped by the historical conditions that it has

grown in. The conditions in the post WWII era urged the cooperation efforts to respond to cultural and social concerns while in 1980s with increasing influence of liberalizing economy the concerns were diverted from social to economic direction.

1.4.1.1. Early Twinning

The first international associations of local governments were set up around 1913, for the purpose of general information exchange and mutual support. Through these efforts, a small but important number of city-to-city links were established (Tjandradewi, 2009: 165) However ‘Sister City Movement’ can be seen as the first serious step taken by municipalities to define their interests at the international level. As Levent *et al* stated ‘The roots of the Sister -city phenomenon can be traced back to the aftermath of the Second World War. In this period, cities formed links with each other to share their knowledge their power and experiences of the destructive war to construct better cities for the future’. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 87)

1.4.1.2. Post WWII Twinning and Institutionalisation

The early twinning provided the local, social dimension by creating numerous contacts, school/youth exchanges etc. among citizens from a number of European countries, opening their eyes to other countries and cultures and contributing to a new Europe. This European idealist view on twinning kept alive during 50’s and 60’s, however faced criticism for being ‘vested interest’. As a result, the late 60’s witnessed a new idealism driven by the pressures of especially leftist parties with the arguments of fighting the injustice of the world system by supporting peoples and governments in the Third World, in the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. (Hoetjes, 2008: 158)

After World War II, the Town-twinning organization was founded (1946), followed by the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (1951), the Sister Cities International Organization (1956) and the United Town Organization (1957). By the end of the 1950s, there were seven international city Networks. (Tjandradewi, 2009: 165) Kern explained the process as ‘While associations of municipalities have become increasingly Europeanized since the 1950s – witness the founding of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) in 1951 – since the mid-1980s numerous new organizations (such as Eurocities), which are based on the direct membership of cities rather than the representation of national associations, have supplemented the CEMR.’ (Kern *et al*, 2009: 312)

As Clarke explained ‘Town twinning became organised during the late 1940s and early 1950s through new municipal internationalist bodies including: the Union Internationale des Maires, founded in 1947 by French and German mayors interested in reconciliation through exchange visits of workers; the Council of European Municipalities, established in 1951 by campaigners interested in European community through municipal exchanges and projects between European municipalities; and Le Monde Bilingue (known in Britain as the United Towns Organisation), also founded in 1951 by campaigners interested in global understanding and world peace – and, perhaps less idealistically, preservation of the French language – through French- English bilingualism and town twinning between towns and cities throughout the world.’ (Clarke, 2010: 4) CEM and UTO were the most prominent examples of the support provided to the town twinning arrangements at institutional level in the post war period. CEM, trying to keep the cooperation within the Western European nations had a bonding approach while on the other hand UTO, trying to involve also local authorities of the Eastern Block had a bridging approach to town twinning. (Clarke, 2010: 21)

1.4.1.3. 80’s and Economic Development Approach to C2C Links

A common trend in local government in developed countries, particularly since the 1980s, has been greater activism in promoting local economic development and employment growth. There has been a so called ‘shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism’ (Cremer, 2001: 378) Liberal trends of the 80’s effected the twinning arrangements. During the 1980s, municipal twinings in Western Europe were increasingly put at a distance from local government – privatized, or organized into autonomous legal entities. The Third World twinings in the Netherlands increasingly professionalized, assisted by national policies (Foreign Affairs, Development Cooperation) and NGOs (Novib, Unicef, Fair Trade) in the 1990s . (Hoetjes, 2008: 159) With the fall of Berlin wall Eastern Europe opened up, became visible and accessible from the West. Cities in the West engaged in partnership with the cities of the former Eastern Block to ‘normalize’ and rapidly integrate those cities to the Western World. Involvement of the EC from the late 80’s shall be seen as breaking point as it actively promoted twinning as a tool for integration of ex-socialist countries as well as its approach to the city links with respect to local economic development.

1.4.1.4. 90's and Efforts for Integration of New Comers

Another trend came about in the 1990s and also focused on Central and Eastern Europe. The motive, however, was a new one, the prospect of EU-membership for the Central and Eastern European countries. Driven from above, in top-down manner by the European Commission and the national governments, municipalities were stimulated to strengthen their contacts with their colleagues in the prospective member states, in order to 'bring them up to EU-level'. The dimension of EU-membership came to dominate the municipal twinnings with Eastern Europe. Pre-accession assistance or post-accession assistance is now the context of Eastern Europe twinnings, in terms of priorities, themes and funding.

1.4.1.5. New Millennium and New Challenges to be Addressed by C2C Cooperation

The trend by the late 90's turned towards the integration of migrants in major Western European cities. It took some time until the destination countries of immigrants realized the need for integrating the migrants into the host society. For this purpose the local governments established particular contacts with the home countries of the migrants with the principle of 'country of origin'. Many cities adopted this as an international policy priority. Into the new millennia and currently as well, the trend goes much beyond the preceding trends. (Hoetjes, 2008; Buis, 2009; van Ewijk, 2009)

Most recent trend is the result of the UN-sponsored Millennium Campaign for Sustainable Development. As Hoetjes stated, 'in the slipstream of Kyoto, and other worldwide conferences/campaign expressing concern about 'the planet' (climate change, sustainable development etc.)'. (Hoetjes, 2008: 160)

1.4.2. Main Institutions Promoting C2C

A Number of international organisations have been active in promoting city to city relationships. Following parts provide information on main institutional players influenced evolution of the phenomenon over years. The UN-HABITAT and UTO/FMCU (2002) suggest that C2C cooperation includes all possible forms of relationships between local authorities in two or more countries that are collaborating together for mutual interest and benefits, with or without external support. (B.I. Tjandradewi *et al*, 2006: 359) In 2002, C2C cooperation was chosen as the theme of the World Habitat Day (WHD). On this day, the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT highlighted that C2C cooperation is an effective way of

mobilising large-scale development resources, to actively exchange best practices and to improve the management capacity of cities in the developing world (UN-HABITAT, 2002).

More than 70% of the world's cities have been engaged in some forms of international cooperation with another city. Approximately 68% of these linkages have been through international associations (UN-HABITAT, 2001).

1.4.2.1. The Sister Cities International

Originally established within the National League of Cities in the USA in 1956 when President Eisenhower called for closer cooperation on the citizen to citizen basis at a special White House Summit on citizen diplomacy. Thanks to its popularity Sister Cities International (SCI) became a separate non profit initiative in 1967. It links US cities with the cities around the world for a variety of purposes. The organisation 'strives to build global cooperation at the municipal level, promote cultural understanding and stimulate economic development'(SCI)

During its evolution over the past half century, SCI became a more international initiative involving cities from broader geographical areas and deepened its cooperation methodology. It currently does not only collect and respond the partnership requests, but also helps the members to find the most appropriate cooperation partner for the applicants via providing different sector options during the application. (SCI) However, it limits itself to the city partnerships between two blocks; cities in the USA in one block and cities of the World in the other.

Despite the fact that it serves the US cities more than those in rest of the world, moving the application based twinning system to online basis may be seen as a good example for the sister city networks. De Villiers strongly recommended that the SCI become a global organisation rather than limiting itself to the relationships of the US cities. (de Villiers, 2006)

1.4.2.2. The United Nations

United Nations (UN) handles the phenomenon in the view of decentralization and development cooperation. Municipalities bear important roles in development in the globalizing world. This process is also called 'glocalization' by some scholars. (Clark, 2010:3) Various UN documents stress out importance of local communities and municipalities in development and calls for more initiative in local level. (Bontenbal, 2009: 74) Perception in development is that the World is divided into two polars; developed North

and developing South. As an outcome of population growth and urbanization in the developing South strengthening local urban governance becomes a necessity and municipalities engage in international partnerships with the municipalities in the North to respond their need of technical and managerial expertise via information and know-how exchanges. This process is specially encouraged by the UN.

The resolution adopted in 1965 – UN General Assembly Resolution 2058 (XX): ‘Town twinning as a means of international cooperation’ – contained a series of general statements about how ‘town twinning should be encouraged, both in connection with International Cooperation Year 1965 and on a permanent basis’, and ‘ECOSOC should prepare a programme of measures through which the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation might take concrete steps to encourage the achievement of the largest possible number of twinned towns’. (UN, 1965, 2058)

In 1967 ECOSOC Resolution 1217 (XLII): ‘Town twinning as a means of international cooperation’ was adopted. It called on governments ‘to seek the participation of NGOs in assisting in the formation and implementation of UNDP projects in which town twinning or other forms of inter-municipal cooperation may place an important role’. It invited NGOs ‘to request towns which have prepared plans for town twinning cooperation or other forms of inter-municipal cooperation to forward their plans to their governments for them to consider when submitting requests to the UNDP for assistance’. It also advised the UNDP ‘to bear in mind the experience of such NGOs when arranging for the implementation of such projects’. (ECOSOC, 1967, 1217) This resolution marked the end point of discussions about town twinning at the UN – at least until the 1990s, when the issue returned to the UN under the sign of city-to-city cooperation. (Clarke, 2010: 18)

UN’s HABITAT Programme is particularly designated ‘to help policy-makers and local communities get to grips with the human settlements and urban issues and find workable, lasting solutions. The organization's mandate is outlined in the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements, Habitat Agenda, Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, the Declaration, and Resolution.’ (UN HABITAT) HABITAT has various sub-programmes to achieve the goals it defined for the urban issues through municipal partnerships.

1.4.2.3. The United Cities and Local Governments

International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) which is predecessor of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), referred to the notion of partnership; ‘The IULA view is that the essence of the decentralized cooperation concept relates to development-focused activities that involve direct participation and funding of non-state organisations and/or international partnerships between locally based bodies (IULA, 1997 quoted from Hafteck, 2003: 334). Starting from 60’s The IULA maintained a committee on town twinning and sought to facilitate twinning contacts through its national secretariats. (Clarke, 2010: 17)

In 2004, International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) merged with the United Towns Organizations (UTO) to create the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) organization and the International City/County Management Association (ICMA). (Tjandradewi, 2009: 165) It supports international cooperation between cities and their associations, and facilitates programmes, networks and partnerships to build the capacity of local governments. It promotes the role of women in local decision-making, and is a gateway to relevant information on local government across the world.

Committee for Decentralized Cooperation is one of the 13 committees/working groups that function within UCLG. It defines its objective as ‘...ensure that we capitalise upon, benefit mutually and promote all their effects and successes. Furthermore, it must update decentralised cooperation designs and methodological instruments that have evolved hugely, from the first twinning concepts in Europe to current town-to-town cooperation programmes or those between associations of local authorities, via participation in multilateral programmes.’ (UCLG CDC, 2007: 1)

1.4.2.4 Union of Capitals of the European Union

Founded in April 1961, the Union of Capitals of the European Union (UCEU) strives to ‘develop the living feeling of European solidarity’. It conducts studies and organises meetings and initiatives intended to promote economic, social and cultural progress in Europe. Its role is also to facilitate the sharing of information and experiences between Member States. Its aim is to foster in-depth analysis between the 27 Member States on public transport, telecommunications, employment, etc. (City of Paris, web)

The UCEU was created to preserve continuous links between the European capitals and to encourage communication between the inhabitants in order to develop the living

feeling of European solidarity. The UCEU is an international organisation of which the 27 capitals of the European Union are members. In compliance with its objectives, the UCEU conducts studies, organises meetings and proceedings inclined to promote economical, social and cultural progress of the citizens of the capitals of the European Union. The UCEU consists of a rotating chairmanship appointed for a period of one year, of a General Assembly which gets together once a year and of a Permanent Committee which resides at least twice a year. (UCUE, web)

Today, 70% of the world's cities participate in c2c programmes. (UCLG, 2006) The figures thus indicate that the number of twinnings has increased substantially over the last twenty years and that twinnings are a ubiquitous phenomenon and practice of local administration worldwide. (Bontenbal, 2009: 34)

1.5. Characteristics of C2C Cooperation

C2C Cooperation partnerships have number of characteristics that are common to most relationships. Following provides a substantial overview of these characteristics.

First of all, cities obey unwritten principles which developed in time rather than written rules. (Handley, 2004: 3) For instance, according to Sister Cities International (SCI) one basic rule (that is actually principle) is to have only one partner from one country. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 87) The unwritten rule is that the two places should be roughly comparable in size and that they have the wherewithal for becoming compatible partners. Compatibility, in turn, implies some sharing of economic, cultural, ideological, historical, recreational, or other type of concern or perhaps some beneficial complementarities of interest (Zelinsky, 1991: 4). Initially conceived as a post-war means of developing friendship and cultural ties, sister cities were based on similarities such as name or economic function. Name, geographic proximity, cultural similarities of the cities played an important role in orientation by a city towards another. More recently, greater recognition has been given to the economic foundations and benefits of these connections. (Cremer *et al*, 2001: 376)

The relationships start based on an agreement signed by the local officials. At the early periods of the fashion the agreements did not contain provisions for a time limit; however the recently developing relationships are based on agreements that have a time limit. This provides the parties to retouch and reconsider the essence of the relationships and re-define the roles and responsibilities so that it leads partners to act in the favour of reaching the objectives of the partnership. This is also a crucial success criteria which will be touched upon in the 2nd and 3rd chapters as 'legitimization'. (section 2.1.5)

C2C cooperation is based on long-term formal bilateral agreements signed by the local authorities, involving their respective civil society. They are not limited to a specific project but opens a way for a variety of shared activities, usually for an indefinite period (Zelinsky, 1991: 3; Cremer *et al*, 2001: 381; Bontenbal, 2009: 37)

Most of the partnerships established at the early period of this fashion were open ended which did not envisage a deadline for expiry of the agreed partnership and did not limit the relationships to some specific cooperation fields. As the cities gained experience and specialized in establishing city partnerships, they noticed the need for defining and clarifying the cooperation subjects. Thus currently the relationships continue on the basis of 'cooperation agreements/protocols' rather than 'sister city' or 'town twinning agreements' (or equivalent concept). Handley explained 'Currently, the trend for local authorities considering forming new international links is to move away from formal, long term partnerships such as town twinning, and enter into less binding arrangements. Town twinning links are accompanied by formal charters that have no end date, whereas the new types of partnership tend to be less prescribed and are often endorsed by a friendship agreement or memorandum of understanding. Sometimes the agreements are time limited, and contain a list of objectives to be achieved within a specific time frame.' (Handley, 2004: 4)

Hewitt mentioned another characteristic 'It is usually founded on two pillars; the state apparatus and its constituency, i.e. the citizens themselves. The former refers to engagement of local administrations, (involvement of mayors, municipal councillors and technical personnel) and are designed to encourage regular, direct, and on-going contact between municipal officers and technicians, allowing the transfer of technical information and Exchange of expertise and best practise'. (Hewitt, 1999: 314) The second pillar consists of the participation and contributions of civil society, the non profit and private sector which will be touched upon in the following chapters referring to it as 'local community involvement'.

When C2C Cooperation appears in form of decentralized cooperation between one developed and one underdeveloped city, it finds its conceptual explanation particularly within 'development cooperation' framework, especially those developed by international organisations, namely United Nations. In this context, locations in the World are categorized according to their development level. The locations (cities, regions or countries) of the North and West as 'developed' (the industrialised, developed world) and South and East as 'underdeveloped' (the developing world). In cooperation the former implies the 'donor' while the latter implies the 'recipient'. (Hewitt, 1999: 313) This North-South component is

fundamentally connected with the fact that C2C cooperation specifically aims at strengthening the developmental capacity of local governments and thus contributing to local development, liveability and productivity, and reducing poverty in the South. (Hewitt, 1999: 313; Bontenbal 2009: 36)

Bontenbal stressed that ‘the potential mutuality of effort and benefit between the partners distinguishes C2C cooperation from other types of development cooperation. It has been perceived that in practice, Southern partners are supported by means of financial aid and capacity building activities, whilst Northern partners benefit from C2C through an increased awareness and knowledge of global issues and the opportunity for the public at large to participate in development efforts. Thus, the exchange of knowledge and expertise through peer-to-peer programmes for local government officials and citizens implies two-way capacity building. However, with a few exceptions empirical evidence on this subject has so far been limited’.⁴ (Bontenbal, 2009: 37)

Zelinsky emphasized ‘The choice of country and specific community within it is not a random process; historical connections, shared economic, cultural, recreational, and ideological concerns, similar or identical place names, and, to a certain extent, the friction of distance, all play meaningful roles’. (Zelinsky, 1991: 3) In general, it is wise for cities to pursue a relationship with a community that is similar in geography, population, industry or interest... ‘While some cities choose their partner based purely on commonalities, others find greater success and fulfilment via the adage *opposites attract*’. (SCI: 6)

Hoetjes explained ‘Virtually all policy fields, from sports to waste disposal, tourism, public works, health and sanitation, fight against poverty, culture, minorities, environment, education or infrastructure are taken up by municipal twinnings’. (Hoejets, 2008: 160)

Funding is an important aspect of the activities. Funding is usually provided from the Northern donor municipalities’ budgets and through non-public fund raising campaigns in these cities. Additional funds derive from national governments, local government associations, or through various international donor-funded programmes. (Bontenbal, 2009: 37)

Zelinsky added ‘In addition to the inevitable back-and-forth junkets involving dignitaries, the more popular modes of sociability include: athletic and musical events; visits by theatrical groups, craft persons, hobbyists, dancers, and other purveyors of culture; joint

⁴ For more detailed explanation of mutuality see also success factors (section 2.1.10)

church worship; language instruction; the staging of festivals and trade fairs; experiments in the other community's cuisine; exchanges of letters, publications, schoolchildren, college students, war veterans, and members of professional organizations (but rarely spokespersons for political parties); the sharing of technical expertise; the extension of material and other forms of aid when one of the partners is struck by disaster; and a basically one-way flow of advice, information, equipment, and other types of assistance when the pairing is between an advanced community and a less-developed one. The formula for interaction is that there is no set formula. Each pair of sister cities must experiment constantly to realize whatever ensemble of activities ideally suits their peculiar resources and objectives'.(Zelinsky, 1991: 3)

Clarke further explained '...discontinuities, however, also formed an important characteristic of twentieth-century municipal internationalism. These discontinuities related to movements in national and international politics. Town twinning emerged from the debris of the Second World War only to be shaped by the politics and anxieties of the Cold War and its aftermath. As with other modes of municipal internationalism, it advanced, receded, and changed course as funding and other opportunities were offered, withdrawn, and offered once more by national and international bodies.' (Clarke, 2010: 23)

1.6. Functions of City Partnerships: Cultural, Political and Economical

City partnerships have various impact and effects. As Buis drew three motives of C2C cooperation (Buis, 2009: 191), their functions can also be examined in three categories: cultural, political and economic.

1.6.1. Cultural Function of Partnerships

Cultural function of city partnerships can be found in the roots of the phenomenon. Devastating wars of the twentieth century had shown that there was an urgent need for dialogue between the cultures. Cultural integration would make the wars less possible. Centralized cooperation was clearly not responding to the need of cultural integration, thus decentralized forms of transnational cooperation models were sought for. Cultural function of the city partnerships which was the most prominent factor at the beginning still constitutes an important pillar of the city partnerships. Few decades after the war it was a general belief that the city partnerships had accomplished their function to prevent war by providing cultural understanding and the phenomenon was equipped with additional functions and the cultural aspect was given secondary importance. (Hoetjes, 2008: 162) However, recently growing

number of migrants in developed countries and, in parallel to that, growing xenophobia demonstrated the need for cultural tolerance and understanding between host society and immigrating communities. Thus, many cities in the developed world, particularly those in western Europe, attached more importance to the cultural dimension of the city partnerships, in both; the institutional development level to respond the migrant needs and provide their integration to the host society and the citizens level to bridle the growing hostile attitude against the migrants, provide cultural understanding in citizens' level.

1.6.2. Political Function of Partnerships

Apart from the cultural interaction, city partnerships with involvement of the high officials into the interaction bring about political results. Officials get involved in the visits, meetings or projects developed between two partner cities and they find the opportunity to examine their partner on-site. In case of the donor-recipient relationships, which involve the developing and underdeveloped cities, officials of the recipient organisation become aware of the weakness of their organisation by observing the 'developed' partner. On the other hand, in reverse direction, when developed cities organise the partnership with the country of origin of its migrants, the officials become aware of the political approach of their partner to the citizens and this provides, alongside the cultural interaction, a political interaction that assist the policy makers take decisions in accordance with the citizen profile of their migrant population.

1.6.3. Economic Function of Partnerships

The city partnerships have begun to be handled from economic perspective only recently. Economical function of the relationships can be seen especially in case involving not only officials but also business stakeholders and citizens. City partnerships contribute in development of for example tourism, which is a key economic development indicator especially in the developing countries. A Research carried out by Levent *et al.* (2008: 90) lays off the economic benefits of the C2C cooperation in terms of tourism, trade and investments. According to this research 'Sister city linkages help to improve trade, business connections, investments, tourism activities and personal contacts. The connections developed with less developed cities in this system consider the adoption of a poorer or struggling city as a humanitarian gesture and direct technical and financial aid flows between Sister cities.' (Levent *et al* 2008: 90)

1.7. Benefits of C2C Cooperation

According to Bontenbal (2009: 37) there are three categories of C2C benefits, which are related to, respectively, the fostering of global citizenship; the strengthening of municipal institutions; and the improvement of liveability and access to services.

Hadley puts the benefits of C2C partnerships into three categories: local authority benefits, people to people benefits and general benefits.

Local authority benefits of C2C partnerships include improving service delivery and problem solving, increasing global and European awareness, accessing EU funding, staff development and training, member development and training. (Handley, 2004: 6)

People to people benefits of C2C partnerships include promoting tolerance and increasing understanding, promoting stronger community partnerships and enhancing youth activities. (Handley, 2004:7)

General benefits of C2C partnerships include promoting community well being, public awareness and learning, education, economic and business development, making a global difference. (Handley, 2004: 8)⁵

1.8. Role of C2C Cooperation in Integration of Cities to the European Union⁶

Alongside their contribution to the cultural understanding, friendship, peace; local political and economical development city partnerships can produce an added value for the cities in their integration to the EU. Integration to the EU in urban level can be measured via three processes of urban Europeanization: top down, bottom up and horizontal. (Kern, 2007) In this respect, European integration of cities which is best explained via Europeanization literature (which will be explained further in the following chapters) can be measured by following indicators:

- Adaptation of legislation which is more relevant to the national policies, (top down)
- Improvement of the service standards to those of the EU, (top down)
- Alignment of the local policies with the priorities of the EU (top down)
- Provision of lobbying in the European decision making process (bottom up)
- Strengthening the cultural ties between (the citizens of) city and (citizens of the) other

⁵ For detailed explanation of each benefit see Handley (2004) and Bontenbal (2009).

⁶ This is an overview of Role of C2C in European Integration. The dimensions of urban Europeanization, process and success criteria are explained in the 2nd Chapter.

European cities, thus providing citizen level integration (horizontal)

For the purpose of this research, the major evaluative question is: which is the most appropriate yardstick to measure the success of a C2C partnership? According to Hoetjes, 'For EU-related twinnings with Eastern Europe, there is a simple answer: the contribution of a twinning towards the required changes in the new member state for EU-membership. Adaptation of legislation, development of new policies at the local level, redefining the role of local government vis-a`-vis the citizens etc.' (Hoetjes, 2009: 163) His view regarding European integration of cities is top down. However, urban Europeanization has become a lot more than the simple top down process. This issue will be further stressed in the second part of the research in the sections defining the three processes of urban Europeanization.

Although cities and towns are not directly represented in Brussels, European cities are affected by European integration because around two thirds of the legislation implemented by local authorities is EU legislation (Zimmermann 2006: 27) and 60% of the EU legislation is directly or indirectly related to the services provided by the local governments. Therefore there is a need to lobby at European level to make the voices of cities heard. As an outcome, cities have started to establish their own offices in Brussels for the purpose of sole lobbying and smaller cities sought for lobbying facilities within the network organisations that they are member of. This aspect of EU – city relationship constitutes the process of bottom up urban Europeanization.

As Levent *et al* explained 'Third aspect of the integration is horizontal urban Europeanization, that is realized via networking. The networks in Europe are privileged sites for obtaining information, exchanging experiences, ideas and knowledge and challenging European programmes or states: therefore, they are also places for learning policy norms and styles. 'Eurocities' are the well-known examples of such networks. As a specific urban network to represent their own collective interests, they are also the most influential ones to emerge over the last decade'. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 85) Beside its pioneering task in bringing together cities to create common cultural values, to discuss common problems and to share knowledge and ideas, Eurocities successfully represents the interest of major cities towards the European Commission and the other EU institutions. Moreover, they provide expertise on urban policies, and makes positive contributions to the development and implementation of European policies and programmes in various policy fields (Eurocities, 2006).

These dimensions of urban Europeanization will further be explained in the second chapter of the study, harmonizing the C2C concept.

II. SUCCESS FACTORS IN CITY TO CITY PARTNERSHIPS FOR ACCELERATING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

2.1 General Success Factors in C2C Cooperation

The phenomenon of C2C is beyond the limits of a simple friendship agreement. On the basis of cultural exchange, cities can have the chance to understand each other which would provide mutual trust and, in turn would lead to new economic bonds. In this context, the success of a Sister city linkage can be measured by the quality and the quantity of shared activities including best practices in areas such as urban planning and management and sporting or cultural events. (Levent *et al*, 2008: 90)

This chapter will be based on the factors described by various scholars and international organisations for a successful city to city partnership and will seek to identify a model for C2C cooperation using various global examples. Their analyses provide a useful basis for the analysis of municipal partnerships in general and also makes the path to go in further detail in terms of connection of C2C to European Integration.

2.1.1. Enabling Diplomatic Environment

National Foreign Policy Shall Provide an Enabling Environment for the Partnerships. In De Villiers' words 'Firstly, it is important that an enabling environment exists to facilitate successful partnering initiatives. National government policy and position regarding local international relations will greatly influence the extent and success of relationships. In South Africa, for instance, a large number of links were formed after the national government published an official municipal international relations (MIR) strategy document in 1999' (De Villiers, 2009: 150). An example to explain De Villiers' statement can be the approach of Dutch Municipalities to the C2C. Municipality of Amsterdam -alongside many other Dutch municipalities- pays special attention to establishing partnership relations with the countries of origin of the migrants living in Amsterdam. This is adopted as an international relations strategy by Amsterdam. On the side of national government, the Development and Migration policy memorandum issued in July 2004 by Agnes van Ardenne, Minister for Development Cooperation, and Rita Verdonk, Minister for Immigration and Integration, was the first attempt to coordinate the various policy areas. The two Ministers believed that if the Netherlands wants to keep the flows of migrants manageable, its first priority should be to work on the situation in their countries of origin. (Beurden: 12) Both initiatives – the one by

municipalities and the other by the central state – are not surprising when decisions of the 1999 European Council Summit in Tampere are examined. A decision of ‘cooperation with the migrant countries of origin’ was taken during this summit in order to fight negative consequences of migration. (Lacenex *et al.*, 2002: 153) This implies the necessity of taking initiative by the national governments as well as the EU itself to provide a suitable environment for birth and development of successful city to city partnerships.

Hoetjes analyzed the connection between the policies of the central government and policies of the local governments (municipalities in case of the Netherlands) and involvement of the Dutch municipalities in the international affairs through example of the Netherlands: ‘For municipalities in international affairs, it implies a willingness of the central government, i.e., the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to involve them – individually and through the Association of Municipalities – in policy implementation, when and where this is politically useful within national foreign policy. E.g., for the implementation of cooperation treaties between the Netherlands and other countries, or for providing a temporary shelter for politically sensitive relations (e.g. with a former colony like Surinam), a municipal involvement can prove quite useful. Therefore, municipalities are welcome participants in the discussion on international policies – or any other policy, for that matter – which continually takes place in The Hague (political centre of the Netherlands) . They are part of the scene. The right to have international contacts, which is granted to municipalities by international law, e.g., the Madrid Treaty and the Council of Europe Charter for Local Autonomy, is granted to the municipalities without much problem – as long as they use these rights in open communication with central government, of course. Municipal twinnings, therefore, are far from a dead letter – they are very much alive’. (Hoetjes, 2009: 158) He continued ‘In the slipstream of Kyoto, and other worldwide conferences/campaign expressing concern about ‘the planet’ (climate change, sustainable development etc.), the Dutch government wants to involve municipalities and NGOs to achieve the Millennium Goals. This campaign expresses a concern for the environment, but also for good governance as a crucial factor. Worldwide contacts, especially between rich and poor countries, are considered as an important contribution to sustainable development. Municipalities showing a concern for international solidarity and environment can acquire the label of ‘Millennium municipality’ by promoting reduced energy consumption, by buying ‘Fair trade’-products etc. At present, around 60 Dutch municipalities have acquired this label. It is too early to say, if this will bring many new twinnings from the Netherlands, but it certainly has re-fuelled attention for the Third World, and it has put existing twinnings – with the Third World, but also with Eastern Europe

– in a new perspective. (Hoetjes, 2009: 159) Europe, West and East together, take more than 75% of Dutch twinnings... All in all, Dutch twinnings are strongly Europe-centred, and within the Third World there is a clear favour for Africa and Central America'. (Hoetjes, 2009: 160) This is an outcome of the national foreign policy of the Netherlands and its impact on the municipal twinnings.

A good example to support mechanism is the City of Berlin. Along with many different institutions in Berlin, federal government institutions also serve as partners and help give municipal cooperation a strong foundation. (City of Berlin, web)

2.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas

Tjandradewi's empirical survey will be referred frequently in this chapter, as it is one of the several large-scale empirical studies in the field of city to city partnership analyses.

Table 2: Respondent scores for areas where C2C contributes the most, according to Tjandradewi's survey

Functional area	Percent ranked highest		Average Score	
	Percent	Rank	Score	Rank
Environment	67	1	3.62	1
Health/education	60	2	3.30	2
Social/cultural	50	3	3.25	3
Security/disaster management	47	4	3.16	5
Employment/economic development	45	5	3.25	4
Housing/shelter	40	6	3.10	6
Urban Infrastructure	38	7	3.29	3
Municipal finance	35	8	3.10	6
Gender/poverty	30	9	2.95	7

Source: (Tjandradewi, 2009: 170)

Table shows Tjandradewi's research carried out within CITYNET. The survey was conducted within the CITYNET network and was sent to more than 70 local governments in over 20 countries in Asia. Responses came from approximately 30 local governments and one national association of local governments, from a total of 16 countries. (Tjandradewi, 2009: 169)

From this analysis the areas of environment, health and education, social and cultural issues and urban infrastructure were the four most important areas for C2C cooperation. Infrastructure received more widespread support than security and disaster management (which also was noted by 10% of the respondents as an area where C2C did not contribute). (Tjandradewi, 2009: 169-170)

Although the survey is carried out involving Asian local government officials, it does have serious implications for the local governments in global sense. When democratic standards in European countries are considered, the only objection to the outcomes of this survey would be the low ranking of gender/poverty field in the list of C2C cooperation areas.

The survey demonstrates that although in recent decades terms such as economic development and municipal finance have entered into the agenda of C2C cooperation partnerships, the municipal-related services continue to dominate the agenda. Indeed, involvement of local business stakeholders in the partnerships pushes the agenda towards economic sphere; however local public services retain their important place in the partnerships. Worthful to mention, the survey reflects the opinion of local officials and it is not very surprising that the areas that fall within their responsibility by first hand are more apparent than the other areas.

Hoetjes also wrote ‘virtually all policy fields, from sports to waste disposal, tourism, public works, health and sanitation, fight against poverty, culture, minorities, environment, education or infrastructure are taken up by municipal twinnings.’ (Hoejets, 2008: 160)

Needs of local government as well as the local community needs shall be taken into consideration in identification of the cooperation areas. Cooperation cannot simply involve the above mentioned areas only because they are considered to be the important and potential areas for cooperation. The best results can be acquired when the local needs (and objectives identified according to them) and these cooperation areas intercept. These needs shall be identified and drafted by the experts within local authorities and approved by the local councils, for the sake of harmony between professionalism and democracy.

2.1.3. Clear objectives

Hoetjes asked ‘For the evaluation of a specific twinning, the first question: what aims and purposes are defined by the twinning partners themselves, and are these aims formulated in operational terms, enabling evaluation and/or review? For an effective and convincing evaluation, the twinner’s own goals offer the best starting-point.’ (Hoetjes, 2008: 163)

It is of primary importance, what cities expect to achieve via establishing transnational partnerships with their counterparts in other countries. Local needs of cities are and shall be determining in identifying their objectives. Needs of cities depend on many variables such as development level, geographical position, population, size, characteristics, service quality etc. A city in Africa is likely to have different expectations from their transnational links than for example a city in Western Europe. In this case, the African city most probably expects to strengthen its governance, improve its service standards and contribute in its development process via information exchange (ECDPM, 2004: 1-2) while a city in Europe expects to gain prestige in international arena, assist in development of the less developed as a part of democratic responsibility (Hewitt, 1999: 315), provide cultural understanding and more recently follow economic interests (Buis, 2009: 191) and exchange information to fight negative consequences of migration. (van Ewijk *et al*, 2009: 219) Expectations of the latter can be named as 'advanced objectives' in this sense. However, it is not only the so called 'developed west and north' that have these 'advanced objectives'. Local governments and also the local community involved in city partnerships in the 'Third World' also have such expectations. However, more urgent needs such as development bare more importance for them while the aspect of cultural-social gains of the relationships interest them in secondary place.

Objectives vary also according to the regional combination of the partnerships. For instance, expectations of a city located in a new member or candidate state of the EU from a partnership with a city from Africa and from that of a city in Western Europe are not the same. Selection of the proper partner, following identification of the local needs is an important success factor that needs to be given importance in preparation process.

Local needs are defined within the cities' local policies, usually in the strategic plans. Partnerships are likely to provide most fruitful results when these needs are taken into consideration and when partnerships are established in this respect. Certainly for this, the process shall progress properly from the very first stage, which is defining strategy of the city, in accordance with the local needs.

As de Villiers pointed 'The management framework starts with the formulation of an alliance strategy, followed by setting criteria for partner selection, selecting candidates, concluding the agreement, and then managing the relationship. Before a strategic alliance is entered into, an organisation needs an alliance strategy to spell out the rationale, aims and vision of why such relationships should be promoted and developed. Such a strategy should include the vision and goals for C2C partnerships, guidelines for partner selection, guidelines

for senior management/ champion involvement, and how learning will be captured. The strategy should also include guidelines for capacity building, the municipal and/or community structure/s that will be set up to facilitate relationships, as well as guidelines on the desirable number of affiliations sought.’ (de Villiers: 2009: 152)

2.1.4. Proper Partner Search and Selection

As Sister Cities International explained ‘Communities find each other in many different ways. It may be a top-down process, where two mayors meet and become friends, and then involve the rest of their community in the relationship. Or it could be a bottom-up process, where a group or individual in the community—an educator, businessperson, service club or ethnic association—takes the lead and organizes a sister cities committee and then requests that their elected leaders form an official partnership.’ (SCI, 2003: 5) Leaving aside the top-down aspect, which is an outcome of informal relationships between individuals (that are high officials) from bottom-up perspective, cooperation area identification has a direct effect on the partner selection. Careful partner selection is important, and partners should be chosen who can assist the community in reaching its specific goals. Resources should also be concentrated by limiting the number of partners. This could be achieved by identification of several criteria in partner search and selection to declare as partner or sister.

According to SCI ‘Creating a sister cities partnership is like entering a marriage. It is a long-term commitment and thus requires a lot of ‘courting’ to ensure that the best partner is chosen.’ (SCI, 2003: 6) According to SCI overall factors to consider in partner selection are as following:

- Is there genuine interest on both sides?
- Is there a long-term commitment to the relationship?
- Is there adequate financial support for exchanges and maintenance of the relationship? If you are working with an underserved region, are you capable of covering expenses they might not be able to handle?

It further suggests cities to ‘make a realistic assessment of what makes a successful sister cities relationship, and capitalize on the existing strengths of both communities. Remember that a desire to learn from and share experiences with a sister city can often balance the lack of similar characteristics with a potential partner.’ And stresses the importance of alliances with like-minded organizations (SCI, 2003: 5-6)

De Villiers has a more systematic approach to partner selection. He sees the partner selection pace as second step to be taken following identification of C2C strategy: ‘From the

alliance strategy it will be clear what type of partners in which parts of the world should be sought. Such search activities could entail the use of consultants, but would normally consist of a community or city approaching an international matchmaking organisation such as Sister Cities International or an association of local government in the foreign country. Besides specifically seeking out strategic partners, a city or community might also be approached by other cities or communities with twinning requests. Such requests should, however, only be considered if they fall within the parameters of the C2C strategy.’ (de Villiers, 2009: 152)

He further asks ‘But what are the criteria for selecting a C2C partner? Many different criteria used for partner selection can be identified from observed case studies. These include the size of the city/population; geographical factors (e.g. mountains, desert, lake, port); politics in a historical perspective (e.g. previous armed conflicts); historical connections between countries (e.g. immigrants); cultural sentiments or barriers (e.g. language, ethnic groups); philanthropic reasons (e.g. North–South twinings); common social interest (e.g. sport, shared music or art); common economic interest (e.g. key industries, investment, trade, and tourism potential); universities; presence of archaeological sites; political ideologies; similar names; local associations; existing linkages (e.g. business, YMCA, Rotary); or personal connections’ (de Villiers, 2009: 152)

2.1.5. Legitimization

The partnerships shall be based on written rules and formalized by agreements/protocols. Protocols must involve what is meant by partnership, cooperation areas, problems and methods of solving them through cooperation, distribution of roles of the partners etc. Partnerships are not informal relationships. Therefore they need to be taken serious and approached with an institutional perspective from preparation stage.

De Villiers wrote ‘The relationship should be formalised through a signed agreement or memorandum of understanding, typically with a long-term focus. This should, very importantly, be underpinned by a business plan with clear objectives, goals, projects and planned activities.’ (De Villiers, 2009: 150) Tjandradewi further explained ‘When a community makes cooperative arrangements each must understand clearly the mutual expectations, schedules and outcomes. Understanding can be enhanced through written agreements (such as the Memorandums of Cooperation) or through consistent contact and discussions.’ (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168) Reference point of the cities in legitimization must pertain to their pieces of local laws, meaning each cooperation area defined within the

protocols/agreements must be compatible with the laws by which the local government departments or local community function.

De Villiers continued ‘The agreement needs to be formulated and then signed by both parties, usually at a symbolic ceremony through which the intention of the agreement is communicated to the communities involved. The agreement or MOU normally spells out the areas of cooperation as well as the duration of the agreement and many other issues, such as divorce conditions’.(de Villiers, 2009: 153)

Kuglin & Hook wrote ‘But such an agreement is preceded by the compilation of a business plan which spells out the vision, goals and objectives of the partners, as well as strategies and actions to achieve them. This document should also include a role clarification, decisions on broad-based management structures, processes, use of staff, and plans for active community participation. Integrated project plans, including budgets and resource allocations, could also be developed at this stage. The business plan, which supports the overall alliance agreement, should be compiled and revised on an annual basis and should contain sections on the types of work to be performed by both parties; the annual targets that each alliance partner commits to achieve; the dedication of personnel; the cross training of personnel needed; the marketing or advertising efforts needed; and other items necessary to achieve the business plan goals’ (Kuglin & Hook, 2002: 143).

Hoetjes argued ‘In order to make twinnings more flexible, a strategy of moving from programmes/twinnings to projects and networks is often used. By giving a clear time horizon to twinning activities, one prevents ‘eternal twinning’ and immobility. Networks offer new, and changing contacts, instead of one-to-one-relationships. One should make twinnings move.’ (Hoetjes, 2009: 163)

2.1.6. Partners’ Commitment

Having established the partnerships, the partners shall show their commitment via affording human and financial resources for the partnerships. Tjandradewi wrote, ‘The commitment to link is arguably the precursor to any cooperative activity and must be experienced by all parties involved. The commitment can be manifested in the efforts and time expended by a member of the network and the resources (human and financial) devoted to the exercise ... A key element that enhances the reciprocity element is cost-sharing. In the case of cooperation between Penang and Yokohama, the project focused on joint activities with small budgets, as both cities faced constraints. Cost-sharing between cities helped pave

the way for partnership. This concept is important for the sustainability of C2C cooperation programmes and projects, as it encourages less dependency on the contribution from the wealthier partners. On the other hand, in many cases, development projects are not sustainable once the funding support has been terminated. The cost effectiveness, in terms of the ability of all parties to continue the proposed activity after cooperation ends, is another measure of success.’ (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168)

Financial planning occupies a very important place in proper planning. Allocation of financial resources to C2C efforts demonstrates partners’ commitment. Thus, partners’ commitment is important for the success of C2C cooperation from the beginning. Municipality of Amsterdam has allocated a budget to the International Office which is 1 Euro per resident, which means as of January 2010 the budget of International Office is about 770.000 Euros. (Portal to Amsterdam)

In de Villiers’s words ‘... other success factors are the quality of management, and strong, committed community leadership. In many successful relationships a broad-based twinning committee from each partner was in place. But effective and permanent organisational structures and staff are also needed to sustain the partnership.’ (De Villiers, 2009: 150) Indeed, existence of a particular department is demonstration of the commitment and importance given to the international activities of the local governments. Moreover, according to SCI partners shall have willingness to grow and take risks. (SCI:5)

2.1.7. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments

As international activities of the cities enhanced, officers responsible for management of the local authorities realized the need to assign particular staff for international affairs. Moreover, as glocalisation process kept on (see section 1.3.2) the need even to manage the relations on an institutional basis became more apparent and cities formed particular departments to respond the international service demands. Structuring of these services within the local governments show variations depending on the approaches of and importance given by those who govern the city. In some cities the international office or department is established as an ordinary municipal department while in some it is established with a special status, with direct connection to the mayor (Kern, 2007: 10) or highest officials closer to the mayor within the hierarchical organisational structure. In both cases, staff of the department, often director or equivalent person, is in direct contact with mayor’s office. As international activities are seen as diplomatic issues and local international activities are the micro-

diplomatic versions of this diplomacy, also called by various authorities as ‘low diplomacy’, great importance is given in order to avoid misunderstandings, misuses and conflicts in this sensitive area. For this reason, projects or activities of the international offices are usually negotiated longer than those of other municipal departments. Moreover, these departments are involved in specific fields of cooperation which are relevant to other municipal departments and therefore they are in direct contact with the departments, officials, councillors etc.

Senior level officials and decision makers play important roles both in opening the window of opportunity for cooperation and in maintaining links. Leadership is, therefore, important at all phases in C2C cooperation. Moreover, cooperative efforts between governments can extend into years. If senior officials change often, as is the case in Japan, projects can take longer and suffer as inexperienced personnel not convinced of the merits of the effort take command. Even if they agree, new staff member must be trained in both the spirit and the substance of the cooperation. If leadership is consistent, C2C exercises have a greater potential to succeed. (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168)

2.1.8. Local Community Involvement

Local community involvement consists of the participation and contributions of civil society, the non profit and private sector. Civil society may cooperate with the local authority in C2C activities, or it may execute its own programme. In fact, there are many hybrid forms of North-South partnerships incorporating municipal and civil society efforts. Civil society activities include fundraising for projects and facilitating the exchange of people (e.g. students) and information by means of organising exhibitions and festivals...(Bontenbal, 2009: 36)

The councils play the major facilitating role in the C2C relationship and strong support from the municipal council and the commitment of its management are needed. Broad-based community involvement, including sub-alliances between institutions, groups, organisations and the business sector, are important for success. (De Villiers: 2009: 150) Otherwise the relationship cannot go further than a municipal to municipal partnership. Involvement of various local stakeholders in accordance with their special goals is important for the success of the partnerships.

As de Villiers pointed ‘The level of community awareness of the twinning, for instance, has a significant positive correlation with success’ (De Villiers, 2009:150) According to SCI, successful partnerships shall have Cross-cultural awareness (SCI:5) and

the ICMA also found that more citizen participation leads to a higher degree of sustainability (ICMA, 2004). In Tjandradewi's words 'Community-wide participation in the effort can come from NGOs or CBOs working with local governments. The important aspect of this element is that the linkages between members go deeper than local governmental officials and include members from the civil societies of each city. As cities are diverse entities, any cooperation between two different cities must include a number of different voices from each locality' (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168)

Miscellaneous types of activities can be shown as an example within this context. They may change from the early activities of artist exchanges, for example those carried between the British city of Bristol and the German city of Hannover in 1947, following the devastations of the Second World War (Handley, 2004: 5) to the current activities of public road signs with the names of the sister cities and their distance written on them. (Zelinsky, 1991: 6) Such activities are mostly cultural and involve the local communities. Community involvement is very crucial for success of partnerships as it provides dissemination of the positive outcomes of partnerships to the various local stakeholders be it for example civil society organisations or educational organisations. Sister Cities International stresses the importance of 'support and involvement from city hall and business sector' and 'broad-based support and involvement from the community' for the success of cooperation. (SCI: 5)

De Villiers listed some successful cases in this respect: 'Examples of successful community-driven partnerships include those between Cape Town (South Africa) and Aachen (Germany); Hibiscus Coast Municipality (South Africa) and Oskarshamn (Sweden); and Honolulu (Hawaii) and Hue (Vietnam)' (De Villiers, 2009: 150)

German cities are among successful examples in terms of local community involvement. Along with the official elements of their cooperation, which includes reciprocal visits by political representatives, Berlin is particularly interested in having the people of the city benefit directly from their partnerships. Against this backdrop, contacts between the people and their representatives, between political and social groups, and between municipal and private organizations are especially encouraged. They hold seminars for specialists and senior staff, and they also support cultural, academic, scientific, and sporting events, youth exchanges, and study abroad programs. (City of Berlin, web)

2.1.9. Periodical Communication and Reassessment

Relationships are formed and maintained through reliable and regular communication involving all stakeholders and including both mutual understanding and commitment between partners. This implies that the relationship should be actively marketed and promoted among the relevant parties. (De Villiers, 2009: 150) Strong communication links shall be present. (SCI:5) continued communication even after the cooperation was officially completed provide an important avenue for further information exchange and cooperation. (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168)

At the early stages of C2C, cities would sign an open ended cooperation agreement or protocol that would not envisage an expiry date. This caused extinction of the relationships due to lack of re-evaluation of the relationships and updating. Therefore it is needed to evaluate the legitimize basis of the relationships regularly to update the objectives, priorities, methodology, cooperation areas etc of the partnership and protects it from becoming extinct. (Handley, 2004: 4) The partners may decide it is no longer necessary to cooperate as a natural decision in mutual relationships. However this shall be done through mutual will of the partners but not because of the ‘time out’.

As de Villiers stated ‘Regular exchanges and strong relationship building that tie the two communities together are also needed, which might be influenced by the similarities of personalities on both sides.’ (De Villiers, 2009: 150) SCI proposes that: ‘Even if your community lacks the resources to make trips between the two countries, there are a variety of low-cost exchanges that should continue to occur every year:

- An annual “state of the city” letter between the two mayors
- Exchanges of the cities’ annual reports and city plans by officials at city hall
- Exchanges of children’s artwork, letters or e-mails
- Periodic exchanges of interesting newspaper articles that show how society, technology, the environment, etc., are changing in your city
- Cultural festivals, movies or speeches that celebrate the culture of the sister city (foreign students or business people from the nation of the sister city can be guest speakers)’ (SCI: 5)

De Villiers further examined the factor of periodical communication and reassessment under the title of ‘maintenance and measurement’ and concluded that ‘Once the relationship is implemented, its success or failure needs to be reviewed regularly. This can only be done if

specific measurements have been agreed on in the planning phase ...measuring joint performance in a partnering or alliance relationship is a shared process between the alliance partners. Each key goal/objective will have an associated set of initiatives, milestones or action plans, and the success of each goal/objective will be determined by actual performance as measured against jointly agreed key performance indicators (KPIs) and associated targets.’ (de Villiers, 2009: 154)

The agreements shall be time limited and needs to be refreshed at the end of the envisaged period. That provides the local authorities to reconsider their expectations from the relationship, define new roles and responsibilities and also helps to assess the existing relationships seriously. When the relationship is not reviewed periodically the ties between the cities weakens and sometimes extincs and after a time totally disappears. Sometimes lack of interest may also cause in suspension, cancellation or wither away of the relationship.

2.1.10. Mutuality and Reciprocity

De Villiers wrote ‘The foundation of the relationships is built on the attitudes and values of trust, reciprocity, commitment, understanding, cultural sensitivity, positive attitude towards risk, and flexibility.’ (De Villiers, 2009: 150) Tjandradewi further explained ‘All members of a cooperative effort must also receive the appropriate level of payback and demonstrate responsibility for aspects of linkage development. Successful ooperation is needdriven on both the recipient and benefactor sides. This maybe different from other resource-recipient cooperation in which particular economic interests within the benefactor cities dominate the agenda. One of the primary objectives of C2C cooperation is to increase reciprocity between cities, demonstrated in mutual trust and respect, from all parties.’ (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168)

On mutuality Bontenbal wrote ‘It has been perceived that in practice, Southern partners are supported by means of financial aid and capacity building activities, whilst Northern partners benefit from C2C through an increased awareness and knowledge of global issues and the opportunity for the public at large to participate in development efforts. Thus, the exchange of knowledge and expertise through peer-to-peer programmes for local government officials and citizens implies two-way capacity building.’ (Bontenbal, 2009: 37)

Van Ewijk provided an overview of the principles of mutuality and reciprocity. Her analysis also includes the problem of one-way benefit of the Northern and Western

municipalities, called the municipalities from developed World: ‘UNDP suggests that mutual understanding and reciprocity can be regarded a precondition for successful city-to-city partnerships. 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... According to the existing literature on MIC, mutuality is an aspect at which most municipalities aim. However, in practice benefits for municipalities in the North are not always clear or are described in general and abstract terms. Although there are several opportunities for Northern municipalities to learn and benefit from cooperation with their partner municipalities in the South, the general emphasis is still on North–South knowledge transfer. Generally, the practice of Northern municipalities is regarded as ‘best practice’, and the partner municipality in the South or East can learn from it. This perception applies specifically to craft, and contextualized knowledge pertaining to specific sectors, like waste management, or organizational aspects of governance; e.g. public administration, registration, informing and involving the public.’ (van Ewijk *et al*, 2009: 221)

2.1.11. Sustainability

The ICMA stated that ‘The ability to access on-going community-based financial resources to sustain the relationship is very important, as well as regular evaluation and revision of the agreement and the relationship. But these factors cannot be seen in isolation and there is a strong relationship among them. The ICMA, for instance, points out that the interdependence between projects and partnerships is at the heart of sustainability. A partnership cannot continue to grow without new project initiatives, and a project cannot continue to have impact without the support and relationships provided by a strong partnership’ (ICMA, 2004:4).

The ICMA further concluded that ‘without the introduction of a process to ensure project and partnership sustainability, the programs run the risk of achieving only short-term impacts disregarding the long-term needs of both communities’, and ‘to address these complex challenges, a framework for sustainability must be introduced at the beginning of the partnership’ (ICMA, 2004:6).

In order to build successful and sustainable relationships, a management and planning framework must be adopted by a partnering municipality at the beginning of the relationship, which is built around and takes into account all the success factors discussed here. This

framework or management model should also make provision for the fact that these relationships are not concluded overnight.

Zelinsky (1991:4) observes that ‘normally many months or even some years of exploration, courtship and mutual foreplay must pass before the union is consummated’. According to Sister Cities International, it takes 1–2 years to make the necessary contacts, to build solid sister city programmes on each side and to develop good communication links (SCI, 2003:4). This was also confirmed by De Villiers (2009), who found that among South African partnerships the period of negotiating the agreement until it was finally signed was on average 1.4 years, but varied from 6 months to 4 years.

Sustainability requires continuous and well planned mutual exchanges between cooperation cities. ‘Mutual exchanges between Sister cities can be defined as both the reasons for and the benefits of these connections. Nevertheless, historical and ethnic connections of cities can be evaluated as one of the main reasons in establishing city-to-city connections.’ (Levent *et al*, 2008: 90),

Existence of concrete results is also important in terms of sustainability. Tjandradewi pointed that ‘All cooperation arguably needs concrete examples of success. Results through real examples, include both soft (i.e., administrative and management tools, etc) and hard (i.e., infrastructure, etc) changes that demonstrate the success of the project and engender deeper mutual commitments. Projects under C2C cooperation should be simple, concrete and financially feasible. Real examples can be clearly demonstrated through prior projects and other times through the success of capacity building exercises.’ (Tjandradewi, 2009: 168) Acquisition of positive soft outcomes from the cooperation requires longer time than those of hard changes. Results of a project developed for example in the area of infrastructure show its effect directly during and at the end of the project while it requires a series of projects in this field to provide soft changes, meaning changes in the vision of the relevant municipal department, dealing with infrastructure affairs.

2.1.12. Membership in Network Associations

Local governments’ membership in national and international network associations is important in two respects. First, these networks provide for local government activities in both in national and international projects including twinning activities. Second, activities within these networks such as meetings and conferences are sites where local government

representatives find the chance to come together and meet each other. Links established within these networks can be sustained via support of these networks.⁷

2.2. European Integration via C2C

Leaving aside the question, whether European Integration is a form of Europeanization, before outlining the success factors for European integration via C2C, it is essential to define what is referred to by ‘European integration in local level’. This can best be explained by Europeanization literature. But before proceeding to the discussion of Europeanization, it is necessary to understand the EU’s official position and its historical and legislative background.

2.2.1 The EU’s Approach to C2C

Following the world war, cooperation between European people was a driving force behind twinning arrangements. Ideals of peace and friendship were widely supported by the people themselves and any attempt to make another war less possible were welcomed by the people. Thus the twinings made by municipalities received public support for the sake of peace in Europe. However when twinning became an important international cooperation method again in 90s, things were different. European cooperation had become something taken for granted and not something to fight for. As Hoetjes argued ‘Whereas the first and the second wave of twinings were clearly driven by political ideology and idealism – creating peace in Europe, fighting injustice and inequality in the Third World -, the present twinning do not refer to specific political ideologies and, therefore, do not generate much political controversy. Disaster relief, humanitarian aid, concern for ‘people, profit, planet’, and uniting East and West in Europe – all these goals can rely on a broad goodwill. Twinings, therefore, have a positive, but low political profile. It should be noted, however, that notions of idealism and solidarity no longer have the moral monopoly. Notions of benefit and profit have become more explicit: both individuals and municipalities think the question ‘how do I benefit from international activity?’ is important and relevant.’ (Hoetjes: 2008: 162)

Today cities in more than 30 countries in Europe come together via 30 thousand cooperation partnerships and this facilitates establishment of a Europe where citizens’ voices are heard stronger. (TBB, 2010: 9) These relationships provide the necessary foundation for

⁷ See section 2.3.1.6 for extended explanation with the good examples in Europe.

technical cooperation to find solution for problems that European local governance may face in the future.

The EU supports the process of C2C cooperation (town twinning) in various ways. First of all it has developed a support mechanism via particular EU Twinning program. Second it encourages decentralization in governance in both, the Member States and candidate or potential candidate states. Principle of Subsidiarity can be seen as an explaining concept of the EU's view on governance. It envisages that decisions shall be taken by the closest governance level to the people, defined in Maastricht Treaty and it encourages the members, candidates or potential candidates to carry out reforms in this respect.

The EU has been supporting the twinning since 1989. (EU Commission) Clarke explained that 'Much discussion had taken place during the 1980s about the extent to which expanding European institutions required a concept, understanding, and practice of European citizenship in order to function. In 1984, a meeting of the European Council at Fontainebleau established the Adonnino Committee to consider the profile of the European Community among citizens of its member states. When the Committee reported, it recommended a number of actions to strengthen and promote this profile, including Community support for town twinning. In 1988, on the initiative of Nicole Fontaine MEP, the European Parliament adopted a report on town twinning and its contribution to European awareness. One outcome of these two reports was Community Aid for Twinings. Another programme sponsoring the CEM or bonding model of town twinning within Europe is the European Commission's Citizens for Europe programme which has funding from 2007 to 2013. Town twinning is meant to achieve a number of things in this programme. It is meant to foster friendship, cooperation, mutual understanding, a European identity, and a sense of ownership of the European Union among citizens of member states. The context for these aims and objectives is failure to ratify the European Constitution in France and the Netherlands during 2005 and a perceived dwindling of support for the European Union among ordinary Europeans.' (Clarke, 2010: 21)

Kern explained 'Institutional changes include the establishment of the Committee of the Regions in 1994, the inclusion of provisions referring to local authorities in the draft of the Constitutional Treaty, and the introduction of a systematic dialogue with the European and national associations of regional and local authorities. By directly linking its activities to the local level, which is the level closest to the people, the Commission hopes to improve the

legitimacy of EU decisions and counterbalance the widely discussed democratic deficit.’ (Kern, 2007: 1)

Hoetjes argued ‘...the involvement of the EU-institutions implied an enormous financial input: pre-accession and post-accession funds were made available for twinning activities. Nevertheless, compared to the first wave/layer of twinings, the recent EU involvement is a top-down rather than a bottom-up process. There is a strong need for more legitimacy among the public at large: a great effort has to be made to tell ‘the story of Europe’ to the people, to explain and justify EU in general and, more specifically, EU-involvement in municipal twinings...’(Hoetjes, 2008:162)

The EU’s Twinning Programme is more culturalistic than the other C2C cooperation initiatives such as those developed by UN or UCLG. The focus is on European cultural integration and information exchange is encouraged in this respect. (EU Commission, 2009: 5) It also provides a lobbying site for the local governments to effect the European decision making process by bringing up their needs and problems to the European level.

By Decision 1904/2006/EC of 12 December 2006 the European Parliament and the Council adopted the 'Europe for Citizens Programme' for the period 2007-2013, which put into place the legal framework to support a wide range of activities and organisations promoting ‘active European citizenship’ and therefore the involvement of citizens and civil society organisations in the process of European integration. (EU Commission, 2009: 4)

2.2.2. Urban Europeanization

Local governments do not have direct formal representation in Brussels, however actions of the EU have direct effect on them since implementation of around two-thirds of EU legislation is done by local and regional authorities in the Member States (EU CoR, 2009) According to Marshall ‘This has led to changes at both local and EU level. The implementation of EU programs at local level alters the preferences of local actors as well as practices, and policies. Conversely, local experiences shape the development of EU programs and policies which incorporate such experiences and innovative urban practices’ (Marshall 2005: 672).

What is common to most Europeanization definitions is change. Antalovsky *et al* pointed that ‘...the mainstream approach in studies of Europeanisation holds that as a basic precondition for any EU-induced changes in the domestic arena there needs to be some sort of

‘mismatch’, ‘misfit’ or ‘incompatibility’ between European and domestic processes, policies and institutions. For this research agenda, Europeanisation is an observable phenomenon linked to EU membership which results from adaptation pressure emanating from the European level. In addition, in order further to explain variation in the Europeanisation of policy fields in different member states, most studies on Europeanisation point to the extent to which existing domestic arrangements are open to change induced by the EU level. The same EU policy or legislation will impact in very different ways in different member states when ‘filtered’ (or ‘mediated’) by a country’s particular institutions, legal proceedings, distribution of competences between national and sub-national layers of government, political culture or the influence of vocal veto groups.’ (Antalovsky *et al*, 2005: 68)

Peter John calls Europeanization ‘a process whereby European ideas and practices transfer to the core of local decision-making as well as from local policy-making arenas to the supranational level. The European function is a means whereby public authorities can innovate and initiate policies and programmes in the context of transnational co-operation and European policy-making.’ (John 2001: 73)

Departing from this definition of Europeanization, Marshall further explains the urban Europeanization ‘Taking the definitions and analytical tools discussed above as a starting point, it is possible to articulate a working definition of Europeanization at the urban level which can be applied to any European city engaging with political initiatives and pressures from the European level:

(1) *Download Europeanization*: Changes in policies, practices, preferences or participants within local systems of governance, arising from the negotiation and implementation of EU programmes.

(2) *Upload Europeanization*: The transfer of innovative urban practices to the supranational arena, resulting in the incorporation of local initiatives in pan-European policies or programmes.’ (Marshall 2005: 672). In addition to Marshall’s two ways urban Europeanization, Kern (2007) adds (3) *Horizontal Europeanization* as a separate dimension, achieved through the activities within networking, such as information and best practise exchange. (Kern, 2007: 4-5)

As for the reason, why to isolate the study of urban Europeanization from the other forms of sub-national Europeanization, Marshall argues that ‘... the internal and external constraints that urban areas face are unique, and cannot simply be compared to the pressures experienced by constitutional regions, rural areas or small towns.’ (Marshall 2005: 670).

Kern pointed that ‘In many areas cities have developed from policy-takers to active players in the EU multi-level system. They have opened offices in Brussels, founded transnational city networks, and tried to gain direct access to European institutions. Although local authorities are not even mentioned in the treaties, they have become more important in Brussels.’ (Kern, 2007: 1)

Despite the fact that most Europeanization studies focus on the domestic (national and subnational) impact of EU legislation, the effects on cities and towns barely feature in the current debate, although most EU legislation is eventually implemented at the local level (Kern, 2007: 1)

First, Europeanization can be defined as the implementation of EU legislation and its impacts at local level. Second, the effects of top-down Europeanization have been altered because cities have started to bypass nation-states. Like the general debate on Europeanization, this perspective combines top-down and bottom-up arguments. Third, these approaches must be complemented by a third dimension which concentrates on horizontal Europeanization, namely city twinning and networking. Cities have developed various tools to facilitate best practice transfer. Although EU institutions play either no role here or merely a facilitative one (e.g., through project funding), this is an important aspect of urban-level Europeanization. (Kern, 2007: 2)

Departing from the definition of urban Europeanization in this chapter, what makes a city Europeanized? In order to assess the factors that help us decide whether a city is Europeanized or not, following chapters will seek to identify the characteristics of urban Europeanization.

Among the integration theories, neofunctionalism seems to be the most appropriate theory through which the process of transnational city to city partnerships and developments within this process can be explained. Most important reason that makes it explanatory is its emphasis on the effect of subnational interest groups over integration process. The basic idea of integration in neofunctionalism is that once cooperation start in one sector, it gradually spreads to the other sectors (called by neofunctionalists as spill over effect) and the integration process keeps on this way. Early functionalists saw this as an automatic process but neofunctionalists expressed the necessity of certain amount of political action as well. (Haas, 1968: 16) This process is adaptable to the process of city to city partnerships. Cities start to cooperate on one or some specific fields and usually the cooperation fields enhance over time and the ties strengthen. (Both in terms of cooperation areas and actors involved.)

2.2.3. Dimensions of the Europeanization of Cities

According to multi-level governance approach recently developed by Europeanization scholars, the EU has evolved into a system which has multiple levels of governance structure made up of European, national and sub-national levels. (Marks *et al*, 1996: 41) This approach champions that the competencies are not only shifted upwards to the European level but also downwards to the local level, from nation states to the regions and cities. (Pierre *et al*, 2000: 77) ‘Policy arenas are no longer confined to a specific level because local actors may work together with representatives of national ministries and the EU commission. This creates new opportunities for local authorities, which can pursue their interests at both national and European level.’ (Kern, 2007: 3)

Although many Europeanization studies concentrate on the impact of European politics in the Member States, the impact of the Member States’ actions on EU institutions are also included. These top-down and bottom-up dynamics are not limited to the interaction between the EU and its Member States but are also relevant for the interaction between the EU and local authorities (Marshall 2005: 671; Kern, 2007: 3). Moreover, cities become actors in the EU arena ‘in their own right’ gradually and do more than implementing EU programmes, policies and norms. (Hemedinger, 2010: 9)

Following chapters will strive to explain the bottom up, top down and horizontal dimensions of Urban Europeanization.

2.2.3.1 Top Down Europeanization: Implementing EU legislation

There were almost no (direct) impacts of European legislation on subnational governments before the Single European Act of 1986. This situation had changed fundamentally by the early 1990s and there is now almost no area of local or regional policy which is not affected by European regulation (Kern *et al*, 2009: 312-313)

Articus wrote: ‘European law has a profound influence on municipalities. Some legal acts affect them directly, some indirectly. Primary legislation is directly relevant, e.g. the treaties founding or stipulating the further development of the European Communities, municipal voting rights for EU citizens, the free movement of labour, which opens local authorities to EU citizens, and EU rules on competition and state aid as stipulated in Art. 86 ff. of the Treaty Establishing the European Community. European secondary legislation, i.e. legislation enacted pursuant to the treaties by responsible organs of the European

Communities, have such comprehensive ramifications for cities that a full analysis here would be unfeasible. The spectrum ranges from regulations on working hours, which affect basic organizational issues for a wide range of municipal services, to broad environmental laws executed. ... The energy industry, waste disposal services, legislation on working hours and in certain circumstances social services sponsored by local authorities are being impacted by European legislation.’ (Articus, 2005)

Kern (2007: 8) points out to an important feature of the top down process: ‘Although most legislation, which is implemented locally, is the product of EU decision-making, this influence is only indirect because it comes in the ‘disguise’ of national or state legislation. Local actors are not always aware that they are implementing EU legislation. More visible, however, are projects funded by the EU through its Structural Funds or Community Initiatives (such as URBAN program)’.

Kern explained: ‘Most of the research on Europeanization has focused on the effects of the European Union on its Member States. This dominant approach concentrates on the top-down implementation of EU decisions in the Member States, in particular on the dimensions and mechanisms of domestic change. As most EU regulations are ultimately implemented at local level, this perspective is of enormous interest in relation to the Europeanization of cities. Until recently, the debate among both scholars and practitioners focused on the (negative) impacts of the EU’s legal instruments at local level. From this perspective, local authorities are regarded as part of a hierarchically structured nation-state. Although they are in charge of implementing European legislation, they do not have direct access to EU decision-making. Thus, from this point of view, local authorities are considered as affected objects rather than active subjects.’ (Kern, 2007: 3-4) the EU’s legal and financial instruments have an impact on local authorities (top-down vertical Europeanization). A prominent example of this is environmental and sustainable development policy because EU decision making has become far more important than domestic policy-making in this policy area. (Kern *et al*, 2009: 312)

Kern concluded in her earlier study: ‘EU-local relations are difficult to grasp with a strict top-down model. EU legislation made in Brussels is not simply handed down to the national level and is then implemented by local authorities. If national governments lose their ‘gatekeeper’ position, which allows local authorities to bypass the nation-state, reality becomes more complex than a unidirectional top-down approach suggests.’ (Kern, 2007: 13)

2.2.3.2. Bottom up Urban Europeanization: Bypassing the Nation-state and Affecting Brussels

Antalovsky *et al.* stated that: ‘A purely top-down perspective is not sufficient to fully capture the dynamics of interaction in the system of European multi-level governance. Any involvement of urban actors in European programmes and every extension of EU legislation to sub-national territorial units will result in new expectations and interests on behalf of the local actors vis-`a-vis the European level. Thus we allow not only for ‘top down’ or ‘download’ Europeanisation, but also for an element of ‘bottom-up’ or ‘upload’ Europeanisation, as variously described by scholars of Europeanisation. In this ascending perspective, cities also try to participate in European policy- making, e.g. by influencing the positions of their national governments or directly lobbying EU institutions according to their own policy preferences. In short, instead of remaining at the receiving end of European policies, cities also strive to become (pro-) active actors in the political system of the European Union. Adopting this perspective allows us to ask about the genuinely local motivations and driving forces that makes cities embark on (or abstain from) EU-related activities.’ (Antalovsky *et al.*, 2005: 69)

The top-down perspective to Europeanization has faced criticism by the recent studies which argue that top-down Europeanization must be complemented by a bottom-up perspective because processes of Europeanization are more circular and interactive than unidirectional. (Kern, 2007: 4) When the repercussions of top-down Europeanization are taken into account, Europeanization can be regarded as ‘co-evolution between the domestic and the European level’. (Radaelli 2006: 59)

As an outcome of this necessity of ‘bottom up Europeanization’, cities have started to lobbying directly in European institutions and bypassing the nation states. Previously the lobbying process would be carried out within national associations of local authorities and they would be the intermediary between Brussels and the local. However, recently cities started to lobbying directly in Brussels and Strasbourg. In contrast to top down process, cities establish direct contact with the European Institutions via opening their own offices for lobbying purposes in Brussels. Using ‘formal channels’ such as Committee of the Regions which represents the local authorities as a whole, they establish direct links with representation by their own to promote their own interests. (Suleyman, 2011) In Kern’s word ‘If the EU-local relations are taken into account, the assessment of the effects of urban Europeanization leads to different results. Unlike top-down Europeanization, the emerging

‘foreign policy’ of cities opens up new transnational spaces for local actors. From this point of view the Europeanization of cities is not a problem but provides cities with new opportunities.’ (Kern, 2007: 4) This process is called ‘bottom-up vertical Europeanization’ (Kern *et al*, 2009: 312) It can be said that this has weakening consequences for the nation states as they are assumed as the most prominent actors, however cities do not only represent their own benefits but they also promote the interest of the country they belong to. (Suleyman, 2011)

As Kern further explained ‘the new opportunity structure pulls cities to Brussels. Even if they do not have an own office there, they are represented by their national association of cities, the CEMR, Eurocities, and many other more specialized networks. This development can be regarded as expression of para-diplomacy, meaning that sub-national authorities represent their interest independently of the national governments. While the mere implementation of EU legislation does not require an own local foreign policy, bypassing the nation-state does.’ (Kern, 2007: 13)

2.2.3.3. Horizontal Europeanization: Networking Between Cities

‘Policy transfer is not a new phenomenon created by European integration but can be traced back to the early development of public policies in areas such as social policy since the late 19th century. Even then, countries learned not only from their own experiences, but also from the experiences of their peers in other European countries, most often their immediate neighbors... Strategies ranging from city twinning to the establishment of transnational city networks constitute another dimension of the emerging foreign policy and para-diplomacy of European cities.’ (Kern, 2007: 4-5)

In Marshall’s words ‘As cities across Europe undergo an inexorable shift from hierarchical government to a more horizontal and flexible form of governance diverse actor networks and resource dependencies begin to characterize urban politics and especially the management of regeneration initiatives. Europeanization, far from reducing local fragmentation, actually serves to accentuate it, prompting the development of more urban partnerships, widening the number of participants involved in decision-making and encouraging greater multi-level territorial interaction. Thus the Europeanized city is, invariably, also a networked city.’ (Marshall, 2005: 673)

According to Articus, one of the three components of German cities' strategy in regard to Europe is the establishment of networks to ensure coordinated and concerted efforts with

European partners.’ A pressing issue for European municipalities in the coming years will be how to adjust their public services to the European legal framework without forfeiting the freedom to formulate their own policies. Considering the collective action being taken by cities, efforts to reduce the "dissonance" between representatives of local interests in Europe should be redoubled. The sheer number of networks and associations illustrates the range of these interests.’ (Articus, 2005)

In cities, Europeanization results from intensified political and economic interaction between actors at every conceivable territorial level. (Marshall, 2005: 669) ‘European cities and towns are becoming more Europeanized because they co-operate transnationally, exchange experiences and jointly develop innovative solutions for problems with which they are similarly confronted (horizontal Europeanization)’. (Kern *et al*, 2009: 312)

Kern further explained ‘In recent years the European Union has developed an approach which systematically supports the exchange of experience, learning from peers, and best practice transfer. As European towns and cities face similar challenges, they have developed strategies to facilitate best practice transfer. They cooperate transnationally, exchange experiences and jointly develop innovative solutions. Although horizontal Europeanization can also be found at Member State level, at which various transnational and transgovernmental networks have thrived in recent years, horizontal Europeanization appears to be even more important at local level.’ (Kern, 2007: 5)

From this point of view, twinnings are both, one of the three processes of Europeanization and a process that facilitates the bottom up and top down processes.

The main point of horizontal Europeanization is strengthening the cultural ties between (the citizens of) the cities and (citizens of the) other European cities, thus providing citizen level integration.

2.3. Success Factors in C2C Cooperation within European Integration Context

Taking Europeanization as the ultimate aim of the local authorities regardless of the interrogation whether it is an exigency; basically, a city is Europeanized if it is equipped with the following characters:

- a) a city which successfully implements the European law and legislation.
- b) a city which successfully uploads its preferences to the EU decision making process

c) a city which has strong connections with the other European cities in which they can share experience and information.

Cities in Europe show weaknesses to respond to the requirements of both processes of Europeanization. Following chapters provide ‘a C2C cooperation model for Europeanization’ departing from the previous chapter on urban Europeanization and definition of ‘Europeanized city’ and using the model previously defined for c2c cooperation in general.

2.3.1. Application of the Common Factors

In this section, general success factors in C2C cooperation which are also important in contribution of C2C cooperation to European integration will be explained. Firstly and importantly, all the twelve factors described for successful C2C cooperation are necessary for the partnerships to be successful also for the contribution to European integration. However some of those factors need to be highlighted specially for the European case and some other special factors shall be added.

2.3.1.1 Enabling Diplomatic Environment

Providing the local governments in Europe the initiative to establish their connections with their counterparts in the other European cities without much intervention is important. Central governments must play facilitating role rather than restricting. It is rational to urge local governments to determine their international policy in line with the national foreign policy. However, success of C2C cooperation requires the degree of central government involvement to be limited to providing an outline. Furthermore cooperation arrangements need active support from central governments.

Alignment of the international policy of the local governments to those of the national foreign policy and alignment of the national FP to those of the EU provides a more comprehensive and complete approach and broader perspective to C2C cooperation in terms of Europeanization. For instance Foreign Ministry of France urges and stimulates local governments to establish transnational partnerships with the cities or countries in the so called global South, which is outlined also in the Foreign Policy of France. (City of Paris, Web) However, on contrary to the authoritarian approach, it does not control the details of the partnership and does not restrict the transnational operations within framework of the partnership but only outlines the national priorities in order to achieve the national goals. In

the Netherlands, Municipality of Amsterdam pays special attention to establish partnership relations with the countries of origin of the migrant living in Amsterdam and This is adopted as an international relations strategy. In the Netherlands programmes that financially support the C2C are implemented by the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG). 60-70% of international projects of the municipalities are covered by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and financing of only 30-40% of the projects are provided by the local governments themselves. (Buis, 2009: 191)

The Netherlands is a good example of enabling diplomatic environment also in terms of providing support to beyond its borders for the aim of supporting countries in Eastern Europe in improving their standards to EU level. Since 1994, the Matra programme has supported central and eastern European countries, and some of Europe's southern neighbours, in making the transition to pluralist, democratic states governed by the rule of law. The Netherlands also uses Matra to strengthen bilateral relations with Matra countries. The Matra programme is aimed at cooperation both with civil society organisations and with central, regional and local authorities. More than 33 million Euros was available under Matra in 2009. (NCG Istanbul)

Moreover, town twinning shall be encouraged by the central governments as it also can be used as an instrument complementing the national policies. For instance British Government in 1972 launched its first and only programme to improve cultural relations between Britain and existing members of the European Economic Community, in preparation for Britain's entry in 1973. It was the Rippon Programme and provided funding and support to town twinning. 'Under the programme, £3.5 million were allocated to the British Council, including £75,000 for town twinning. This was not a lot of money but it demonstrated Government support for the twinning principle...The Rippon Programme period correlates with a significant rise in town twinning activity in Britain and the focusing of this activity rather narrowly on localities in Western Europe. Indeed, of the 365 relationships established during the 1970s, 202 were between British and French localities, and 101 between British and German localities. It was from this time that town twinning in Britain became associated with Europe, the European Community, and civic and cultural exchanges between Western European localities.' (Clarke, 2010: 19)

This experience in Britain shows the significance of government support in development of twinning policies. It is also an example of using twinning as an instrument to achieve 'European purposes' of a national government.

2.3.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas

As identified earlier, environment, health and education, social and cultural issues and urban infrastructure are the areas at which cities can develop beneficial cooperation projects. In terms of Europeanization, a downward approach for the cities especially in candidate and newly accessed countries to the EU seems to bring about positive results. Those cities can learn from the practises of more experienced European cities in order to increase their standards in the mentioned fields. This perspective is present also in the international strategies of some major European cities, acting as the 'assister'.

Apart from the cooperation areas to deepen Europeanization process, actions that taken by cities for the global issues related to urban areas and that dominate European agenda make contribution to Europeanization. For example global environmental problems are directly related with the urban areas and require actions by the local administrators. Environmental issues also dominate the European policy making agenda and many proactive policies initiated by the EU are relevant to the local services. Therefore taking actions in environmental field by the local authorities imply contribution in both, fighting this global problem and deepening Europeanization.

As for the case of city to city cooperation, cities shall include such areas in their cooperation policies to work together to overcome these problems through decentralized cooperation. Best practise exchange is the most prominent method in city to city partnerships and can be used to address such problems. For instance in the Netherlands, most recent trend (in international partnerships of the cities) is the result of the UN-sponsored Millennium Campaign for Sustainable Development. In the slipstream of Kyoto, and other worldwide conferences/campaign expressing concern about 'the planet' (climate change, sustainable development etc.). (Hoetjes, 2008: 160) the Dutch government wants to involve municipalities and NGOs to achieve the Millennium Goals. This campaign expresses a concern for the environment, but also for good governance as a crucial factor. Worldwide contacts, especially between rich and poor countries, are considered as an important contribution to sustainable development.

Migration with its negative consequences is another issue that European urban areas suffers. Many Italian municipalities develop their local international policy to address this challenge. ‘Apart from strengthening local governance in the partner municipality, Italian municipalities try to contribute positively towards the integration of migrant groups within the municipality... Through knowledge exchange they seek to learn from experiences elsewhere. A recent phenomena is the cooperation between Piedmont municipalities and municipalities in migrant countries which were mainly initiated by the Italian municipalities with the objective to contribute positively towards the integration of migrants in Italian society.’ (Prague, 2008: 12-16)

2.3.1.3. Clear objectives; Involving European Dimension

Not only within Europeanization context, but also in general sense, ambiguity has negative consequences on relationships. In order to move the relationships beyond a “global fashion” professionals from both cities must come together to define their objectives of the partnerships, in line with the local needs of their citizens. As for the exclusive European case, containing European dimension within international strategies of European cities and the partnerships established in accordance with those strategies, imply further progress in European Integration. But it is only possible when the cities already include European objectives in their strategic plans or equivalent documents. The international policy can be adopted in this way only if there is a such prospective in the general policy of the city.

Awareness of the cities regarding their position in Europe is important with respect to integration. The ‘global’ organisation of cooperation relationships divides the world into developed north and west and underdeveloped south and east. Cities in the developed world act as ‘donor’ while cities of underdeveloped world act as ‘receiver’. Similar approach can be adopted by the European cities to help the new comers in their alignment to the EU and this would contribute in their integration in particular and in European integration in general. Within this approach, cities in the more experienced member states can act as donor cities and provide the necessary information and share their experiences with the cities of new member or candidate states via mutual exchanges.

Cities shall clearly identify their expectations from the cooperation with regard to EU related activities. The point for the cities in older member states shall be assisting the new comers, while it shall be to benefit the experiences of the older and speeding up their adaptation to Europe for the new member states. As a good example, City of London carries

out a Programme for practitioners, government officials and regulators from the new EU Member States and Accession Countries since 2003. The aim is to share best practice in regulation and related matters, and build personal and corporate links between the City and figures of influence in the new Member States and Accession Countries. (City of London, web)

It is not compulsory that the partners must be different in their development level and degree of Europeanization. C2C relationships developed between cities that are equal in these terms also contribute in deepening the integration. A good example in this respect is City of Paris. The City's cooperation agreements with many cities in the European Union are a way of sharing social, cultural and administrative best practices. It has twinning agreement with Rome since fifty years. European Integration is at the core of the relationship. The two capitals, in close cooperation, have trained their municipal employees in the social, legal and cultural aspects involved in welcoming foreigners. The aim is also to remain open to the outside, developing ambitious projects with other EU and world capitals, Paris also takes part in EU city networks. (City of Paris, web)

A good example of clarifying objective of cities in international cooperation is that of Cologne's. Their international policy is very Europe-centered and envisages a good method of cooperation for European integration. (Articus, 2005)

Another example is Vienna's efforts in European context. Before and after Austrian membership to the EU, City of Vienna determined its strategic plan according to its position in Europe which is placing itself as a 'gateway to the EU' before entry and 'becoming centre' after entry. (Giffinger *et al*, 2005: 89)

2.3.1.4. Proper Partner Selection

Proper partner selection in European context, does not mean selection of the partners from only Europe. It is rather selection of partners that would assist the city in their efforts to integrate to the EU. Once this objective is put, best partner, regardless of being located in Europe, can be selected.

As the cooperation areas that the cities are in need to cooperate and their clear objectives are determined, they can decide the profile of the proper partner that they can cooperate best for their purposes. As stated in the previous section, the primary point for European cities shall be assisting the new comers for the olders, and benefiting from the

olders for the new comers. Carrying out the partner selection process in this perspective provide cities more proper Europeanization than a random process. Municipality of Amsterdam, for instance, following the enlargement process to Central and Eastern Europe renewed its international policy and in order to assist the new comer cities and their local governments to adapt to Europe, established cooperation relationships with the cities of Riga from Latvia, Budapest from Hungary and

Paris gives extra emphasis to sharing experiences and best practices with its counterparts in the European Union through bilateral cooperation agreements. Paris is in cooperation with Rome, London, Vienna, Prague and Berlin. All are located in EU member states. Within the cooperation, Paris acted as donor and helped Prague in preventing floods. Its relationship with Western partners is rather focused on planning matters. For example They have furthered exchanges with Berlin regarding urban planning and with London regarding social housing. (City of Paris, web) Of Berlin's 17 partner cities, 10 are located in Europe. (City of Berlin, Web)

2.3.1.5. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments

The need to implement EU legislation and the incentive to participate in EU programs has triggered organizational changes at the local level. Many cities reorganized their administration and set up own offices for European affairs. (Rooij 2002: 447; Articus, 2005) Differences between cities can best be explained by the size of the city, its capacities, and the attitudes of the political elite. In Germany, depending on the focus, each unit either operates under the auspices of the central administration, the commerce department or the business development department. (Articus, 2005)

A study on the situation in Dutch cities came to the conclusion that only big cities like Rotterdam and Eindhoven have established special EU sections and hired employees who deal exclusively with EU affairs. Most of the cities, which were included in the study, integrated their lobbying activities into the exiting administrative structures. Bigger cities, especially if they are in a poor socio-economic position, make more use of EU opportunities. The socio-economic preconditions are crucial because they determine whether a city is eligible for EU funds. Eligibility appears to be the main driver for institutional changes in Dutch local administrations (Rooij 2002: 447, 462-464). It is safe to say that there is increased professionalism in C2C. In many cities in the Netherlands for instance C2C started 15–25

years ago. Obviously C2C has gone through a learning curve throughout all these years. (Buis, 2009: 192)

The Council of European Municipalities and Region (CEMR, 2004:2) states that ‘the establishment of a local body in charge of running the twinning is very important and that both local elected representatives and citizens of the town should sit on this structure known as the twinning committee.’

2.3.1.6. Membership in Network Associations

Membership of European cities in Network Associations such CEMR, NALAS, UCLG etc is important. These network associations provide financial and administrative support to the C2C cooperation efforts. Generally the main task of such city-networks is the stimulation of cooperation in different fields of interest and in strengthening the cities’ position at national and, most of all, at the European level. Participation in transnational organizations and networks enables individual cities to make their presence felt at EU level. Even supposedly symbolic arrangements, such as twinning and cultural exchange, foster changes in the behaviour of urban actors *vis-a`-vis* the EU’. (Marshall, 2005: 669)

The city of Vienna is quite active in its networking activities on the European level. It is currently participating in more than twenty networks. Some of them have a more political focus, i.e. the Union of the Capitals of the European Union (UCUE), the Assembly of European Regions (AER), the Committee of the Regions (CoR), the Conference of European Capitals for EU Enlargement. Other networks have a thematic focus, such as TeleCities, League of Historical Cities, Urban Technology Network II (UTN II). Networks like Donauhanse, EuregioNet or the Working Group of the Danube Countries (ARGE Donauländer) have a geographical focus. Networks like Eurocities promote urban issues on the EU level and URBACT is the latest city-related activity that aims primarily at information exchange between cities involved in the URBAN initiative. (Giffinger *et al*, 2005: 101)

In Germany, European offices also coordinate their municipalities' networking activities. The City of Munich has membership in ten European and international associations. Participation ranges from city associations like Eurocities and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) to expert networks such as POLIS (Promoting Operational Links with Integrated Services), Energie Cité, the Verband kommunaler Unternehmen (association of municipal businesses) and the European Centre of Enterprises

with Public Participation and of Enterprises of General Economic Interest (CEEP). Cologne too has demonstrated its commitment to European networks. Apart from involvement in the foremost national association (German Association of Cities), Cologne works intensively with Eurocities, CEMR and the specialist networks Telecities⁸, POLIS and Global Cities Dialogue⁹. (Articus, 2005) Berlin is involved in city Networks such as Union of Capitals of the European Union (UCUE), Eurocities, Baltic Metropolises Network (BaltMet), UN Global Compact, Metropolis. (City of Berlin, web)

Paris is involved in city networks such as UCLG, AIMF (International Association of French-Speaking Mayors), Eurocities and the Union of Capitals of the European Union (UCEU). (City of Paris, web)

Not only international networks but also national networks provide opportunities of cooperation at European level for the cities. For the Netherlands Hoetjes explained: ‘The major strategy which has been taken by twinning in the Netherlands is to participate at the higher, national level, especially in the VNG (Association of Municipalities), which is a voluntary association based on private law, with an important role for the individual members. The VNG, then, has a wide and strong network of contacts at all levels, and can enter discussions and negotiations more effectively, e.g., with national government, ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, the EU-institutions can be approached via the VNG, but also in a more direct way. The Committee of the Regions, an official EU-advisory body, has a Dutch delegation of local and provincial representatives. The Dutch local and provincial offices in Brussels with their lobbyists provide a direct access for Dutch municipalities and their twinnings.’ (Hoetjes, 2009: 163)

‘Networking Europe's cities is a key element of the European strategy in many cities, which focus on building regional, national and European city networks. One of the aims of networking is to build alliances which champion cities' political goals vis-à-vis European institutions. Yet they also serve as a forum for gathering information, sharing experiences and analysing best practices.’ (Articus, 2005) Networks are places where decision makers of the

⁸ Telecities acts as a Europe wide network for urban policy issues relevant to the information society.

⁹ The Global Cities Dialogue is an international network of Mayors and High Political Representatives (HPRs) who believe that the development of the Information Society should be for the benefit of all the citizens, communities and peoples of the world.

European cities come together. Decision taken by and initiatives of these networks provide cities new opportunities of cooperation both within the network and also bilaterally.

2.3.1.7. Other General Factors

Not only the factors described in the previous chapter, but all the success factors described for a successful C2C cooperation in general terms are necessary for a successful C2C cooperation relationship. Cooperation can not bring positive results for the purpose of integration if the identified success factors for all cooperation relationships are not fulfilled. Only most relevant success factors of which their application is crucial for contribution into the European integration were included in the previous chapter. Other success factors, which were not included, namely Legitimization, Partners' Commitment, Local Community Involvement, Periodical Communication and Reassessment, Mutuality and Reciprocity and Sustainability are also very crucial for successful contribution of the cooperation relationships in the European integration process. Mutuality of benefits in relationships is important as there are possibilities for horizontal and top down integration for EU candidates while there are important horizontal integration possibilities for the member states.

Local Community Involvement in the (C2C) twinning activities for instance is crucial in terms of strengthening European Citizenship. This is why Twinning Programme itself is a sub-programme within Citizenship Policy of the European Commission. (European Commission – Citizenship) Also for Legitimization including a European dimension in the protocols/agreements signed between the representatives of the cooperating cities is important in order to give the 'European dimension' of the relationships a legal ground.

2.3.2. Identification of Special Factors

In addition to the success factors described in previous chapter which are common to the general factors, there are special success factors that their implementation may contribute in integration process for the exclusive European case.

2.3.2.1. Determination of a European Strategy

Although it could be examined under the title of 'Legitimization', it is a different kind legitimization than the protocols/agreements signed between cities. What is referred here is rather the essence of a strategy to be adopted by the cities to put the Europeanization at the centre of their efforts of C2C cooperation. As earlier stated, in the section regarding

cooperation objectives, the strategy starts from the general plans of the local governments. It has indirect links even to the general strategy of the state. In this respect, for successful Europeanization through C2C cooperation, cities shall start to include the European dimension from the planning phase. Only then, can a particular strategy defined for C2C cooperation usually to be implemented by the European Offices of the local governments be successful. Having defined what European objectives the local government want to achieve for the city, it can easier be decided how the C2C cooperation instrument can be used to achieve these objectives.

The recognition that Europeanization is having an acute effect on cities has led them to augment their 'skills for Europe'. As a good example, an important component of German municipalities' European strategy is sculpting a more distinctive profile for themselves among EU urban regions. Measures which help to achieve this include securing funding, participating in European action programmes, organizing European events, attracting European institutions and government agencies to the city and applying for EU titles such as European City of Culture. (Articus, 2005)

2.3.2.2. Implementation of EU Legislation

The top down process usually affects cities indirectly. Most of the legislation that interests the local governments is downloaded by the nation-state itself and adopted as national law. Cities are affected by the European law following this process of law making by the central government. However there are also EU pieces of law that affect the European cities directly. In both cases, cities are usually in lack of experience and knowledge in implementing the new standards brought in by the top down Europeanization process. As underlined by Articus (2005) 'a prerequisite for improving city councils' and administrations' 'skills for Europe' is that local government officials and volunteers are well-versed in the European political system and can evaluate the actual consequences of European legislation and politics for their region'.

As for the case of C2C cooperation, the purpose of this research, the major evaluative question is: which is the most appropriate yardstick to measure the success of a twinning in terms of European integration? Hoetjes argued 'For EU-related twinings with Eastern Europe, there is a simple answer: the contribution of a twinning towards the required changes in the new member state for EU-membership. Adaptation of legislation, development of new

policies at the local level, redefining the role of local government vis-a`-vis the citizens etc.’ (Hoetjes, 2009: 163) His view regarding European integration of cities is top down.

City to City Cooperation can be used as a useful instrument to learn from the experiences of the other cities in Europe who are relatively more successful in implementation of European law. In utilization of C2C, the cities can go even so far to establish connections with the ‘uploader’ cities themselves and learn from their practise by first hand.

2.3.2.3. Upload Dimension: Influencing Brussels

According to Kern, Lobbying in Brussels can take several forms:

‘(1) Individual cities can pursue their individual strategies, including an own office in Brussels. This is of course the privilege of the biggest and most influential cities. Big cities establish their own offices in Brussels while smaller cities benefit from already established offices.

(2) Traditional associations of local authorities have become increasingly Europeanized since the 1950s—witness the founding of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) in 1951. While big metropolitan cities join not only then CEMR but also other organizations such as Eurocities, most small and medium-sized municipalities are only represented by the CEMR.

(3) Since the mid-1980s numerous transnational networks have supplemented the CEMR. Unlike the CEMR, they were founded as transnational organizations and are based exclusively on the direct membership of cities. Lobbying activities in Brussels or Strasbourg have not only increased considerably in recent years, they have also become one of the main functions of organization such as Eurocities.’ (Kern, 2007: 13-14)

The largest 4 cities of the Netherlands (the G4 as they call themselves) have their own representations in Brussles to keep eye on EU developments and for lobbying purposes (Hoetjes, 2008: 160) Many German Cities also established European Offices in Brussels (Articus, 2005) Many Dutch local and provincial offices in Brussels with their lobbyists provide a direct access for Dutch municipalities and their twinnings. (Hoetjes, 2008:163)

C2C Cooperation possibilities provide cities especially in Central and Eastern Europe, learn from their western counterparts the possibilities of lobbying and ways through which they can upload their own interests to Brussel’s decision making. Especially western European Cities such as London, Amsterdam and many German cities that have their own offices in Brussels are able to share their experiences with the cities that desire to penetrate in

lobbying activities. Not only individually, but also within networks, active European cities have a lot to give their inexperienced counterparts.

2.3.2.4. Utilization of EU Funds

European Union funding programmes usually require local authorities to work with partners from other countries. Established links, including twinning arrangements, provide an excellent source of potential partners, enabling them to unlock funding for technical projects. (Handley, 2004: 6)

Within Europeanization context, local authorities are not only affected by top down process, that is execution of European legislation and the framework it provides for the performance of municipal responsibilities, or by bottom up process that is striving to upload their preferences to European decision making. EU funding policies also affect them by first hand. An important portion of the grants are allocated for the initiatives that municipalities (or other types of local governance structures) are either directly or indirectly responsible or have impact on them.

Funding for these purposes is available from the four European Structural Funds, above all from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF). These funds are bound to specified priority regions (objective areas) and must be integrated into national programmes. A number of action programmes set up in the framework of field-specific EU policies also provide aid. Cities, municipalities and administrative districts can apply directly for this funding. (Articus, 2005) 'Access to the European Structural Funds exposes a diverse array of local actors to EU institutions and norms such as programming, partnership and stringent accounting procedures, often for the first time.' (Marshall, 2005: 669)

'EU-financed programmes, largely because of their requirements for long-term partnership working, force the expansion of the number of players at the local decision-making table, bringing non-governmental organizations, representatives from the community and voluntary sectors, business leaders, and other social partners into the increasingly complex world of urban. These new participants often play a crucial role in urban governance, and their EU-mandated presence alongside established local actors catalyses bottom-up pressure for institutional change over time.' (Marhsall, 2005: 671)

For instance Cologne's 2001/2002 Europabericht (European Report) shows that from 1992 to 2002 the European office coordinated, ran and successfully completed 16 projects with a total volume of more than 100 million euros in direct EU funding through its specialist departments. Over 35 European cities and 100 businesses and research institutions were involved in these projects. (Articus, 2005) This shows how European Funds alone provide several success criteria for successful urban Europeanization.

The partnerships established within the EU financed projects do not vanish immediately after the end of the projects. In accordance with the approach of the cities, many partnerships are sustained by future projects and some of these relationships eventually lead to birth of long term relationships and extended fields of cooperation. From this point of view, EU funding opportunities are both, birthplaces for long-term C2C cooperation opportunities and sources that maintain the existence of such relationships.

Most of the funds are available only for full member states and cities from countries with the status of candidate or potential candidate states can not benefit from the EU funds that provide granting to the projects with huge budgets. Yet cities from these countries (including Turkey) benefit from the EU funds in accordance with their central states' agreements with the EU to join Community Programmes such as Lifelong Learning Programme and 7th Framework Programme. The EU has also developed an instrument for supporting the candidate countries in improving their standards in specific fields before becoming a full member, the IPA (Instrument for Pre Accession). Despite the fact that cities in candidate countries must become a full member before being eligible for the most important EU funds, the funds provided to the candidate countries are also beneficial. Partnerships established within the projects funded by the EU provide local authorities (together with other local constituents) cooperate with their peers in the other EU member states. This eventually leads to an interaction between cities and therefore a 'horizontal Europeanization' occurs. Moreover, as these funds provide financial support for the cities' efforts to learn from their peers, it also has contribution in the processes of top down and bottom up urban Europeanization.

III. CITY TO CITY PARTNERSHIPS OF KOCAELI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY AND HOW THEY CAN BE USED AS A TOOL FOR INTEGRATION

3.1. Local Governance in Turkey

It is commonly held belief that local governments are the corner stones of democratic regimes. (Keleş, 1995: 3) These organisations, as closest organisations to the citizens are administrative units that have important functions in the modern state. Local governments provide velocity and convenience in public services. Democratization requires decentralization of public services, therefore in the recent century local governments and the cities they govern have become even more important and prominent.

In Turkey, it can be said that the tradition of centralized authority was and still is evident when compared to governance models in Western Europe. Regardless of the autonomous or centralized forms of local organizations in Western Europe, eventually a single local public body carries out decision making –though the process is complicated- and implementation of the services. But in Turkey there are two different forms of local governance: Special Provincial Administrations led by governors and Municipalities led by mayors. Governors are appointed by the central government while mayors are elected by the local people. It can be pointed that governorships symbolize centralization while municipalities symbolize decentralization. (Uyar, 2004: 2) The structure is established by three laws: Metropolitan Municipality Law (Nr. 5216) , Municipal Law (Nr. 5393) and Special Provincial Administration Law (Nr. 5302).

Governorships and municipalities have similar tasks. The difference is mostly in geographical scope that they serve. There are also some fields that each of them takes on responsibility at different aspect of the field such as environment, health, social services etc. This causes inefficiency and a sort of competence clash between the two organizations. Another important problem arising out of the two forms of organization is budget-competence imbalance. Governorships are provided more authority to provide services in local level but their budget is determined by the central government and not adequate to provide all the tasks assigned to them by legislations. In the other hand municipalities have a considerably high budget especially when compared to the governorships but they are not provided the legal authority to act in the fields that governorships are authorized.

The strong centralist governance model in turkey has brought about a ‘bureaucratic community’ which is comprised of people who strive to get their work done at the centre for the benefit of themselves or of a particular group. Proper functioning of participatory mechanisms might be a way to fix this construct. (Toprak, 2010: 27)

In order to provide functioning of the local governments properly and reduce the burden of the central governments, governments have endeavored to reform their governance, especially those in Western Europe. The EU is at the favour of decentralization for it sees this process not as ‘dispersing the national state’ but as a tool to facilitate integration. As explained in previous chapters, the EU has become a system of multilevel governance (Kern, 2007:1) and in this system powers are distributed to different levels of governance (Marks *et al*, 1996: 41) and decisions must be taken at the closest level to the citizens, as much as possible. Today, strengthening local governance and achieving autonomy has become compulsory for democratization. (Alodali *et al*. 2007: 2)

Problems and opportunities that globalization process has brought require taking necessary measures in local level in Turkey. There is a need for a reform in local governance in Turkey to decentralize the decision making process and implementation of the public services. Indeed there is a pending local government reform pack as a part of EU harmonization process. Despite the operations carried out to reform the strong tutelage of the central government over the local, the legislative arrangements have brought only limited change. It is too early to conclude that local governments’ administrative and financial ‘dependency to the centre’ has been transcended. Moreover, those that govern the country are still inclined to give credit to strategies of touting for votes through fear and privity. (Toprak, 2010: 27)

3.2. Kocaeli and Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality

Kocaeli is an industrialized city, of which 69.9 % of the Gross Domestic Product is produced in the industrial sector. 18 of the top 100 industrialist companies of Turkey are located in Kocaeli. Major and leading companies such as TUPRAS, Hyundai Assan, Ford Otosan, Honda, Anadolu Isuzu, Pirelli, Goodyear, Pakmaya, Aygaz, Milangaz, Petrol Ofisi, Kordsa, Çelikkord, Nuh Çimento, Marshall, Polisan, CBS and Mannesman Boru operate in the city. On the other hand, Kocaeli holds a share of 13 % of the national and foreign trade volume in terms of the manufacturing industry. Reviewing the share in Turkey of the critical industries operating in Kocaeli; the chemistry industry holds the top rank with the share of 28

%, which is followed, respectively, by hardware, automotive, machinery and stone- and earth-based industry. Kocaeli hosts over a hundred foreign - capital industrial businesses, among which the German investors hold the top ranks in terms of the number of businesses. (KCI, web)

Kocaeli has been holding the top rank, nationally, In terms of the income per capita for a decade, with a figure that is two and a half times the average income per capita realized Turkey-wide. On the other hand, the province holds the second rank nationwide in terms of the overall budget and tax contributions, with a share of 17.41 %. (KCI, web)

Kocaeli is divided into 12 districts and each of the districts has its own municipality. Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality (KMM) has become a regional-like municipality with the law nr. 5216. Before that KMM did not exist, it was İzmit Metropolitan Municipality that covered only two municipalities at the centre of İzmit and covered only an area of 32 km² and with establishment of KMM, the borders of municipality was extended to the borders of the province of Kocaeli and rose up to 3.505 km². Thereby the service area has become 110 times larger. (KMM SDD, 2011)

With its new structure, KMM together with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has started to occupy an important place in the local governments subheading of the new public administration reform. Its municipal borders has been equalized to its ‘civilian borders’¹⁰. An important outcome is that the villages have also become the service area of KMM and Provincial Directorate of Village Services has been annulled and transferred to KMM. (KMM SDD, 2011) The new structure has taken the national structuralization of policy fields as a model and departments have been established as very small forms of the ministries. For example Department of Cultural and Social Affairs correspond to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism while Department of Health and Social Services correspond to Ministry of Health.

Kocaeli is currently governed by İbrahim Karaosmanoğlu from Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party), which is also the single party in the current central government of Turkey. In 2004, İbrahim Karaosmanoğlu replaced Sefa Sirmen from Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People’s Party) which is the main opposition party and which had successive rule of the city throughout 15 years until AKP took it over.

¹⁰ The borders that Provincial Special Administration is responsible for, headed by the governor.

3.3. City to City Partnerships in Turkey

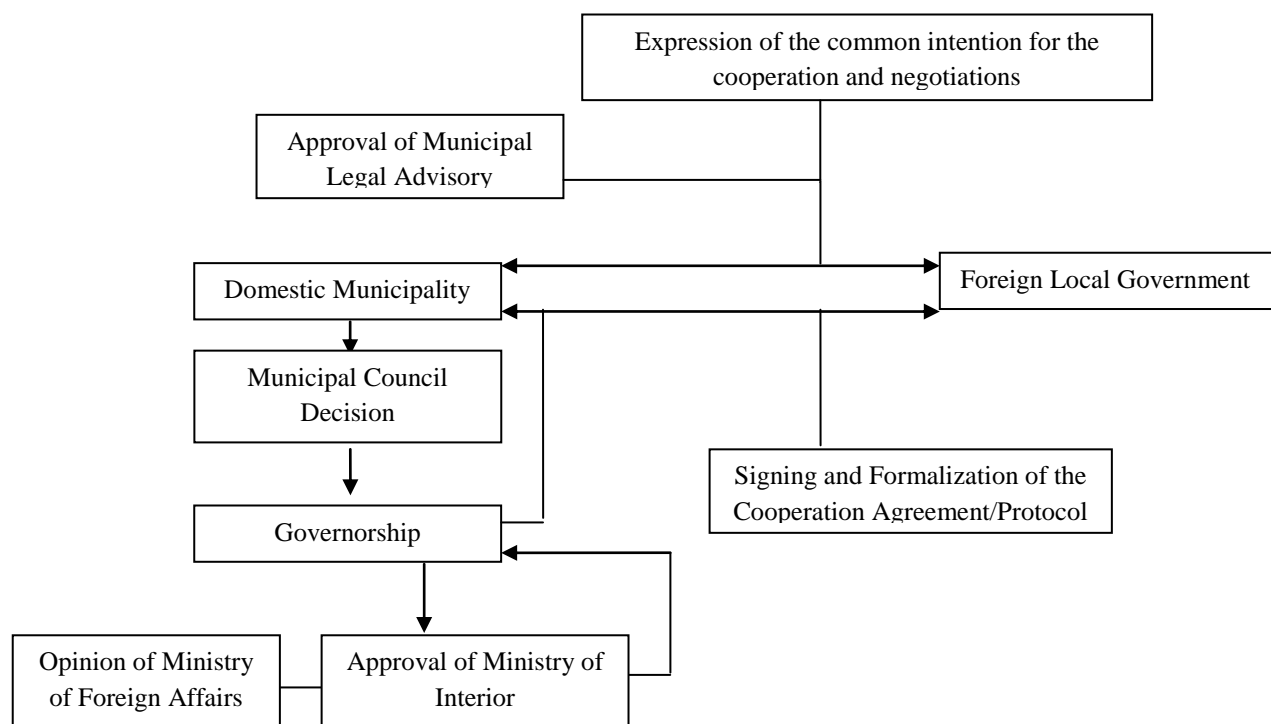
City to City Partnerships alongside the other cities of the world has become an important 'fashion' for the cities in Turkey as well. Following parts provide an overview of C2C partnerships' situation in Turkey, which are named as 'sister city relationships'.

3.3.1. Process and Procedure of City to City Cooperation in Turkey

In parallel to the process of decentralization and strengthening local governance, international relations and cooperation have gained more importance in Turkey. According to article 90 of the Constitution and Article 1 of the Law Numbered 1173 on 'Performance and Coordination of International Relations' it is the central government that is competent to sign a treaty, pact or convention. The Sister City or Cooperation protocols that local governments sign are not considered to be international treaties. The binding legal provision for the municipalities is article 74 of the 'Municipal Law' Numbered 5393. However despite existence of a regulation regarding work procedures and principles of City Councils in article 76 of the Law, in practise there is an ambiguousness as there is neither an institution or a department of an institution responsible for strategic guidance nor a regulation on transnational cooperation of the municipalities.

In the following schema the process of signing a protocol/agreement and the formal procedure is given substantially:

Table 3: Process and procedure of starting and formalizing C2C Cooperation in Turkey



Source: Union of Municipalities in Turkey. (TBB, 2010:7-9)

Depending on municipal council decisions, municipalities in Turkey are able to become member or founding member of international organisations that operate in areas that are relevant to the service fields of municipalities. They can develop common activities or projects with those organisations, local governments or other entities and can establish C2C cooperation partnership. But these actions must be carried out in line with the international agreements/treaties and with prior permission of the Ministry of Interior.

According to the legislation, in order to establish a C2C relation with an abroad city, municipalities are asked to take a municipal council decision, collect information about the city, identify the benefits they expect to gain from the relation and prepare ‘Sister City Protocol Drafting’. These documents are sent to the Ministry of Interior for the purpose of permission. The C2C Protocols come into effect following the approval of the ministry. (TBB, 2010: 8-10)

3.3.2. Current Situation of City to City Cooperation in Turkey

According to data of Ministry of Interior, Directorate General of Local Governments, (MİGM) as of 2009, there are 791 C2C partnerships. Municipalities within 64 provinces out of 81, are engaged in such partnerships. The nature of these cooperation partnerships between municipalities fall roughly within definition of ‘sister city’. (TBB, 2010: 9)

Istanbul with 151 partnerships is the province which has highest number of sister cities. (including partnerships of the sub-districts of Istanbul) (TBB, 2010: 9) The first sister city agreement was signed between Istanbul and Rio de Janeiro in 1965 and number of partnerships established has increased over 90’s. (İBB, 2011) The first relationship established with Rio was due to the common problems faced by these two over-populated cities but also the purpose of cultural exchange. Rio was among the cities which provided aid during the 1999 earthquake. (Erdem, Radikal Online, Nov.2003) Apart from the sub-municipalities, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality alone has 62 C2C partnerships under different classifications such as sister cities (32), cooperation protocols (23) and protocols of goodwill (7) (İBB, 2011) According to data of Directorate General of Local Governments, Province of Istanbul is followed by İzmir (85), Bursa (64), Antalya (55) Ankara (52) and Kocaeli (27). (TBB, 2010: 10) More than half of the partnerships are concentrated in the metropolitan provinces and their districts.

Despite the high number of partnerships, rate of municipalities involved in C2C cooperation in total is low. There are 2.951 municipalities in Turkey as of April 2010. Only 317 municipalities, which is 10,74% of these municipalities have C2C partnerships. (TBB, 2010: 10) The figures demonstrate that the partnerships are mostly realized by larger municipalities which have more facilities and capacity. It can also be seen that smaller municipalities, which is higher in number, but weaker in facilities and capacity, can not benefit from ventures of C2C cooperation possibilities.

Figures also demonstrate that as partnerships are established by larger municipalities which have tourism potential and higher number of tourists, touristic development is a determining factor in engagement in C2C partnerships.

C2C Cooperation, regardless of being in form of Municipal International Cooperation, Decentralized Cooperation or Sister City (or Twinning) Relations, is an appropriate

instrument of cooperation for Turkey, a country which has high number of small municipalities. In such countries C2C cooperation facilitate effective service provision, facilitate solving local socio-economic problems, contribute in financing large infrastructure projects, help establishing business centres with an integrated approach. Moreover, services of fire brigade, emergency situations, disaster management etc. through C2C cooperation is becoming increasingly important. (TBB, 2010: 15)

3.3.3. Ways of Engagement in City to City Cooperation in Turkey

TBB identifies five ways for engagement of cities in Turkey in C2C Cooperation (TBB, 2010: 12):

- Personal relationships of the mayors
- Initiatives of the Turkish communities living abroad
- Orientations of Prime Ministry, Ministry of Interior or Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Initiatives of the diplomatic missions in Turkey
- Initiatives which start as study visit or economic visit and turn into cooperation.

As it can be seen, ways of engagement in C2C cooperation in Turkey are not very much parallel to the success factors identified in the Chapter 2. In most of the cases, there is not identification of local needs to be addressed via C2C, nor a partner search process according to this identification. Informal relationships apparently dominate the relations. The top down process in C2C, that is decisions taken by upper officials, without reference to any analysis wheter such decisions are necessary, give way to failure of most C2C relations. (TBB, 2010: 9-12)

Personal one to one relationships of the mayors who meet on different occasions, be it an international meeting, conference, seminar or a cultural event organised in either of countries, are an important reason for considering further cooperation with the city of that mayor. In such cases, fate of the relations depends on the personal attitudes of the mayors. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Bringing together the mayor or high officials of the local governments sometimes happen as initiative of the Turkish communities living abroad. A considerable number of Turkish migrants live in diverse geographies around the world, especially in Europe. Particular communities made up of Turkish people sometimes take the initiative and suggest the officials of the city live in, to bring together with the local officials in their home country, mostly the city they have emigrated from. If the attitude is positive, occasions for bringing

together the officials from two sides are being organised and attitudes of the parties in such organisations determine the fate of relationship in future. (TBB, 2010: 9-12)

It sometimes happen so that foreign cities use their links with the central government institutions to establish C2C partnerships with cities in Turkey. These institutions are mostly Prime Ministry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Interior. In this case, Ministry of Interior passes these requests to especially major municipalities such as Istanbul, , Ankara, Izmir, Antalya etc. If those municipalities find the partner's profile suitable, they respond positively and get in contact for formal relationship.

The requests are sometimes sent to the diplomatic missions in Turkey. These requests are either passed to the Ministry of Interior or directly to the cities with which the diplomats think they would be appropriate. This is also a way of establishing C2C partnership. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Another form of finding (or deciding) C2C partners is the prolongation of the particular visits paid by the public officials or local community stakeholders to foreign cities. During meetings or different types of visits, the positive interactions between the peers urge them to consider further cooperation possibilities. If they are convinced also in the following periods, the cooperation keeps furthering.

Apart from these ways, the cooperation may start in various other forms. However, what is aimed in this section is to stress the dominant nature of informal relationships rather than strategic approach in partner determination and furthering of the relations.

3.3.4. Distribution of Partnerships According to Country Groups

Table 4: Geographical Distribution of C2C Cooperation between Municipalities in Turkey and Foreign Cities

Country Groups	Number of Partnerships	Percentage (%)
EU Members	350	44,24
Commonwealth of Independent States	153	19,34
Western and Eastern Balkans	95	12,01
TRNC	43	5,43
Asia and Pacific	41	5,18
Arabian Countries/Middle east	34	4,29
Africa	23	2,9
Northern America	15	1,89
Latin America	13	1,64
Caucasus	9	1,13
Australia	7	0,88
Central Asia	6	0,75
Other European Countries	2	0,25
TOTAL	791	100

Source: Union of Municipalities in Turkey (TBB, 2010: 11)

Figures clearly demonstrate that almost half of the partnerships of the municipalities in Turkey have been established with the cities in EU member states. This implies possibilities of partnerships which can be established with purpose of contributing in the top-down, bottom-up and horizontal urban Europeanization.

3.4. Kocaeli's City to City Partnerships

The phenomenon of C2C Cooperation has developed as an international 'fashion' in Kocaeli as it developed so for other cities (and municipalities that coordinate the relations) in Turkey. As a result of this, the municipalities in the past and currently as well, have mostly been passive in establishment of partnership relationship with the cities. Absence of a strategy for partnerships is a reason also for this passive presence. The most active partners of KMM in the recent decade have been Amsterdam Municipality of the Netherlands and Kassel Municipality of Germany. The relationships with both of these cities were developed

following the 1999 earthquake and the aids provided by these cities. As a result, the goodwill opened way for furthering the relationship. Table 4 lists the C2C partners of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality and their current situation. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Table 5: Sister City and Cooperation Partnerships of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality

City	Country	Sister City	Cooperation Partner	Protocol	Council Decision	Partner Since
Kassel	Germany	X		X	X	1999
Ulsan	South Korea	X		X	X	Mid 90's
Zhenjiang	China	X			X	1998
Ludwigshaven	Germany	X			X	1998
Elbasan	Albania	X			X	1998
Batum	Georgia	X			X	1998
Eger	Hungary	X			X	1998
Amsterdam	The Netherlands		X	X		1999
Szekesfehervar	Hungary		X	X	X	2007
Kardzhali	Bulgaria		X	X	X	2009
Karachi	Pakistan		X		X	2010
Novi Pazar	Serbia		X	X	X	2010

Source: Table provided by the staff of department (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb, 2011)

Apart from Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, other districts of Kocaeli province have their own C2C cooperation partnerships. Municipality of İzmit which is the central district of Kocaeli province have C2C cooperation with the cities of Zielona Gora (Poland), Skopje (Macedonia), Ilidza-Sarajevo, Travnik, Vogosça (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Gori, Vake Saburtalo (Georgia), Momçilgrad (Bulgaria), Waalwisk (the Netherlands), Oktoberskie Rayon (Belarus), Orhangazi-Bursa (Turkey). Municipality of Gebze, which is an important industrial base of Turkey has cooperation with Samuil-Razgrad (Bulgaria), Pilea-Selanik

(Greece), Issyk Kul (Kyrgyzistan), Değirmenlik (TRNC) while Municipality of Darica cooperates with Şenkaya district of Erzurum (Turkey). Derince's partners are Hunedoara (Romania), Asenovgrad-Filibe (Bulgaria) while Karamürsel is partner with the cities of Razgrad (Bulgaria) and Stani Grad-Saraybosna (Bosnia Herzegovina).

3.4.1 Amsterdam

Amsterdam, the capital city of the Netherlands has 800.000 inhabitants with considerable number of migrants, respectively from Morocco, Turkey and Suriname. The intensive and warm relations with Amsterdam started following the earthquake in 1999. Municipality of Amsterdam provided support to Kocaeli especially in terms of fire services and rescue teams.

The friendly relations which developed with the earthquake kept alive and led to a cooperation protocol on 11 September 2001. The protocol is being revised every four year and signed by the representatives of both cities.

In the last decade a number of projects have taken place within which Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality and Municipality of Amsterdam shared experience and knowledge. Main projects and activities carried out within the cooperation with Amsterdam include Project MERP in 2000 aiming at rehabilitation of Fire Brigade Department after the earthquake, establishment of Smiling Faces rehabilitation centre which aims at rehabilitating and employing the disabled citizens, a project amounting 65.000 Euros (funded by LogoEast Programme of Association of Municipalities in Netherlands) aiming at service capacity improvement in preservation of historical sites, visit of Amsterdam's mayor in 2006 during which the protocol was renewed, preparation of a MATRA¹¹ project for 'bringing in the children who have been involved in a crime and toxicomania' in 2009, establishment of a greenhouse for Smiling Faces Rehabilitation Centre in 2009, study visits for examination of various services (namely water and waste management, transportation, fire services, social services, archaeological sites etc. and more recently on city marketing and online networking of municipalities). (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

¹¹ For information on the programme see section 2.3.1.1

3.4.2. Kassel

Kassel city of Germany with 200.000 inhabitants, hosts a considerable number of migrants majority of which are Turkish. Thus the city is also a 'Model Integration Region' of Germany. (City of Kassel, web)

Immediately after the earthquake George Lewandowski, who was then mayor of Kassel, started a partnership between Kocaeli (then Izmit) and Kassel, and promised the Izmit Municipality practical help. In addition to donations in the amount of 1 million DM, fire trucks and waste collection have been made available and built a container house. In addition, a team from Kassel Stadtreiniger worked in Kocaeli two weeks to help people. Following the warm relations developed with the earthquake, on 28 February 2000 a cooperation protocol was signed by the two mayors. On 30 June 2000 there was a first return visit in Kassel. With further donations from various initiatives succeeded in May 2003 to build an orphanage in Izmit (Kassel Çocuk Yuvası in Turkish and Kassel Children Care Centre). Today there are about 110 children and adolescents.

In October 2006, Mayor Bertram Hilgen visited Kocaeli with contractors and architects from Kassel. He signed the Golden Book of the city, encouraged the exchange of exhibitions and offered his counterpart Ibrahim Karaosmanoğlu, to provide administrative assistance in the areas of public transport (PT) of the traffic management control and planning. This offer was gladly accepted. In 2007, five employees visited the relevant offices of the city of Kassel. In addition, eight firemen visited the fire fighters Department of Kassel. From 2007 to 2009 the EU funded project, called 'I Love Environment, in Origin I Sort' within which, City of Kassel supported Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality in starting and dissemination of the application of sorting package waste in houses. During the project many mutual visits took place between delegations from both cities. In 2009 academics from Kassel University visited Kocaeli to acquire information on earthquake related operations. In 2010 personnel from both cities prepared two different culture-art projects to receive EU fund. Finally at the end of 2010, a delegation from Kassel visited Kocaeli and opened a photography exhibition on occasion of 10th anniversary of the sister city relations between two cities. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.4.3. Ulsan

Ulsan City of South Korea with its 1.5 million inhabitants is one of South Korea's major cities. It is a Metropolitan City Government and considered to be the industrial powerhouse of South Korea. Especially with respect to these features, it is similar to Kocaeli despite the long distance.

Relationships between Ulsan and Kocaeli started about two decades ago as a result of the South Korean business initiatives, mainly factories of automotive sector of which Hyundai is the most prominent. The historical tie, which is Turkish presence in Korean War as an ally of South Korea is also important in development of this partnership. The relationships strengthened after 1999 earthquake. This led to a sister city agreement on 17 May 2002. With another protocol signed on 02 December 2004, the relationships accelerated. Then mayor of UlsanMaeng – Woo Park visited Kocaeli with the invitation of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan himself.

Despite the very warm approach by both parties, the relationships could not be deepened as great as Kocaeli's European partners due to the geographical distance. The relations are limited to mutual visits by partners. In October 2005, a delegation from Kocaeli visited Ulsan for one week within the context of 86th Ulsan Sport Festival. In 2010, upon the invitation of mayor of Ulsan, a delegation made up of representatives of municipality and Turkish veterans of Korean War visited Ulsan. On this visit it was decided to carry out various common projects to celebrate the 10th anniversary of sister city relationships with Ulsan.

Ulsan City has made contacts with Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality several times on the occasion of economic activities in Ulsan. This is important as it implies handling of the phenomenon from the perspective of new trends, which are related to economic aspect alongside cultural aspects. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.4.4. Szekesfehervar

Szekesfehervar is located in Hungary and has got about 100 thousand inhabitants. A relatively small partner when compared to the other partners of Kocaeli.

The relationships with Szekesfehervar started as a result of Hungarian traces in Kocaeli. The Hungarian statesman Thököly Imre past his last years in Kocaeli. He had good

relationships with Ottoman Empire and after losing wars against Hapsburgs successively, he was patronized by the Sultan and a place within borders of Kocaeli was granted to him. He died in Kocaeli in 1705. In 2005, during an excavation for construction his grave and mausoleum was found. Then KMM started to cooperate with Hungarian Consulate General in Istanbul and also other Hungarian-Turkish stakeholders. This led to warm relations between KMM and Hungarian authorities. As a result of these happenings, partnership with Szekesfehervar city of Hungary developed. In 2008 the relationship was formalized with a cooperation protocol.

The relationships with Szekesfehervar started and developed fast, however did not go too far. The most prominent project that was carried out was opening of Thököly Imre Memorial House as a museum in Sekapark area of İzmit, Kocaeli with the additional support of Hungarian Ministry of Culture. Several reciprocal visits also took place in 2009 in level of municipal officials and artists. In 2009, a teacher in the vocational training courses of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality realized assistantship with the EU funds in a college in Szekesfehervar. But these were all that the parties cooperated. The cities do not share too many things and the relevancy is limited to the historical tie. Today the relationships with Szekesfehervar are frozen and there are not any activities carried out currently. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.4.5. Other Partners

The cooperation with Kardzhali started via informal connections. Bulgarian City of Kardzhali (Kırcaali in Turkish), alongside many other Bulgarian cities, hosts a considerable size of Turkish population. Most of the Turkish population had already fled the country when it was lost by the Ottoman Empire and moved in Turkey. As a result, today there are strong links between the Turkish community in Bulgaria and those that moved in Turkey. An official of this descend from KMM provided the links to establish a partnership between Kardzhali and Kocaeli and this led to a partnership protocol in 2010.

The cooperation with Novi Pazar city of Serbia started as a result of another informal relationship between the mayor of Kocaeli and Serbian Minister of Culture, Nebodja Bradić. In 2009, Meša Selimović's theatre play called 'Dervish and Death' was interpreted into Turkish and Kocaeli's City Theatres took it to its repertoire. Serbian Minister of Culture, together with his Turkish counterpart attended the premiere ceremonies held in Kocaeli. This

caused friendly relations between the mayor and the Serbian minister and led to the initiative of a C2C partnership with a Serbian city. Following that ,visits took place between officials of the both cities and a cooperation protocol was signed. However no prominent project or activity has been carried so far.

The cooperation with Karachi started following a visit conducted by the officials from Karachi and the order of starting a sister city process was sent to the Directorate of EU and Foreign Affairs by the mayor himself. As it was a top-down directive, without a prior analysis whether it is necessary and beneficial to cooperate with Karachi, the process failed soon after.

In case of the partnership between Kocaeli and the cities of Zhenjiang (China), Ludwigshaven (Germany), Elbasan (Albania), Batum (Georgia) and Eger (Hungary), the situation is even worse. There are only council decisions to accept those cities as sister city to then İzmit, now Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality. There are not any cooperation or sister city agreement signed between officials but only some correspondences with some of those cities on cooperation for not-too-important issues.

Finally, it is also important to note that Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality is in contact with the Maryland State of the USA for a sister city relationship and it is foreseen to formalize the relationships in a near future. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.5. The Analysis of Kocaeli's City to City Cooperation Partnerships

Under this heading, the C2C cooperation partnerships of Kocaeli will be analyzed with reference to success factors described in the second chapter of the study.

3.5.1. Common Factors

3.5.1.1. Enabling Diplomatic Environment

Turkey has a strong tradition of centralized and authoritarian governance. Throughout the history the reforms regarding decentralization within the process of democratisation have been limited due to the fears concerning national security of the country. Therefore the legal competences of the local authorities including those concerning international policy have been limited.

The centralist and authoritarian approach of Turkish political tradition (Canman, 1995: 248) limits the municipalities' local operations as well as international projects. Legal

restrictions limit the local projects and bureaucratic requirements bring extra workload for the staff in charge.

KMM is also among the municipalities that suffer from the centralist tradition of Turkish politics. Especially in partnership building process the municipalities are asked to request prior approval of Ankara. Moreover, they are obliged to inform the staff they send abroad for the purpose of education, studies or personal development to the Prime Ministry State Personnel Presidency.

The limiting nature of the centralist tradition does affect the partnerships of Kocaeli, however Kocaeli can play only limited role in bringing solution as a result of these restrictions. The only role that the local governments can play is to communicate and lobby in the national level to get required reforms done. In this respect, the future reform plans in local governance is an opportunity for the municipalities.

Municipalities are not only restricted by the central government, but they are also short of a guidance from ministries that are supposed to guide, namely Ministry of Interior (Directorate General of Local Governments) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The only organisation which can be deemed as 'central' that provide guidance and advice at least, is the Union of Turkish Municipalities, a network of municipalities. National and regional unions of municipalities are not yet competent to provide institutional support to the municipalities, however they have started to develop their capacity. In recent years TBB enhanced its cooperation activities with the other national unions of municipalities in order to respond this need. Although there has been a progress, it is not possible to state that regional or national unions have adequate mechanism and programs to stimulate and support the C2C cooperation. Although Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs, from time to time inform the municipalities on the cooperation demands, the application is not systematic. (TBB, 2010: 13)

It is needed to provide more initiative for the local governments in international relations as well as other various cooperation fields. This requires the national government to launch a decentralization program. Otherwise, local governments in Turkey can neither keep up with the global developments nor can posit themselves properly in the European Multilevel Governance system.

3.5.1.2. Identification of Cooperation Areas

KMM is not the only practitioner of the policy fields that it is responsible of. As earlier explained, it shares responsibility with the governorship in many fields. Therefore it is not alone in the determination of cooperation areas to be involved in its international partnerships. Decisions taken within the cooperation that concern also governorship departments require involvement of decision makers of those departments. It is normal and necessary to involve various local stakeholders with a proper participatory mechanism, but the concern here is conflict between competences of the municipality and the governorship. For example, when/if municipality wants to initiate a project in the field of health, department of Health must take the decision together with its equivalent department in the governorship and must take into consideration their facilities (e.g hospitals, rehabilitation centres).

Apart from the problems which ‘would’ be encountered ‘if’ KMM wanted to cooperate with its partners in the fields that would contribute in its efforts of European integration, the actual prominent problem is that decision makers in KMM are not really concerned to identify the cooperation areas with the particular objective of European integration (be it implementation of legislation or cultural integration) although ‘carrying out operations for harmonization with the EU standards each year is envisaged as a ‘Strategic Target’ in the strategic plans of the organisation. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

KMM does cooperate with several prominent European municipalities (particularly Amsterdam and Kassel) in various fields. Main areas of cooperation, which are also present in the cooperation protocols are social services, education, fire brigade, transportation, culture and education. But the cooperation is carried out to develop the service background of the municipality, regardless of the EU related concerns addressed in this study. Cultural activities within the cooperation certainly contribute in strengthening the existing ties between citizens of partnering cities but it is an uncontrolled and unmeasurable contribution. For a sustainable urban integration, KMM shall push forward forward for involving areas that ‘misfit’ has presence, of course, following an in-depth analysis. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Moreover, there are financial sources that have been identified for C2C cooperation activities. The expenses for activities within the context of C2C cooperation are covered according to the activity type and the relevant budget items are used. For example if there is

an incoming delegation for a study visit, the budget item used is the one separated for hosting services and not the budget (which does not exist) assigned to the Directorate of EU and Foreign Affairs. Absence of a separate budget affects the identification of cooperation areas as it is not possible to plan the activities to be carried out within C2C and therefore the cooperation fields develop spontaneously. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Municipalities in Turkey usually handle the relationships from educational, cultural or sportive aspects. Especially larger municipalities see the C2C relations as a means to strengthen the economic relations. The most prominent and effective method of C2C, 'information and experience exchange' is therefore ignored. (TBB, 2010: 12) When compared to those municipalities, KMM is relatively advantageous as the method of exchange with partner cities has been used in several local projects in past years.

3.5.1.3. Clear objectives; Determination of a European Strategy

The international relations strategy of local governments shall be identified in transnational manner, which means local needs shall be at the centre of their focus and national boundaries shall not limit their international operations and in the meaning time shall be in line with the national Foreign Policy priorities. However, being in line with national Foreign Policy would bring success only when local governments are included in this policy. In order to achieve success in the C2C cooperation, the relationships must be managed referring to a strategy developed by the staff, decision makers and other stakeholders involved in the relationships. Not only in determination of the partners but also after establishing the partnerships, the priorities and objectives identified in the strategy draw a path for the practitioners in implementation.

However when performance of KMM in this factor is examined, it can be seen that there has not been a strategy for international cooperation, especially not a written one. In the 'Regulations for European Union Related Works' adaptation in the process of EU is clearly stated as one of the objectives of the directorate. However there are no provisions of using C2C links for this purpose, which are managed by the same department. It is very important to manage the European affairs in accordance with the strategy. For that either European strategy must be embedded in the general strategy or a special European strategy to be followed must be identified. Kocaeli neither has a European strategy nor a general strategy for C2C Cooperation. Moreover, the top down institutional approach in KMM makes it even

more difficult to make the C2C efforts contribute in Europeanization. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Carrying out the C2C operations within a strategy is necessary for sustainability of the cooperation relations. Otherwise mobilization of sources as budget, human sources and time will bring only limited benefits.

3.5.1.4. Proper Partner Selection

The non written criteria in partner selection for KMM are mostly similiarity of the cities in size, population, economic sectors and cultural ties. The perception of the higher officials is that the relationships are the instruments to contribute in the cultural understanding. Only the lower officials are aware of the more functional aspects of C2C cooperation. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

The most active C2C partners of KMM are Amsterdam and Kassel. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011) Despite the fact that there have been many useful results from both of the relationships, the process was random. The purpose, cooperation areas, cooperation instruments etc. were all defined after establishment of the partnerships. However, the proper way is to select the partners in accordance with the needs. Many other relationships (such as Karachi city of Pakistan, see section 3.4.5) failed soon after the cooperation started. As it is also seen in case of Szekesfehervar, the inconvenience of partner selection process led to loss of effort.

Furthermore, informal relationships of the officials (even those who do not have any connection with the department in charge) are more determining than the local needs of the community. Most prominent example to this fact in the case of Kocaeli's partnerships are the two partnerships established with the cities in the Balkans, Novi Pazar in Serbia and Kardzhali in Bulgaria.¹² The Cooperation Protocol signed with Kardzhali, which only has limited areas that it can effectively cooperate with Kocaeli, is a result of the efforts of a municipal official with Bulgarian-Turkish descent. The cooperation protocol with Novi Pazar, on the other hand, is an outcome of the informal links that mayor of Kocaeli and Serbian officials established. There are no concrete activities or projects carried out for both of these cooperation partners. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011) Despite all, the

¹² See section 3.4.5 for the start of the relationship with this partner

recent positive development is that KMM can take initiative in determining C2C partner and is not bounded to the external demands.

3.5.1.5. Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments

Affording foreign language speaking personnel who are able to specialise in the field of international operations and EU related activities is an important factor for institutionalisation of the 'low diplomacy'. However, many municipalities in Turkey, especially smaller ones are not institutionalised (TBB, 2004: 13; Canman, 1995: 252-253) although there is a gradual change in the recent years.

Despite imperfections in many success factors, KMM is relatively strong in affording particular staff and a whole department for their affairs involving EU and foreign related issues. The only problem with this factor is the need for more institutionalisation.

Currently 4 personnel¹³ with different titles work at the department, carrying out different works of the department such as preparation and application for grant projects, communication with abroad partners (be it a partner municipality or some organisation else) and other municipal works that have international dimensions. The department was only recently enlarged. From 2005, when a particular department was established, until 2008 all works had been carried out by one or two personnel, which made it very hard to approach professionally and get these works done properly and recently as the department enlarged the work could be distributed to more staff and they could specialize in the specific fields. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

The staff who work at the department are employed in two ways. First, among the newly appointed state employees, the ones whose graduation fields are related to international relations and who is able to speak foreign languages are directed to the department.

Despite the insufficiency, the department of KMM that deals with C2C Cooperation is strong in the factor of 'Affordability of Particular Staff and Departments' especially when compared to its performance in the other success factors. It is relatively successful when compared to both; the other success factors and performance of the other municipalities in affording a department and staff to carry out the international operations. This is why many

¹³ This number keep changing as new appointments take place and as sometimes Project staff assist the department.

neighbouring municipalities visit KMM and ask assistance in establishment of their own EU and Foreign Affairs offices.

3.5.1.6. Local Community Involvement

It is important for KMM to involve different local entities in the partnerships in order to extend the C2C benefits outside the walls of municipality. However there is a limited involvement of local community in the efforts of KMM within C2C Cooperation. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

As an industrial city, it is important that industrial interest groups get involved in the partnerships, especially the local organisations (such as Provincial Directorate of Industry and Commerce, Chambers, Organised Industrial Zones etc) that determine the policies regarding industrial issues. These organisations are contacted and cooperated mostly when there is a funding opportunity that interest both sides. One of the reasons of the lack of communication between the municipality which is coordinating the C2C Cooperation and various business stakeholders is again the local governance structure. Municipalities are not given legal competence to take active part in the local industrial policies. There *is* a communication and consultation between the business policy makers and the municipality but it does not go as far as involvement in C2C actions. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.5.1.7. Membership in Network Associations

Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality is a member of the following network associations:

International Networks: United Cities and Local Governments- Middle East and West Asia (UCLG-MEWA), World Health Organisation (WHO), Cities for Mobility, Union of Turkish World Municipalities

National and Regional Networks: Union of Historical Cities, Healthy Cities Union of Turkey, Union of Municipalities of Turkey, Union of Municipalities of Marmara Region (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Officials of KMM attend the periodical meeting of these networks but not regularly. Membership in these networks have provided KMM a prestige to some extent, however the concern here is their effect and contribution C2C Cooperation in general sense and EU integration through C2C in particular. In this respect, it can not be said that the networks have been very useful. None of the networks have been used to contribute in integration efforts.

Only Union of Municipalities of Turkey more recently has started to provide its members information on effective C2C partnerships with few implications to Europeanization process. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

The most prominent benefit of the networks, which is the assistance in finding suitable partner for cooperation could not be realized by KMM so far. Meetings of these networks are an opportunity to see together higher officials and mayors of major cities from all around the world and these meetings promise facility of partnership building. However they are seen as routine meetings to attend and therefore could not be functionally used. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Insufficiency in fulfilling this criteria is not only related to the municipality but also to the network association itself. Most of the organisations do not have a mechanism for supporting C2C cooperation efforts, despite it is defined as one of their important tasks. Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality received support only from Union of Municipalities of Turkey (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği – TBB) and it was limited to guiding in partnership building and procedural issues.

3.5.1.8. Legitimization

In case of Turkey, municipal councils are the ultimate authorities to make the final decisions in any kind of partnership. Without the council decision, a partnership, in whatever form, can not be established. For this purpose, during partner search and selection and throughout the whole process, informing the council provides the municipalities strength in terms of legitimization in establishment of partnerships. From this perspective, KMM has municipal council decisions for all of its partnerships. Most of the partnerships, especially all of those which have been established over last decade have been formalized via cooperation agreements/protocols. Current partnerships are legitimized by different official documents. The relationships with Amsterdam are legitimized with a Cooperation Agreement while the legal basis for the relationship with Kassel is Sister City Agreement but the activities and projects carried out do not differ much. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

In these two respects, KMM works properly in legitimizing the partnerships. However the problem is related to the points expressed in the sections of this study related to strategy. KMM needs to define its strategy and include its expectations, objectives, methods and

instruments of cooperation. Documents that legitimization of the partnerships provided by, can only then become meaningful and functional.

3.5.1.9. Partners' Commitment

As already stated in the first two chapters, commitment of the partners to the C2C links can best be shown with affording financial sources. KMM has failed to do so in policy level to present. The activities carried out within the partnerships are not provided from the budget of 'international activities' or so, but perceived according to the activity type. For example if there is a project developed for the purpose of conservation of historical sites, the expenses are covered from the budget item that is relevant to the 'historical sites' but not 'international relations'. Although director of EU Office has pushed for allocating a separate budget item, the higher officials are not convinced that it is necessary. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.5.1.10. Periodical Communication and Reassessment

As explained in the previous chapters, communication problems may cause extinction of the relationships. This is what has frequently happened for KMM. For instance, Council of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality in Turkey (then İzmit Metropolitan Municipality) have approved 5 separate sister city decisions in 1998 including Batum(Georgia), Elbasan (Albania), Zhencjiang (China), Ludwigshaven (Germany) and Eger (Hungary) which did not envisage a reconsideration as well as an end date and the relationship with none of them was re-evaluated. Currently there are neither ongoing common projects nor activity. On the other hand the relationship developed with Municipality of Amsterdam following the aids provided by Amsterdam after the earthquake which killed thousands of citizens in 1999, were deepened and bound to an agreement which had an expiry date. Currently Amsterdam is the most active city in KMM's international relationships, not only thanks to the proper arrangement of the agreement which established the relationship but it has an important place in the success in terms of 'keeping the relationship alive'. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.5.1.11. Mutuality and Reciprocity

Mutuality and reciprocity principle in case of relations of Kocaeli with its partners differs according to its partners. With some partners the benefits have been mutual while with some it has been one way. For example, relationship developed with Ulsan, on the basis of

industrial presence of South Korean companies, has relatively been mutual when compared to those developed with the Western partners. On contrary to the good performance of the cooperation with Amsterdam in many success factors, in terms of mutuality this relationship stood weak. It has mostly been Kocaeli which benefited from the relationship as ‘receiver’. Amsterdam has been considered as a ‘donor’. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Perhaps this is related to the birth of the partnerships. Cooperation with Ulsan started in mid 90’s due to presence of Hyundai factory, South Korean automobile brand and kept developing especially following the 1999 earthquake. Mutual visits took place but as a result of geographical distance cooperation could not go as far as the cooperation with for example European partners.

Cooperation with Amsterdam on the other hand started after the earthquake and developed further in the recent decade. From the beginning, Amsterdam acted as donor of equipments in the first years and knowledge and experience in the following years. Cooperation with Amsterdam has had an important effect on restoration of fire services and rehabilitation of citizens affected by the earthquake. Since then Amsterdam kept supporting Kocaeli. However, despite the presence of a provision in international strategy of Amsterdam regarding migrant groups’ integration in Dutch society, there has not been a concrete project demand from the Dutch side. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Relationship with Kassel has been relatively fair in terms of mutuality although it was again the German side which mostly acted as donor. In the first years of cooperation, similar to the cooperation with Amsterdam, City of Kassel donated equipments and supported Kocaeli in the post-earthquake restoration efforts. In the recent years the cooperation is rather focused on mutual cultural exchange despite the periodic breaks communication interruptions over the years.

3.5.1.12. Sustainability

Local elections in Turkey, through which the mayor to govern the municipality is elected, are held every 5 years. In case when a different party is victorious the administrative officials are replaced by those closer to the victorious party as the new mayor takes the chair. This sometimes extends as far as the lower officials. Consequently, this gives birth to the problems in municipal services including the international office services. The cooperation relationships established during the former period sometimes becomes no longer interesting

for the new administration. Even in case it is interesting, the contact person in the partner city is usually unable to find his colleagues at office due to the rapid discharge by the new administration. Moreover, the discharge is not limited to the party handovers. Rapid displacements of the people in charge occur within the people employed by the administrations themselves as well. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

The problems are interconnected. As a result of the inappropriate and inadequate file storing system, officials become key persons that are aware of the history of the cooperation. This brings about serious damage in the progress of the relationships in terms of sustainability. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

In 2004, the party which governed the municipality changed in Kocaeli.¹⁴ Following this shift, a process of ‘purification’ started. The old officials were replaced by new ones, as it usually happens in Turkish municipalities. The persons who stored the files (though unknown if stored at all) regarding international cooperation also changed. Following this, in 2005 with the change in structure of municipality,¹⁵ a particular department for external affairs, ‘Directorate of EU and Foreign Affairs’ was established, which had only some council decisions which declared cities of Elbasan, Zheijang, Ludwingschafen, Batum and Eger as sister city of Kocaeli and few number documents related to the activities carried out with the cities of Amsterdam and Kassel. The new department had to carry out the relationships without having a ‘memory’ of what had been carried out. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011) Rapid and continuous changes in staff and poor file storing have harmed the functioning of the department and therefore the relations. Institutionalization require storing the files (correspondences, reports, protocols etc) properly and systematically. This will provide the municipality to evaluate the past properly and abstain from doing the same mistakes in future.

3.5.2. Special Factors

3.5.2.1. Implementation of EU Legislation

This process in KMM progresses automatically and randomly. Because the department does not have a strategy envisaged for the purpose of ‘downloading’ European legislation.

¹⁴ In 2004 local elections, the AKP has took over the municipality from the CHP which had ruled the city for 15 years. The AKP repeated this success in 2009 elections as well.

¹⁵ The shift from İzmit Metropolitan Municipality to Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality

What makes it automatic is the EU funds. Functioning of the EU funds are determined at the top by the Commission according to specific policy fields and of course, according to *acquis communautaire*. The method used is ‘Call for Proposals’ in which eligible partners are called to submit their projects. Following the evaluation process it is decided whether their projects will be funded or not. KMM, since it established an EU department, has actively sought for fund facilities of the EU which is provided in different methods (see the section, Utilization of EU Funds). Thanks to the efforts of the department, KMM has benefited almost all available fund facilities at which municipalities are eligible applicant. This has brought about an automatic ‘top down’ implementation of particular EU policies in low level. It is low because the applicants are bound to submit projects that only falls within ‘eligibility criteria’ that are specified in each call. As the process is carried out without initiative of municipality to decide in which fields and to what extent cooperation with other cities is needed, the projects and the cooperation relationships (either with new partners or with existing ones) has been carried out without a complete approach, which means to serve a general objective. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

3.5.2.2. Upload Dimension: Influencing Brussels

Turkey is not a member of the EU. Therefore it is not represented in the decision making process of the EU. Therefore cities have only limited possibility to upload their interests to the European decision making. Thus, establishing offices in Brussels is not as meaningful as those established by various EU capitals or cities. Being represented in Brussels, though with limited participation in the lobbying mechanism, surely provides cities with benefits in terms of publicity of the city in European level, interaction with other cities and learning from their experience. However, representation in Brussels is more than these benefits. It is, to represent the local interests in the EU level and to upload their own preferences into the decision making process of the issues that relate to the local governments. Therefore, lobbying will only be activated for cities when Turkey becomes a full member of the EU. Currently it seems more logical and cost effective to be represented by already established network associations of municipalities that lobby in Brussels.

Cities of Istanbul and Yalova have established EU offices in Brussels, however it is only the offices who know what activities for the sake of representation of their city they carry out in Brussels. Establishment of Brussels office by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, at least currently, seems to be an example of ‘following the European fashion’ and a political

step for the sake of popularism. The task of management of the office is subcontracted to a private firm and until recently no prominent project or activity has been carried out. The current activities are limited to the rare publicity actions like artistic, cultural, touristic or informative exhibitions.¹⁶ (ICIB) The office of Yalova Municipality has already been closed.

KMM is also fascinated by the fashion and in 2009 decided to open an office in Brussels but objectives were rather defined around publicity purposes. In this process assistance from Amsterdam, the cooperation partner which has its own office in Brussels, was also resorted. However, this C2C information exchange effort will be at benefit of Kocaeli in terms of lobbying in Brussels only when Turkey becomes a full EU member.

3.5.2.3.Utilization of EU Funds

The process of C2C cooperation with the aspect of European integration in terms of EU funds can be considered as ‘automatic’. The reason has already been explained in the part of ‘Implementation of EU Legislation’ in this chapter of the study.

The EU funds have been beneficial for KMM in terms of especially ‘horizontal urban Europeanization’. The EU office has benefited EU funds for the activities they carried out within the context of C2C cooperation with their partner cities. City of Kassel has been an active supporter of KMM in benefiting EU funds for C2C cooperation. A project called ‘I Love Environment, In Origin I Sort’ for the purpose of sorting the package wastes at source was carried out in cooperation of these two cities, starting from 2007 until 2009. Waste separation company of City of Kassel, die Stadtreiniger supported KMM and other local organisations involved in the project for proper management of the project. The project was prepared for the purpose of contributing in improvement of local environmental standards in the process of the EU. Without this support, it would not be very much possible for the parties to launch a such project with their own initiative. This process, for example, let the parties to contribution of EU integration in two dimensions: horizontal and top down. Horizontal, as it brought about an interaction for both parties and top down, as it provided KMM to benefit professional information provided by Kassel, in order to improve the environmental service standards in the EU accession process. Not only via a single project, the two cities have worked on various other projects to receive EU funds, including a Culture-Art project applied

¹⁶ For more information about activities of Istanbul’s Brussels Office, visit ICIB website: <http://www.istanbulcentre.eu>

in 2010. For another culture and art project within EU programme called ‘Culture 2007-2013’, artists from Kassel visited Kocaeli in 2009 and 2010 and made contacts with art organisations from various branches for the project they prepared on the occasion of Kassel’s efforts for mutual dialogue and mutual understanding with their twin cities in Europe. All these C2C activities that were initiatives of the local governments have been carried out with/for the support of EU funds, which had a considerable contribution to horizontal integration process. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

On contrary to City of Kassel, Municipality of Amsterdam has been relatively reluctant to carry out the C2C cooperation with the EU funds. However, when there has been a such demand from Kocaeli, the International Cooperation office of Amsterdam provided contacts with relevant department. It has usually been the KMM which pushed for project partnerships for benefiting EU funds when there has been such an occasion and usually the purpose has been to receive professional technical support from the departments of Municipality of Amsterdam. The funding facility preferred in cooperation with KMM and Amsterdam have usually been the Logo East Programme, a grant programme launched by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which aimed to strengthen local and regional governments in Eastern European Countries through partnership projects with Netherlands. (VNG International) There have been several projects through which Municipality of Amsterdam supported KMM especially in promoting standards of fire services. (Barış, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

The EU funds have been used also with the Hungarian partner city, Szekesfehervar. The C2C adventure with this city has been short but an education project prepared within the Grundtvig Programme,¹⁷ by KMM could be launched. Within this project an English teacher of KMM Vocational Education and Training Courses (KOMEK) was hosted in Szekesfehervar for three months and carried out assistantship. During the whole stay the expenses were covered by this EU Programme. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

Apart from these examples, EU’s Town Twinning Programme is a functional cooperation instrument for KMM as well as other municipalities in Turkey. However, the Programme is not open to participation of municipalities from Turkey as it ‘has not specified

¹⁷ Named after the Danish pedagogue Grundtvig, the programme aims at promoting adult education.

when it intends to participate' although it is considered to be a 'potentially participating country'. (European Commission, Citizenship)

KMM has always been seeking partnerships firstly with its partners or sisters in the EU when there has been an opportunity to cooperate within projects that have been prepared for the EU funds. In this respect, the funds were tools of cooperation with the C2C partners to contribute in a 'non sustained Europeanization'. What is required is to identify the strategy that involves dimensions of urban Europeanization and first to afford funds to reach its objectives and second focus the EU projects to this strategy. (Staff of Department, Personal Interview, Feb.2011)

CONCLUSION

This study aimed at answering the question whether C2C cooperation can be used as a tool in integration of cities to the European Union, with the specific case study of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality.

Experience demonstrates that city partnerships fail. Therefore defining success model for city partnerships was the first need. Thus, the study firstly aimed at defining success factors for city partnerships in general. While doing this, the study benefited from as many prominent studies and sources of best practise in the field as possible.

Having defined the general success factors, this was adopted as a basis for the latter step. Only once the success model with the specific success factors is defined, it could be possible to go into detail, which is success in city partnerships with specific purpose. The success factors, specifically for contribution in European Integration were suggested and applied to the case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality.

An important outcome of the first two chapters is that cities must take the initiative to actively determine their purposes and partners in respect to these purposes. Chapter 3, on the other hand, showed that Kocaeli has been a passive and acted as ‘initiative taker’ rather than ‘initiative maker’. In order to be successful, regardless of the purpose, (however European integration in our case), Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality shall take active initiative in engagement of C2C partnerships.

At the top of the issues to be stressed to conclude this study is the fact that the conditions in which the C2C cooperation is born shall be enabling rather than disabling. It is important, that national governments provide support and guide the local governments for the success of C2C cooperation. Centralist approach is no longer a rational approach in the globalizing world and local governments need more legal authority and comfort in identifying their own ‘international’ strategy. As described in the second chapter countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, the UK and France have initiated enabling policies which provided legal comfort to the local governments in those countries. Indeed, many best practises in C2C have come from these countries as active players in ‘low diplomacy’. The EU’s approach of Multilevel Governance also envisages that the competences of nation states shall be distributed to upwards and downwards for effectiveness of services. Despite the actions in the recent years to reform governance in Turkey, Ankara still plays the major role in diplomatic issues. Further reform is required but this depends also on the demands of the local

governments. Increase in variety of the issues local governments desire to cooperate internationally has the potential to push the central government to provide further space for the local governments e.g more regulation in the field of C2C, facilitated procedure for staff's international movement. This would have positive contribution in cities' efforts to achieve different dimensions of European Integration through C2C cooperation.

Local governments afford their financial and human sources for C2C cooperation. Therefore relationships cannot be abandoned to their fate. A strategic approach is needed for the success of C2C cooperation, whatever the purposes are. Fields of cooperation and objectives to be achieved through cooperation need to be identified in strategies, in this case in the strategic plans of the municipalities, being prepared for 5 years periods.

This study has presented several best practises for each success factor in the 2nd chapter. Municipality of Amsterdam, with its special approach in international policy, focusing on the migrant groups' integration into Dutch society, presents a good example in terms of local needs. Many German cities also determined their own international policies which draw an outline for C2C activities as well. Municipalities in Turkey however, established their C2C partnerships rather randomly. Some standard criteria that are mainly related to cultural proximity have constituted the unwritten strategy of municipalities in Turkey. This has made them passive actors rather than active, which means, they have been actors who have contributed to the objectives of their external partners rather than having their partners to contribute in their own objectives.

Factors that determine the success of C2C are interlinked. As practises demonstrated in Chapter 2, having an international strategy in general sense and a C2C strategy in particular, is especially important for the local governments of Turkey as an EU candidate state. There are many services areas that the municipalities encounter problems in increasing their standards to those of the EU, which is an important aspect of European integration. Problems are the most prominent in the fields such as environment, city planning, transportation planning for which C2C is a promising tool to contribute in the solution efforts. However ventures of this phenomenon could not be benefited as a result of absence of proper planning and strategy. For that either European strategy must be embedded in the general strategy or a special European strategy to be followed must be identified. Kocaeli and other municipalities in Turkey neither have a European strategy nor a general strategy for C2C Cooperation.

As problems are interconnected; failure in fulfilling a success criterion has negative effects on the other criteria. Without a strategy, proper partners for cooperation to bring best results can not be selected. The strong top down hierarchical approach in local governments in Turkey makes it even more difficult to let the process function within a strategy. Therefore as it happens in the case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, cities for cooperation are decided by the higher officials without any reference to any analysis carried out for these partnerships. Informal relationships of higher officials come before scientific analysis. It also has negative effect on specific EU approach to C2C by municipalities in Turkey. The prospective of EU membership, with all its dimensions shall be put at the centre of the C2C efforts and partners shall be selected in this respect. Functionalisation of membership of municipalities in network associations also stands as an important problem for municipalities especially in respect to partner selection.

Extending the benefits of C2C cooperation to local communities is important for the purpose of European integration. Different local stakeholders such as NGOs, business, professional, educational, cultural and artistic organisations shall be involved in the C2C cooperation activities starting from determination of strategy. For the purpose of europeanization, it is a huge burden and unrealistic for local governments to achieve all three dimensions of urban europeanization alone. Thus, as coordinators of C2C cooperation, municipalities need to involve different local stakeholders. For instance, it is not very possible to achieve horizontal dimension of Europeanization without direct involvement of local organisations that are directly constituted by the local citizens.

Carrying out the C2C efforts with the support of international organisations is promising as they not only provide the necessary financial support for the preparation and implementation of the projects, but also provides methodological guidance as such initiatives are mostly planned based on priorities of these organisations. In this view, interest by cities in the EU's twinning Programme promises positive results as the EU's approach is also defined based on European Integration, especially in terms of European identity and citizenship.

The misconception of C2C as prestigious protocol meetings to promote political visibility of mayors results in ineffective use of the instrument. As a result of this, the cooperation partnerships remain symbolic. The perception of importance of the partnerships is closely related to the information provided to the local citizens on the benefits of the partnerships. The efforts carried out to raise public awareness are not at a satisfactory level.

However, as the EU puts external partnerships as an important condition for providing funds, there is a growing attention for external cooperation search.

As explained in the 3rd Chapter, municipalities in Turkey fail to fulfil the factor of commitment. A strong political commitment is required for success. Without commitment from 'above', the higher officials who are the prominent actors in the decision making process and their awareness about functions of C2C links in Turkey's integration process to the EU, efforts of the EU office can only bring a limited contribution.

Municipalities in Turkey and Kocaeli in particular do not fail in all success criteria. They are successful especially in terms of affording particular staff and department for cooperation and legitimization. It is an asset for most municipalities that C2C cooperation partnerships and EU affairs are coordinated by the same department. It provides the chance to combine these two operations. Despite the performance of Turkish municipalities so far have proven the opposite, recently staff working in these departments get specialized and implies development for future. As it can be seen from analysis of Kocaeli in chapter 3, in recent years C2C efforts are intensified. The more departments institutionalised, the more relationships went further.

In addition to these main outcomes, basing the partnerships on mutual benefits and reciprocity, partners' continuous communication and reassessment of the relationships, envisaging long term and sustainable partnerships are important for both the general success of the partnerships and success in terms of contributing in integration.

There is a strong relevance between EU process and C2C cooperation as specific fields that fall within service responsibility of municipalities constitutes an important part of *acqui communitare*. EU's support to new members and candidate states are mostly focused on regions. Development of C2C cooperation relationships offers possibility of fulfilling the requirements of *acqui*. EU's Structural Funds give priority to the large regional development projects and also envisages provision of national co-financing. Therefore for the municipalities which have limited resources the only way to provide this co-financing is to bring together their sources and establish cooperation partnerships. As a result, C2C cooperation in different forms becomes an appropriate option for municipalities in order to provide internal and external support to the projects of this kind.

For using C2C cooperation as an efficient tool to further dimensions of Europeanization and benefit its ventures provided to the cities and local governments, the cities need pay attention to the factors that have been defined as “special factors” in this study. For this purpose, determination of a European Strategy is crucial. Without being aware of their global position in general and European position in particular, cities cannot manage to ‘think global, act local’ in the globalizing world. All the activities, projects and policies need to be defined in accordance with a well designed strategy. This strategy need to include all, download, upload and horizontal dimensions of urban Europeanization.

For download dimension, assistance in implementation of European legislation can be received from partners through cooperation via C2C. Especially cities in new member states and candidate states have a lot to learn from their more developed, institutionalized and experienced partners. For upload dimension, assistance in lobbying in Brussels to upload their interests in European decision making mechanism can be achieved more properly by the support of European partners. Horizontal dimension of urban Europeanization is one of the main motivations in C2C cooperation as it envisages furthering links among European cities. All these dimensions can be achieved in a better level with the support of EU funds as it decreases the financial burden of cities and also forces them to cooperate.

The partnerships between local governments are a tool for strengthening the local governments in Turkey through implementation of EU norms and standards and also from the opposite direction, a tool for contribution in EU integration through providing support for implementation of EU legislation and strengthening the ‘horizontal’ ties between local governments in Turkey and in the EU. In this respect, the Local Authority Reform (LAR) stimulated by the EU gains more and more importance. Therefore the required reforms in order to support this process is important for acceleration of the urban Europeanization.

Partnerships provide cooperation opportunities in management and monitoring of the projects via funds and promote the project management skills of the local structures. Partnerships constitute an important part of the projects that are applied for European funds and provide both, facilitating the awarding of grants and contribute in urban Europeanization in various dimensions.

To some up the deduction of the study, it can be concluded that C2C Cooperation which is a common fashion among the European cities can be used as a tool for furthering the European integration process by the local governments which are the initiators and coordinators of the relationships. C2C Cooperation, with its method of knowledge and

experience exchange can be used as an instrument to deepen the processes of top-down, bottom-up and horizontal urban Europeanization. This can be achieved by implementing both success factors described in this study. In order to be successful in C2C cooperation, cities shall fulfil the general success factors described for any kind of C2C cooperation and in order to extend this success to Europeanization that is using the C2C phenomenon as a tool to contribute in their own integration to Europe and also to the ongoing European integration process, success factors described within Europeanization context shall be fulfilled.

This study is not in the pretence of providing absolute factors for successful partnerships nor does it claim the partnership will be completely successful if the factors described are successfully applied. It rather provides an overview of literature that strived to define certain principles for the success of city partnerships, also by enriching it via various examples and comments. This was done in order to provide an analysis of success factors within the European integration context. Further research is needed in order to deepen the relevance of each factor described, to the europeanization in local level and therefore contribution in European Integration via C2C instrument.

This research studied an inter-disciplinary subject by mostly focusing on its aspects concerning 'Europeanization' which has been challenging. Further research may be carried out focusing on the other aspects of the C2C phenomenon: i.e. from Public Administration point of view, it's relation with concepts such as democratic inclusion and accountability can in theory and also in practise be scrutinized. Role of the actors involved in C2C may also be a subject of a separate research i.e. functionalisation of 'Local Councils' via C2C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alodalı, M.Fatih Bilal, Lütfi Özcan, Fikret Çelik, and Sefa Usta. (2007) "Avrupa Yerel Yönetimler Özerklik Şartı Ve Türkiye'de Belediyelerde Özerklik." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Karaman İBF Dergisi Yerel Yönetimler Özel Sayısı: Mayıs 2007*.

Antalovsky, Eugen, Jens S. Dangschat, and Michael Parkinson (2005). *European Metropolitan Governance*. Vienna: Europaforum Wien

Articus, Stephan. (2005) 'Reposition or Lose - Municipalities' Reactions to European Integration', *German Journal of Urban Studies* 44. 2. *Deutsches Institut Für Urbanistik*. Web. Accessed on 10 Feb. 2011. Available at: <<http://www.difu.de/>>.

Barış, Bilal (Director of EU and Foreign Affairs Department of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality). "International Policy of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality." Personal interview. 25 Feb. 2011.

Beurden, Jos Van. 'Migration and International Cooperation A Dutch Perspective', Web. Accessed on 10 Feb. 2011. Available at: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/studies_and_reports/VanBeurden.pdf>.

Bontenbal, Marike (2009). *Cities as Partners: the Challenge to Strengthen Urban Governance through North-South City Partnerships*. Delft: Eburon.

Buis, Hans. (2009) 'The Role of Local Government Associations in Increasing the Effectiveness of City-to-city Cooperation', *Habitat International* 33.2:190-94.

Christiansen, T.; Knud E. J. and Antje W. (1999) 'The Social Construction of Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6:4 Special Issue, 530-539.

CEMR (Council of European Municipalities and Regions) (2004). 'Twinning – a Europe of citizens – tomorrow's Europe', Web. Accessed on 19 Mar. 2011 Available at: <http://www.ccre.org>.

City Mayors (2003) 'City Mayors: Glocal Conference', *City Mayors: Mayors Running the World's Cities*. 26 May 2003. Web. Accessed on 25 Jan. 2011. Available at: <http://www.citymayors.com/features/glocal_conference.html>

City of Berlin, *City of Berlin Homepage*, Web. Accessed on 23 Mar 2011. Available at: <http://www.berlin.de/>

City of London, *City of London Homepage*, Web. Accessed on 23 Mar 2011. Available at: <http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/Corporation>

City of Paris, 'Involvement in City Networks', *Accueil Paris.fr - Paris.fr*. Web. 25 Jan.2011.

<http://www.paris.fr/portail/english/Portal.lut?page_id=8139&document_type_id=5&document_id=29942&portlet_id=18784>.

Clarke, Nick (2010). 'Town twinning in Cold-War Britain: (Dis)continuities in twentieth-century municipal internationalism', *Contemporary British History* 24(2): 173-91

Cremer, Rolf D., Anne De Bruin, and Ann Dupuis (2001). 'International Sister-Cities: Bridging the Global-Local Divide', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 60.1: 377-401.

De Villiers, J.C. (2006). *Achieving the Millennium Development Goals City Partnerships through City - to -City: Origins of City-to-city Partnerships, History and Context*. Proc. of SCI 50th Anniversary Conference, Washington DC. Washington: SCI.

De Villiers, J.C. (2009). 'Success Factors and the City-to-city Partnership Management Process – from Strategy to Alliance Capability', *Habitat International* 33.2: 149-56.

Canman, D. (1995), *Çağdaş Personel Yönetimi*, TODAİE Yayını 260, Ankara.

Council of Europe (2000) *The Role of Local Authorities in the Field of Local Social Services*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Pub.

ECOSOC Resolution 1217 (XLII): 'Town Twinning as a Means of International Cooperation', adopted 8 June 1967, NA, FCO13/183.

Eurocities (2006). *Eurocities Web Site*, Accessed on 10 Oct 2010. Available at: <<http://www.eurocities.org>>.

ECDPM (European Centre for Development Policy Management) (2004), 'Promoting Local Governance through Municipal International Cooperation.' *Capacity Org.*, 21 Apr. 2004.

Web. Accessed on 08 Nov. 2010. Available at: <<http://lencd.com/data/docs/68-Promoting%20local%20governance%20through%20municipal%20international.pdf>>.

Erdem, Selim Efe. "İstanbul'a 49 Kardeş." *Radikal* [Istanbul] 3 Nov. 2003. *Radikal Online*. Web. Accessed on 18 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=94185>>.

European Commission (2009). 'Citizenship Programme 2007-2013 - Europe for Citizens | EACEA.' *EUROPA - European Commission - Homepage*. 1 Jan. 2009. Web. Accessed on 08 Nov. 2010. Available at: <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/index_en.php>.

European Commission. 'Citizenship', *EUROPA - European Commission - Homepage*. Web. Accessed on 26 Feb. 2011. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/index_en.htm>.

European Commission. "Citizenship." *EUROPA - European Commission - Homepage*. Web. Accessed on 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme-actions/doc30_en.htm>.

EU CoR (European Union. Committee of Regions) (2009). 'CoR Scrutinises Progress of EU Enlargement Countries, Stresses Role of Local and Regional Authorities in Accession Process', *EUROPA – The Official Website of the European Union*. 18 June 2009. Web. Accessed on 10 Feb. 2011. Available at: <europa.eu>.

Giffinger, R. and H. Wimmer (2005). 'The Meaning of City-to-City Cooperation: Lessons from Vienna', *Competition between Cities in Central Europe: Opportunities and Risks of Cooperation*, Bratislava: ROAD, 89-107.

Gosciniak, Gregor (2006). 'Local Government in Germany', *City Mayors: Mayors Running the World's Cities*. 12 Sept. 2006. Web. Accessed on 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <http://www.citymayors.com/government/germany_government.html>.

Haas, E. (1968) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950–5*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Handley, Susan. (2004) *Take Your Partners: the Local Authority Handbook on Twinning and International Partnerships*. London: Local Government International Bureau

Hamedinger, Alexander (2010). *The Europeanization of Cities: Policies, Urban Change & Urban Networks*. Amsterdam: Techne

Hewitt, W.E. (1999). 'The administrative impact of international municipal cooperation on Canadian cities and towns an assessment', *Canadian Public Administration / Administration Publique Du Canada* Volume 42, No. 3 (Fall/Automne): 312-330.

Hewitt, W. E. (1998). 'The role of international municipal cooperation in housing the developing world's urban poor, the Toronto-Sao Paulo example' *Habitat International*, 22(4), 411-427.

Hoetjes, Ben J.S. (2009) 'Trends and issues in municipal twinnings from the Netherlands', *Habitat International* Vol. 33 (2009) pp. 157-164

IBMGM (İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü) (1998), *Yerel Yönetimlerde Halk Katılımı*, Ankara

ICIB (Istanbul Centre in Brussels). *ICIB Home Page*. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Web. Accessed on 31 Mar. 2011. Available at: <<http://www.istanbulcentre.eu/>>.

ICMA (International City/County Management Association) (2004). 'Life beyond the USAID Contract: CityLinks Sustainability Project.' Unpublished Report. Sister Cities International, Washington, DC.

Joenniemi, Pertti, and Sergunin, Alexander. (2009) 'When Two Aspire to Become One: City-twinning in Northern Europe', *DIIS Working Paper* 21: 1-40

John, Peter (2001). *Local Governance in Western Europe*, London: Sage.

Jupille, J., J. A. Caporaso, and J. T. Checkel (2003). 'Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 36.1-2: 7-40

KCI (Kocaeli Chamber of Industry) "Kocaeli ve Sanayi" *Kocaeli Chamber of Industry Homepage*. Web. Accessed on 15 Mar 2011. Available at: <http://www.kosano.org.tr/tr/KocaeliveSanayi/KocaelindeSanayi/KocaeliSanayii.aspx>

Keleş, Ruşen (1995). 'Yerel Yönetimler Özerklik Şartı Karşısında Avrupa ve Türkiye', *Ç.Y.Y.D.*, Cilt 23, Sayı 6

Keohane, O Robert, & Nye Jr, Joseph S, Alexander (1998). 'Power and Interdependence in the Information Age' *Foreign Affairs*, 77, 5, (Sep/Oct 1998), p. 81

Kern, Kristine (2007). 'When Europe Hits City Hall: The Europeanization of Cities in the EU Multi-level System', *Archive of European Integration*. University of Pittsburgh, 30 June 2008. Web. Accessed on 11 Feb. 2011. Available at: <aei.pitt.edu/7933/>.

Kern, Kristine, and Harriet Bulkeley. (2009) 'Cities, Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: Governing Climate Change through Transnational Municipal Networks', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47.2: 309-32.

KMM, SDD (Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality, Strategy Development Department) (2011) 'Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi Performans Programı', *Unpublished Performance Programme of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality*. Kocaeli.

Kreher, Alexander (2001). 'Internationale Arbeit als zentrale Aufgabe' *Europa Kommunal*, Vol. 1 (2001), p. 15

Kuglin, F. A., & Hook, J. (2002). 'Building, leading, and managing strategic alliances: How to work effectively and profitably with partnering companies', New York: American Marketing Association.

Ladrech, R. (2005). 'The Europeanization of interest groups and political parties' In: Bulmer S. and Lequesne, C. (eds.) *The Member States of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 317-337

Lavenex, Sandra, and Emek M. Ucarer (2002). *Migration and the Externalities of European Integration*. Lanham, MD: Lexington

Levent, T., Kundak, S. and Gülümser, A.A. (2008) 'City-to-city linkages in a mobile society: the role of urban networks in Eurocities and Sister Cities', *Int. J. Services Technology and Management*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp.83–109.

Marks, G., Nielsen, F. Ray, L. and Salk, J. (1996). 'Competencies, cracks and conflicts: regional mobilisation in the EU', in G. Marks *et al*, *Governance in the European Union*, London: Sage Publications.

Marshall, A. (2005). 'Europeanization at the urban level: local actors, institutions and the dynamics of multi-level interaction' *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(4): 668-686.

Moravcsik, A. (1997), 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics', *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 513-53.

NCG Istanbul (Netherlands Consulate General in Istanbul). 'Matra Projects Programme', NCG Homepage. Web. Accessed on 20.04.2011 Available at: [http://istanbul.nlconsulate.org/The Consulate General/Departments/MATRA and human rights/MATRA projects programme](http://istanbul.nlconsulate.org/The%20Consulate%20General/Departments/MATRA%20and%20human%20rights/MATRA%20projects%20programme)

Pierre, J. and Peters, B.G. (2000), *Governance, Politics and the State*, Houndsmills: Macmillan.

Portal to Amsterdam. *Iamsterdam Website*. Web. Accessed on 18 Mar. 2011. Available at: <http://www.iamsterdam.com/>.

Pollack, Mark A. (2001) 'International Relations Theory and European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39.2: 221-44.

Pollack, Mark A. (2005) 'Theorizing The European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?' *Annual Review of Political Science* 8.1: 357-98.

Prague, Regional Studies Papers. (2008) 'Decentralized International Cooperation: A New Role for Local Governments Who Think Globally and Act Locally' *Regional Studies Association Website* Accessed on: 13 February 2011. Available at: <http://www.regional-studies-assoc.ac.uk/events/2008/may-prague/papers/unknown.pdf>

Radaelli, C. (2006) 'Europeanization: solution or problem?' In: Cini, M. and Bourne, A. (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosamond, B. (2000) *Theories of European Integration*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rooij, R. (2002) 'The impact of the European Union on local government in the Netherlands' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9 (3): 447-467.

SCI (Sister Cities International). 'Sister Cities International: An Introduction', *Sister-cities.org*. Washington: Sister Cities International. Web. Accessed on 21 Feb. 2011. Available at: <http://www.sister-cities.org/toolkits/membership/IntrotoSCI.pdf>

SCI (Sister Cities International). 'SCI Factsheet', *Sister-cities.org*. Web. Accessed on: 08 Nov. 2010. Available at: <<http://www.sister-cities.org/about/press/FactSheet-FINAL-pdf.pdf>>.

Staff of Department (EU and Foreign Affairs Department of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality). "International Policy of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality." Personal interview. 25 Feb. 2011.

Suleyman, Sahsine (2011) 'City Office in Brussels' *City of London Website*, published on 4 Feb. 2011. Web. Accessed on: 26 Feb. 2011. Available at: <http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/Corporation/LGNL_Services/Business/Business_support_and_advice/Promoting_the_City/European_Affairs/brussels_office.htm>

Swift, Nick. 'City Mayors: Local Government in France.' *City Mayors: Mayors Running the World's Cities*. Web. Accessed on: 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <http://www.citymayors.com/france/france_gov.html>.

TBB (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği) (2004). 'Türkiye'de Belediye İşbirliklerinin Geliştirilmesi Alt Stratejisi', *Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetim Reformu Uygulamasının Devamına Destek Projesi LAR II. Aşama*. Ankara

TBB (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği). 'Uluslararası İlişkiler - Genel Bilgi.' *TBB Homepage*, Web. Accessed on: 15 Mar. 2011. Available at: <http://www.tbb.gov.tr/HD191_genel-bilgi.html>.

Tjandradewi, B., P. Marcotullio, and T. Kidokoro (2006). 'Evaluating City-to-city Cooperation: a Case Study of the Penang and Yokohama Experience', *Habitat International* 30.3: 357-76.

Tjandradewi, Bernadia Irawati, and Peter J. Marcotullio (2009), 'City-to-city Networks: Asian Perspectives on Key Elements and Areas for Success', *Habitat International* 33.2: 165-72.

Toprak, Zerrin (2010) 'Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler – Yapılanma Merkez – Yerel Yönetim İlişkileri' *Dokuz Eylül University Homepage*, Web: Accessed on 10 Feb. 2010. Available at: <http://kisi.deu.edu.tr/zerrin.toprak/TURKIYE'DE%20YEREL%20YONETIMLER%20YAPILANMA.pdf>

UCUE. 'About UCUE' *Page D'accueil UCUE*. Web. Accessed on: 25 Jan. 2011. Available at: <<http://www.uceu.org/UCEU.htm>>.

UNDP. (2000). *The Challenges of Linking*, New York: United Nations Development Programme.

UNEP, 'Urbanisation', -- *United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) - Home Page* --. Web. Accessed on: 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <<http://www.unep.org/geo2000/pacha/urban/index.htm>>

UN-HABITAT. (2001). *Cities in A Globalizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements* London: Earthscan.

UN-HABITAT. 'Mandate' *UN-HABITAT*:. Web. Accessed on 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <<http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=2467&catid=1&typeid=24&subMenuId=0>>.

UN-HABITAT & UTO (United Towns Organisation)/FMCU (2002). 'City-to-City Cooperation: Issues Arising From Experience', *Draft, Second Interim Report, Prepared for the World Urban Forum*, Nairobi, Kenya.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2058 (XX): 'Town Twinning as a Means of International Cooperation', adopted 16 December 1965, NA, OD11/282.

UNV & IULA. (2003). *Closing The Gap: A Guide to Linking Communities Across the Globe for International Solidarity and Mutual Benefit*. Geneva: United Nations Volunteers.

USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development), (2000). *Decentralization and Democratic Local Governance Programming Handbook*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Democracy and Governance, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, Web. Accessed on 11 Feb. 2011. Available at: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnach300.pdf

Uyar, Hakkı (2004). 'Türkiye'de Ve Dünya'da Yerel Yönetimler: Kısa Bir Tarihçe', *Aydınlanma 1923* 51.Kış 2004: 1-8. deu.edu.tr. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi. Web. Accessed on: 11 Mar. 2011. Available at: <kisi.deu.edu.tr/hakki.uyar/6.pdf>.

Van Ewijk, Edith, and Isa Baud (2009). 'Partnerships between Dutch Municipalities and Municipalities in Countries of Migration to the Netherlands; Knowledge Exchange and Mutuality', *Habitat International* 33.2: 218-26.

VNG (Association of Netherlands Municipalities) 'Local Government in The Netherlands' *VNG Homepage*. Web. Accessed on 07 Nov. 2010. Available at: <<http://www.vng.nl/smartsite.dws?ch=&id=41364>>.

VNG International (Association of Netherlands Municipalities) 'Projects and Programmes' *VNG Homepage*, Web, 31. Accessed on: Mar. 2011. Available at: <<http://www.vng-international.nl/projects/logo-east-programme.html>>

Waldinger, Roger, and David Fitzgerald (2004). 'Transnationalism in Question', *American Journal of Sociology*. 109.5: 1177-195.

World Bank (2000). *World Development Report 1999/2000: Dynamics Cities as Engines of Growth*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Zelinsky, W. (1991) 'The Twinning of the World: Sister Cities in Geographic and Historical Perspective', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp.1–31.

Zimmermann, U. (2006) 'Die Europäische Verfassung – Eine Bilanz aus kommunaler Perspektive' In: von Alemann, U. and Münch, C. (eds.) *Europafähigkeit der Kommunen. Die lokale Ebene in der Europäischen Union*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 25-47.