Between local governments and communities

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Citation for published version (APA):

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5. National and local policies, transnational relations, and actors

'They lived the earthquake with us' (former mayor of Al Hoceima)

5.1. Introduction

'Town twinning' was defined by Clarke (2009: 496) as the ‘construction and practice, by various groups and to various ends, of relatively formal relationships between two towns or cities usually located in different nation-states’. This chapter will focus on these ‘various groups’ including local governments, private organizations and civil society organizations. The chapter also explores the number and types of persons involved in these partnerships. Most municipalities formulated international cooperation policies in which they actively involved non-governmental actors, and the involvement of several actors is considered a specific strength of municipal partnerships (Bontenbal 2009a; Van Lindert 2009). Municipal partnerships between migrant source and destination countries have two key characteristics that distinguish them from other municipal partnerships: (1) the connection between international policies and issues related to ethnic and cultural diversity, particularly in migrant destination countries, and (2) existing transnational ties between municipalities in migrant source and destination countries through the diasporas. This implies that there is also potential to involve new partners in the twinning relations.

By the beginning of 2011 seven Dutch local governments were working with one or more partner municipalities in Turkey, and five Dutch local governments had partnered with one or more municipalities in Morocco. In addition, several other local governments supported civil society initiatives in the main migrant source countries but did not maintain municipal partnerships. The research specifically builds on three case studies of Dutch-Moroccan municipal partnerships (Rotterdam-Casablanca, Zeist-Berkane and Meppel–Al Hoceima) and two case studies of Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships (Amsterdam-Kocaeli and Haarlem-Emirdag). In chapter 3 the rationale behind the case study approach was described and arguments were provided for selecting these specific five case studies. The research took a broader stance and also included key information from other Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish partnerships, obtained by participating in various seminars and meetings as well as by conducting a short telephone survey.

Each of the Dutch municipalities included as a case study has a significant population of migrants living within their constituency, including many citizen of Moroccan or Turkish descent. Table 5.1 illustrates the share of the migrant populations

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82 Parts of this chapter have been published elsewhere (see Van Ewijk 2011).
living in these Dutch municipalities and the relative number of citizens of Moroccan and Turkish descent.

Table 5.1 Inhabitants of Moroccan and Turkish descent in the Dutch case study municipalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Number of citizens*</th>
<th>Citizens of migrant descent as share of total population</th>
<th>Citizens of Moroccan/ Turkish descent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>612,500</td>
<td>Ca. 50%</td>
<td>39,710 (6.5%) of Moroccan descent (third largest group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(partnered with Casablanca, Morocco)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeist</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>3,500 (5.8%) of Moroccan descent (largest group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(partnered with Berkane, Morocco)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meppel</td>
<td>32,500</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Ca. 630 (2%) of Moroccan descent (largest group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(partnered with Al Hoceima, Morocco)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>780,560</td>
<td>Ca. 50%</td>
<td>41,075 (5%) Turkish descent (second largest group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(partnered with Kocaeli, Turkey)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haarlem</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6,415 (4%) Turkish descent (largest group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(partnered with Emirdag, Turkey)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: CBS (2011)

5.2. Key factors for involving actors

Based on the literature and the initial inventory study (Van Ewijk 2007), I identified three interrelated key factors that fulfil an important role in the kind of actors involved in the Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships: (1) national policies, in particular the use of national support programmes; (2) international cooperation policies of local governments, especially towards the involvement of non-governmental actors, and (3) the origin of the partnerships, especially the existence of translocal linkages. In some cases exogenous factors were important for the establishment of municipal partnerships.

The size of the municipality was an important aspect in relation to these three factors. The partnerships between the larger municipalities had some specific characteristics, which will be discussed below. Table 5.2 shows that the sizes of partnering municipalities differed substantially, indicating that the size itself was not the main selection criteria for starting a municipal partnership.
### Table 5.2 Municipalities case studies and number of inhabitants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dutch-Moroccan municipal partnership</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>612,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca</td>
<td>City: 5,550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand Casablanca:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeist</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkane</td>
<td>80,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meppel</td>
<td>32,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Hoceima</td>
<td>City: ca. 90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Region: 395,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dutch-Turkish municipal partnership</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>780,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kocaeli (Izmit)</td>
<td>City: 293,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Province: 1,459,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haarlem</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirdag</td>
<td>Town: 19,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District: 42,111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.2.1. National policies

National policies, particularly Dutch support programmes, played an important role in Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships. All municipal partnerships involved in this research made use of a Dutch support programme as their municipal budgets for international exchanges were limited. Most support programmes aimed at strengthening local governance processes in Morocco and Turkey, and they have had an important impact on the kind of exchanges taking place. This includes the themes addressed and the actors involved in city-to-city partnerships, especially in the initial phase of the cooperation (Van Ewijk 2012). For cooperation with Morocco, municipalities could draw on the MATRA support programme, focusing on youth participation and waste management. Also, a separate grant was awarded to a programme on domestic violence. In cooperation with Turkey several themes were central, ranging from fire safety, waste management to care programmes through the LOGO East programme. The main local government departments involved in these exchanges included international relations, fire safety, waste management and preservation of cultural landmarks.

The parts of the MATRA programme that focused on youth participation in local governance were particularly relevant for both Moroccan and Dutch local governments. Other exchanges that explicitly focused on learning by Dutch municipalities or on mutual learning by both involved municipalities were not supported by programmes. Exchanges between local governments that were not financially supported included the

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83 The information was obtained from several sources: Rotterdam COS, 2011; Casablanca Census 2010; Zeist CBS 2011; Berkane Census 2004; Meppel CBS 2011; Al Hoceima census 2004; Amsterdam 2011; Kocaeli census 2010; Haarlem 2011; and Emirdag census 2011.

84 The projects supported under the LOGO East programme focused on waste management, digital service delivery, implementing a procedure for managing citizen complaints, cultural heritage preservation, improving disaster management, care for psychiatric patients and reduction of CO₂ emissions and energy efficiency.
cooperation between several police departments in Dutch and Moroccan municipalities (Rotterdam-Casablanca, Meppel–Al Hoceima and Zeist-Berkane)\(^5\) and cooperation between the social affairs departments of Dutch and Moroccan municipalities (mainly Meppel–Al Hoceima and Zeist-Berkane). This implies that exchanges focusing on learning by Moroccan and Turkish municipalities were shaped more by external factors—i.e. the support programmes—than exchanges which were focusing mainly on learning by Dutch municipalities.

The end of the LOGO East and MATRA support programmes and the budget cuts at the local government level of 2010 and 2011 have led to a decrease in the intensity of exchanges and the municipalities’ capacity to maintain the municipal partnerships with Morocco and Turkey. However, according to data gathered through a telephone survey with twelve contact persons responsible for international cooperation of Dutch municipalities, all of the participating Dutch municipalities continued cooperating with their partner municipalities as the mutual exchange was seen as very valuable.

5.2.2. International cooperation policies of Dutch local governments
Dutch local governments have formulated different kinds of international cooperation policies. As discussed in the first chapter, the focus for Dutch municipalities has also been evolving over time. Formulation of general international cooperation policies was largely absent in the Moroccan and Turkish municipalities during the research period, but they did draft project proposals and reports together with Dutch municipalities.

The involvement of non-governmental actors
Whereas some municipalities actively involved NGOs, others mainly focused on the exchange between local government bodies, while a third group focused on only supporting civil society initiatives. These policies can change over time and are not clear cut. In municipalities that focus on cooperation between local government bodies, some NGOs can still be involved as specific municipal departments can still decide to engage other actors. Local governments that focus on supporting only NGOs can still maintain general linkages with partner municipalities or play a role in strengthening initiatives by civil society actors. NGOs were explicitly involved in the partnerships Haarlem-Emirdag, Zeist-Berkane and Meppel–Al Hoceima, and included private companies and schools, as well as women, youth and migrant organizations. This involvement did not only increase the number of exchanges, it also affected the kind of exchanges taking place, as actors brought in their specific expertise. Moreover, local governments were cooperating with non-governmental actors, thus providing the conditions for strengthening interfaces between governmental and non-governmental actors. In the partnerships Amsterdam-Kocaeli and Rotterdam-Casablanca the exchanges between local government bodies

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\(^5\) Also exchanges between Dutch and Turkish police departments took place (e.g., the police department of Rotterdam collaborated with the police department of Kayseri). These collaborations were not included in the case studies because exchanges between police departments are not necessarily linked to official city-to-city partnerships.
were central (part of the policy of the municipalities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam).\textsuperscript{86} The size of the municipality was also important factor that affected the involvement of immigrant organizations. Larger distances between local government and civil society, as well as the existence of a large number of migrant organizations, made the involvement of these actors more complicated. Selecting one or a few of these actors was perceived as possibly negatively impacting relations between migrant groups within the municipality.

\textbf{The focus of international cooperation policies and other municipal partnerships}

The focus of international cooperation policies of Dutch local governments has changed over the years. Especially in the large municipalities the establishment of city-to-city partnership is part of the general broader international relations policy. Peacebuilding was the leading focus in the period after the Second World War; solidarity was important in the 1980s and 1990s; and, later, there was increased interest in linking international relations to municipal objectives. Some municipal partnerships were ended as a consequence of shifting policies and others were maintained. As a result, most municipalities in the Netherlands (as well as in Morocco and Turkey) maintain more than one partnership. The municipalities included as case studies also maintained more than one partnership. Amsterdam and Rotterdam cooperated with local governments in several migrant source countries as well as local governments in Central and Eastern Europe, and emerging economic markets.\textsuperscript{87} The municipal partnerships of Haarlem reflects the general developments in international cooperation policies of Dutch municipalities: after the Second World War cooperations with Anger (France) and Osnabruck (Germany) were established; in the 1990s Haarlem started to cooperate with Mutare (Zimbabwe); and in 2001 the exchange with Emirdag was initiated. The Municipality of Zeist established relations with a Japanese municipality (Yamada) and with a municipality in the Czech Republic (Slavkov U Brna). Meppel is also linked to a municipality in the Czech Republic (Most).

Casablanca maintained several relations with country capitals and other large cities in France, Spain, Turkey, United States, Brazil and Australia, and also has a partnership with the Municipality of Amsterdam. Kocaeli (Turkey) has relations with a city in Germany as well as with cities in South Korea, Hungary, China and the United States. Al Hoceima (Morocco) set up an international desk to coordinate cooperation with various partner municipalities in France, Spain and Belgium. For Berkane the partnership with Zeist was the main international linkage, since it ended its partnership in 2012 and 2013, the focus shifted increasingly towards economic development and several companies were involved in exchange programmes. Indeed, Rotterdam maintains several international linkages and mainly focuses on its 'special partners': Istanbul (Turkey), Shanghai (China) and Sao Paulo (Brazil).
with Saint Denis (an industrialized northern suburb of Paris). Emirdag (Turkey) established relations with Gent, Antwerp and Brussels in Belgium, as most migrants of Turkish descent who live in these three cities originated from Emirdag.  

**Natural disasters as an exogenous factor**

Two natural disasters—the earthquake in the Marmara Region (Turkey) in 1999 and the earthquake in the area of Al Hoceima (Morocco) in 2004—mobilized various actors at different scale levels in providing funding for the affected areas and also triggered the establishment of city-to-city networks. These actors included the World Bank, the EU, national and local governments, co-financing agencies and civil society actors.

At the local level the earthquakes motivated the Turkish and Moroccan communities to organize themselves to collect money to assist the victims. Also local politicians, like the councillors and aldermen of Turkish and Moroccan descent, raised awareness on the impact of the earthquakes. For the Dutch-Turkish linkages, these activities led to a widespread campaign to assist those affected by the earthquake, primarily in the Marmara Region in Turkey, including Dutch citizens of Turkish descent who lost family members. In total, 48 out of 483 Dutch municipalities contributed financial resources, while five municipalities donated materials (Nell 2007).

In the partnership between Amsterdam and Kocaeli, transnational relations were important for initiating the partnership. A councillor of Turkish descent in the municipality of Amsterdam mobilized support within the municipality to provide assistance to the affected area. At the same time, the Turkish community in Amsterdam organized themselves to collect money for the victims. Out of these contacts, the cooperation between Amsterdam and Kocaeli was expanded, with a specific focus on disaster management. The earthquake in Al Hoceima in 2004 also triggered many Dutch municipalities to donate money and goods to the victims in the affected area. Like Kocaeli, these efforts were directly linked to the presence of a substantial migrant population of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands. At the time the earthquake struck, a delegation of the Municipality of Meppel happened to be present in Al Hoceima, so they literally 'lived the earthquake' with Al Hoceima, as the former mayor of Al Hoceima described it. This contributed to the continuation of the cooperation between Al Hoceima and Meppel. While the disasters led to intensive short-term assistance by various donors, the cooperation on the municipal level continued for years after the disaster. Especially in the case of Amsterdam-Kocaeli, new knowledge was built up, helping better prepare the local government for possible future disasters. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this also had important spillover effects to other local governments.

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88 In 2011, the right-wing political party Vlaams Blok established contacts with Emirdag and started a campaign to stimulate remigration of citizens of Turkish descent from Gent to Emirdag called ‘Emirdag needs you’. The campaign provoked strong negative reactions by persons of Turkish descent living in Gent (http://Emirdagheeftjenodig.be, accessed 5 September 2012).

89 This figure is for 1999. In January 2012, there were 415 municipalities, due to the merging of several smaller municipalities.
5.2.3. The existence of translocal linkages

The cooperation between migrant source and destination countries is an example of transnational ties at the local or institutional level. Some of the Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships also have a translocal dimension, for example, when a Dutch municipality is linked to a municipality situated in a region of origin for a large part of its migrant population. Others are not based on such linkages or the translocal linkage is less clear (Van Ewijk 2009). Nell (2007: 202) introduced the term 'locally specific transnational ties', defined as 'active formal and informal ties between individual, collective and governmental actors between emigrants and non-migrants originating from the same region'. The existence of translocal or locally specific transnational ties is an important factor in relation to the types of actors involved. Although there was no clear difference between the Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish partnerships whether or not links were based on translocal linkages, the difference in the size of municipalities did matter. Partnerships between larger municipalities (Amsterdam-Kocaeli and Rotterdam-Casablanca) were not based on such links; medium-sized to smaller municipalities were based on a direct (Haarlem-Emirdag) or indirect link (Zeist-Berkane and Meppel–Al Hoceima). As discussed above, during the research period the large municipalities mainly focused on the exchange between local government bodies. In partnerships based on a strong translocal linkage, the municipalities usually involved migrant organization, and, at the same time, migrant organizations also established more linkages through their own initiatives, due to existing translocal ties.

The Haarlem-Emirdag partnership is an example of a linkage with a clear translocal dimension. The majority of Turkish migrants currently living in Haarlem originate from the Emirdag region, a result of recruitment policies of the textile industry in the 1970s (followed by a period of family reunion and chain migration) (Van Ewijk 2007; Timmerman 2008). The partnership between the two local government bodies was triggered by civil society organizations; the Haarlem-based CBO foundation and the Emirdag-based environmental NGO TEMA approached the two local government bodies in 2001 to start working together (Van Ewijk 2010). According to Nell (2007: 213-214) this is a form of a collective, locally specific transnational tie that was 'upgraded' to the government level: local ties of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands were institutionalized in official city-to-city partnerships (see also paragraph 2.3.1).

The partnerships between Zeist-Berkane and Meppel–Al Hoceima both arose out of contacts through the Morocco Municipal Platform. Both partnerships have translocal linkages, although these linkages are less direct than the links between Haarlem and Emirdag. The majority of citizens of Moroccan descent in Meppel originated from the areas around both Al Hoceima and Nador, located in the Rif area in northern Morocco.

90 No comparison was made based on direct and indirect translocal linkages as the number of cases is too small for drawing valid conclusions.
The majority of citizens of Moroccan descent in Zeist also originated from the northern part of Morocco, but only a few citizens were connected to the partner municipality Berkane (also located in northern Morocco). The presence of the transnational NGO SSR in Berkane was an additional reason for Zeist to enter into the partnership. This organization has fulfilled a facilitating role in the communication between the two municipalities.

The partnerships between Amsterdam-Kocaeli and Rotterdam-Casablanca have no direct translocal linkage. The partnership between Amsterdam and Kocaeli was established after the earthquake in the Marmara Region in 1999, while Rotterdam opted to partner with Casablanca mainly due to economic reasons: Casablanca is a harbour city and the economic centre of Morocco. Translocal linkages are virtually non-existent as most migrants of Moroccan descent living in Rotterdam originate from the northern part of Morocco. Table 5.3 contains an overview of all existing Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships in relation to policies and existing translocal linkages. The case studies are marked in bold.

Table 5.3 Overview municipal partnerships for the existence of transnational linkages and local governments and civil society involved

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mainly local government</th>
<th>Both local government and civil society</th>
<th>Only civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong translocal linkages</td>
<td></td>
<td>Haarlem-Emirdag Almelo-Denizli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate translocal linkages</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zeist-Berkane Meppel-Al Hoceima Gouda-Imzourene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No translocal linkages</td>
<td>Rotterdam-Casablanca Amsterdam-Kocaeli</td>
<td>Meppel-Figuig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam-Casablanca</td>
<td>Rotterdam-Istanbul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>91</sup> This information was mainly based on interviews with various Dutch citizens of Moroccan descent in Zeist and Meppel.

<sup>92</sup> Stichting Steunpunt Remigranten (SSR) supports people who remigrated from the Netherlands to Morocco. At the beginning of 2012, the Dutch national government decided to stop its financial support for this organization. SSR reopened its office in Berkane in April 2012 and continues to operate independently, with only two employees.

<sup>93</sup> Breda only implemented a programme focusing on supporting civil society initiatives in 2009 and 2010.
5.3. Introducing the case studies

Having set out the three main factors that influence the actors involved in the municipal partnerships, this section will discuss the case studies in more detail. First, the three Dutch-Moroccan municipal partnerships will be introduced, followed by the two Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships.

5.3.1. Dutch-Moroccan case studies

Figure 5.1 illustrates the geographic location of the municipalities from the Dutch-Moroccan municipal partnerships.

A. Rotterdam (the Netherlands)–Casablanca (Morocco)

General policy

Cooperation between the municipalities of Rotterdam and Casablanca started in 2000. The partnership was in line with the general international cooperation policy of the Municipality of Rotterdam at that time. Rotterdam established linkages with other countries and/or municipalities in migrant source countries as well: Istanbul, Suriname, Curacao and Cape Verde. The general policy of the Municipality of Rotterdam towards international cooperation has been evolving, with more emphasis being placed on economic development. Rotterdam has focused more on exploring cooperation potentials with BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) or TRIC countries...
(Turkey, Russia, India and China). Policies focusing on cooperation with local governments in migrant source countries have been replaced by ‘special partnerships’, with economic development as a prominent objective, formulated in the Programme International and European Activities (PIEA).

The policy has focused on four thematic fields: (1) climate, (2) energy and water, (3) social cohesion and participation, and (4) arts, culture and sport. In the thematic field ‘social cohesion and participation’ exchange between the large municipalities within Europe has been central (Gemeente Rotterdam 2009). Looking at the main migrant source countries, cooperation with the economically interesting, ‘special partner’ Istanbul was a priority, while Casablanca received less attention over the course of the years. In the period 2010-2011 Casablanca also experienced significant political problems, which negatively impacted on the extent of cooperation (Le Matin du Sahara 2011). Although Morocco was not a priority country, in 2012 and 2013 several activities were implemented, like the exchange of trade missions, with a slightly broader focus, including exchanges with other large cities like Tangier.

Main activities and actors

During the research period (2007–2011), the C2C partnership mainly focused on cooperation between police departments (started in February 2008). These exchanges were financed from the municipal budget and were not supported by a national programme. According to the international affairs coordinator of the police department the main motivation of the Rotterdam-Rijnmond Police to start cooperation with Casablanca was related to (1) learning about the internationalization of crime, as crime is increasingly crossing borders; (2) learning about cultural issues; (3) reaching out and building a network within the immigrant community of Moroccan descent; and (4) identifying and preventing radicalism and youth crime. Police officers from Casablanca indicated that the Moroccan police department was mainly interested in acquiring technical knowledge, like automatic license plate registration and camera-supervision, as well as insight in the organization of the Rotterdam police department. An officer responsible for international cooperation was assigned at the police department in Rotterdam, and an expert group consisting of a selected group of police officers with Moroccan background was set up, to provide advice on international cooperation with Morocco. Several of these officers also helped in the translation of exchanges. The head of the police station of City District North and later also City District West (responsible for coordination of contacts with the Moroccan community in Rotterdam) was a key person. Several other police officers were also involved in separate exchange programmes. The Rotterdam police department established close linkages with the liaison officer for the police (KPL) based at the Dutch embassy in Rabat. The National Police Institute also played a role as it coordinated the exchanges between various police departments in the Netherlands. The police department of Casablanca also appointed an international coordination officer, and additional police officers with various responsibilities (ranging from camera supervision to harbour safety) were
involved in the exchanges. The department of International Affairs coordinated the exchanges. The cooperation between the police department of Rotterdam Rijnmond and Casablanca has slowly been phased out, while a new programme for cooperation between the police institutes at the national level was in preparation in 2013. This is in line with the restructuring of the police forces in the Netherlands; the establishment of the National Police Force with several regional departments. Previously the police was organized at the regional level.

Other exchanges

The public health department of the municipality (GGD) successfully applied for a MATRA fund for a project on domestic violence in Casablanca, implemented 2010-2011 in cooperation with the non-governmental organization AMVEF. In Rotterdam, one policy officer responsible for domestic violence and one retired officer with experience in various international exchange programmes were responsible for coordinating programme activities. Two other officers were involved in the trainings as facilitators. A former GGD employee of Moroccan origin assisted in translation and overcoming cultural barriers. One of the founders of AMVEF and one administrator were involved as coordinators (both working on a voluntary basis), and two trainers were also involved.

One of the first exchange projects between the two municipalities was the transformation of a park into a botanical garden. The project was delayed for several reasons but was finally completed in 2009. In Morocco, the Mohammed VI Foundation was involved in the project. The project was linked to a new theme for cooperation—environmental protection and climate change—connected to the Rotterdam Climate Initiative. The Port Authority of Rotterdam (Havenbedrijf) also explored possibilities for cooperation, but this effort has not yet materialized in exchange programmes. Initially, the municipality also coordinated a programme to support initiatives of immigrants and refugees in their home country (coordinated by the NGOs COS Rijnmond and Midden-Holland) and Rotterdam, financed a specialized service desk to support private initiatives by the citizens of Rotterdam (Servicebureau Migranten en Vluchtelingen Organisaties). Many private initiatives in and outside Rotterdam found their way to the service desk over the years. Both programmes were phased out as they no longer were in line with municipal policy.

Rotterdam has also been involved in some smaller projects in the north of Morocco. These projects included support to rebuild housing destroyed after the 2004 earthquake in Al Hoceima, the donation of a kitchen for a dialysis centre, and the

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94 The Association Marocaine de lutte contre la violence à l’égard des femmes (AMVEF) is based in Casablanca but is active across the country.
95 The Rotterdam Climate Initiative is a partnership between the Municipality of Rotterdam, the Port of Rotterdam, and Environmental Protection Agency Rijnmond and Deltalinqs, with the objective of reducing CO₂ emissions and climate proofing the city.
96 The Municipality of Rotterdam doubled the funds collected by citizens after the earthquake in Al Hoceima (EUR 50,000) and secured co-financing funds from the Dutch relief agency Cordaid. Cordaid was
establishment of a football court. Furthermore, in 2002 a focal point on economic cooperation were established in both Rotterdam and Nador (in the north of Morocco) to strengthen the economic ties between the Netherlands and Morocco. The Rotterdam Development Corporation (Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam) and the Dutch Chamber of Commerce supported this centre. The economic focal point is no longer operational although economic exchange has slightly intensified in the last years.

The resources involved

Cooperation with Morocco fits in a broader policy framework of the Rotterdam-Rijnmond Police Department: it also cooperated with police organizations in other countries of origin (Turkey, Netherlands Antilles, Cape Verde and previously also Suriname), with an allocated yearly budget of EUR 25,000. The GGD project on domestic violence in Casablanca was implement with support from a EUR 175,000 MATRA fund.

Figure 5.2 Main actors and knowledge exchange Rotterdam-Casablanca (2007–2011)

also involved in implementing the project, which had a total budget of EUR 350,000. The migrant community of Rotterdam also collected money for the dialysis centre.

To emphasize the connection between the two countries, the field was named after the former Dutch football star Johan Cruijf, and it was officially opened by Ibrahim Afellay, a well-known Dutch football player of Moroccan descent.
B. Zeist (the Netherlands)—Berkane (Morocco)

General policy
Bilateral cooperation between the municipalities of Zeist and Berkane started in 2003 as part of a joint conference of the Morocco platform. The Municipality of Zeist accepted an invitation to visit Berkane, and both municipalities decided jointly to start a municipal partnership. According to the coordinator of international relations of the municipality of Zeist, the existence of indirect translocal linkages (most of the population of Moroccan descent in Zeist have roots in the northern part of Morocco—although not specifically from Berkane) and the presence of a transnational NGO SSR were important factors for Zeist to start the cooperation. In the Municipality of Zeist improving contacts between the municipality and the citizens of Moroccan descent as well as the ‘importation of modern developments in Morocco to Zeist’ were seen as important objectives (Gemeente Zeist 2006).

Main activities and actors
During the research period, the cooperation mainly focused on waste management and youth participation. In January 2007, a contract for cooperation on environmental protection and waste management was signed. Several experts have been involved, including the environmental officer of the Municipality of Zeist, an expert working with the Province of Utrecht, a waste management expert from the privatized waste processing agency Afvalzorg (situated in Assendelft, Province of North Holland) and the environmental department of South-East Utrecht.

The policy officer responsible for international cooperation had a key role in the partnership from the start (until his retirement in 2011). He was personally involved in the exchanges between youth from Berkane and Zeist. Several policy officers, one responsible for social affairs and one for public spaces, were involved in an exchange project, which assisted the youth in setting up a garden at the hospital in Berkane. The international coordinator was also responsible for internal affairs, including communication, advising the administration and acting as a secretary to the management team (even after his retirement he remained involved in the cooperation).

In Berkane, a coordinator for international cooperation was also appointed. His position was less central as he did not have access to computer facilities or a workspace at the city hall of Berkane. The main participating municipal departments were those responsible for public health, waste management and social affairs. SSR and the Association l'Homme et Environment were important counterparts and played a

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98 Berkane (part of the Province of Oriental with a seat in Oujda) is located in the upper north-eastern corner of Morocco near the Algerian border and the Mediterranean Sea. As the Moroccan-Algerian border has been closed for years, due to disagreements over the handling of the conflict in Western Sahara, Berkane has a somewhat isolated position.
facilitating role. The mayors of both Zeist and Berkane were actively involved, and councillors from both sides have also participated in visits to their partner municipality.

Past and other exchanges
From the start of the partnership exchanges between hospitals, retirement homes, schools and women’s organizations were explored. Other organizations from Zeist involved in the municipal partnership included the local mosque, the Protestant Church Zeist-West, Rotary (an organization for elderly care), Tangram Media, Christian College Zeist and a secondary school (Openbare Scholengemeenschap Schoonoord). During the first two years of the cooperation (2003 and 2004), organizations in Zeist joined forces in the Zeist-Morocco Platform, which functioned as an advisory body to the Municipality of Zeist. The co-financing agency ICCO\(^99\) supported the platform. The platform was disbanded as the Municipality of Zeist felt that the platform was not longer sufficiently supported by civil society organizations.\(^{100}\)

The resources involved
The Municipality of Zeist has a limited yearly budget of EUR 3,500–4,000 for international exchanges. Its policies have focused on strategically making use of support programmes, involving several non-governmental actors and exploring possibilities for mutual exchanges. Berkane has no budget for international exchange as the budget is centralized at national level. Several NGOs and private sector actors have contributed financially, including a Dutch-Moroccan transport company for fruits and vegetables based in Berkane. For the pilot phase of the waste management program, funds from the MATRA programme of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs were acquired (totalling EUR 38,000 for a period of three years 2008–2010).

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\(^{99}\) At the time it was situated in Zeist but has since moved to Utrecht.

\(^{100}\) Interview with policy advisor from the Municipality of Zeist.
C. Meppel–Al Hoceima

General policy
Cooperation between Meppel and Al Hoceima was born out of the former Morocco Municipal Platform, and started at a conference of the platform in Al Hoceima in 2004. At the close of the conference, Al Hoceima was struck by an earthquake, and at that time only the delegation of Meppel was still in Al Hoceima. The two municipalities have been cooperating ever since that time.101

Main activities and actors involved
During the research period the two municipalities mainly worked on the improvement of waste management, youth participation and the participation of women. Secondary schools also formulated their first programmes for cooperation. Programme activities were coordinated by two officers responsible for international coordination. In Al Hoceima a special and full-time coordinator for international cooperation was appointed, and the municipality set up an international desk. On the other hand, the coordinator in Meppel also had other responsibilities, working as a policy officer at a specialized department focusing on the neighbourhood level and society. This officer was a young professional of Moroccan descent, who fulfilled a central role as facilitator.

101 Several other Dutch municipalities (Amsterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem, Bergen op Zoom, Schoonhoven, Sittard and Geleen) were involved in the rebuilding and renovation of a primary school, providing support to the fire brigade, and the rebuilding of 150 houses in Al Hoceima.
Other policy officers from his department were also involved as well as a police officer. From the start of the cooperation, the former director of the social welfare organization of Meppel also played a central role in coordinating the programme’s activities, especially in the youth participation portion. After his retirement he continued working as a volunteer. The mayors of both Meppel and Al Hoceima were actively participating in the partnership, and councillors from both sides participated in visits to their partner municipality. In Al Hoceima the president of the waste management company participated in various exchanges.

*Past and other exchanges*

Meppel and Al Hoceima took part in the MATRA programme on youth participation. Together with Zeist, Meppel fulfilled a central and coordinating role in the joint activities of the Morocco Municipal Platform. Also additional exchanges have taken place, between police departments, women’s organizations and schools. Several officers were involved in the cooperation, for example, the officer responsible for youth policy. Meppel has also been involved in a MATRA supported project on water management in Figuig, an oasis in the south-eastern part of Morocco. The water company Reest en Wieden is still involved in setting up a sewage and water management system and collaborates with the municipality of Saint Denis in France.

*The resources involved*

Meppel's municipal budget for cooperation with Al Hoceima is approximately EUR 4,000 per year (the total budget for international cooperation was 20,000, which has been halved for 2014). Meppel also secured a MATRA grant of EUR 38,000 over three years, which was mainly used to fund the youth exchange project. Al Hoceima does not have a specific budget for international cooperation as funds are allocated to local government by the central government.
5.3.2. Introduction to the Dutch-Turkish case studies

A. Amsterdam-Kocaeli

General policy
Cooperation between Amsterdam and Kocaeli started in 1999, after the devastating earthquake on 17 August 1999. The city of Kocaeli, also known as Izmit, is situated at the
Gulf of Izmit at the Marmara Sea, approximately 150 km east of Istanbul. In total, nearly 18,000 people died and many more were injured. Immediately after the earthquake the World Bank requested the former Department of Housing and Building Inspection of the Municipality of Amsterdam (Dienst Bouw en Woningtoezicht) to assist in analysing the causes of the magnitude of the disaster. At the same time the Turkish Advisory Body, representing the Turkish community of Amsterdam and the municipality, joined forces to support and coordinate grassroots initiatives from civil society to help the people in the affected area. These combined efforts resulted in an agreement for cooperation between the two cities, which was signed in August 2000.

The municipal partnership has mainly focused on strengthening local governance bodies in Kocaeli, which follows the general lines of the international cooperation policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam. In 2004 major governmental changes took place in Izmit: the entire Province of Kocaeli (3,578 km²) was assigned to the Izmit Metropolitan Municipality. The province currently includes 42 smaller municipalities and more than 250 villages. The principal actors involved are the municipal departments. At the initial phase of the municipal partnership some non-governmental actors were also involved. Although the focus has been on strengthening governance in Kocaeli, the partnership is also linked to the main policy plan on social cohesion ‘We, Amsterdammers’ (Wij Amsterdammers) and includes learning about the several countries of origin of ‘new citizens of Amsterdam’ (Gemeente Amsterdam 2006). Despite this connection there are no specific exchange projects that particularly focus on integration and social cohesion.

Main activities and actors

The fire department of Amsterdam-Amstelland assisted in the tendering of large equipment in Kocaeli, and trained their colleagues in operating the new equipment. The first phase of the knowledge exchange took place under the LOGO East programme, supported by VNG International. In 2008, the second programme focused on industrial risks in residential areas was formulated; it included risk analysis and the training of firefighters. Two officers from the fire department of Amsterdam-Amstelland played a central role in the exchanges: the coordinator of international cooperation of the fire department and an expert on hazardous material of Turkish descent. In Kocaeli the head of the department and an officer responsible for international relations played a central role. Several firefighters have joined the exchanges and more were reached through training-of-trainers projects. The international relations desk of the Municipality of Amsterdam is staffed with three full-time employees, one of whom is coordinating the

102 The World Bank was familiar with the expertise of the Municipality of Amsterdam in the field of housing and urban planning.
103 The Municipality of Amsterdam was one of the foreign government organizations that, together with NGOs, offered emergency assistance after the earthquake.
104 Kocaeli and Istanbul are the only metropolitan municipalities in Turkey that are also tasked with the competence to govern the province.
105 Two other cities also participated in this project, Adapazari (Turkey) and Delft (the Netherlands).
cooperation between Amsterdam and Kocaeli. A consultant of Dutch descent living in
Kocaeli was contracted by the Municipality of Amsterdam to coordinate the exchanges
in Kocaeli. At the start of the cooperation the former head of the housing department
was actively involved. Mayors have been visiting their partner municipalities and have
played a facilitating role.

Other and past exchanges
At the initial phase of the municipal partnership, Amsterdam donated 48 prefabricated
houses for people who became homeless after the earthquake, and it also provided two
trucks and several computers for another village affected by the earthquake. In Kocaeli a
sheltered workplace for disabled people was established (the ‘Smiling Faces project’),
with the financial support of MATRA and additional funds.106 As this was the first project
of this kind in Turkey, it attracted a lot of media attention. Exchanges on preservation of
cultural landmarks focused on setting up a new Historical Environment and Urban
Aesthetics Department under the Department of Housing and Urban Development in
Kocaeli, establishing a digital database and informing the owners of the properties on
the course of the restoration of the landmark. This project was also supported by the
LOGO East programme. The partnerships between Amsterdam and Kocaeli have
developed over time, and various other themes for cooperation were identified,
including city marketing, public transport exchanges and health care. Opportunities for
economic cooperation are also being explored.

The resources involved
The total annual budget of the international relations office of the Municipality of
Amsterdam was approximately EUR 750,000 between 2007 and 2011 (set at about one
Euro per citizen), and has been reduced to approximately EUR 650,000 in 2011, due to
general budget cuts. The total municipal budget for the partnership with Kocaeli was
approximately EUR 30,000 on a yearly basis. Amsterdam has also set up a disaster
assistance fund, with a total budget of EUR 4.5 million, of which EUR 802,625 was
allocated for assistance and rebuilding projects in Kocaeli.107 Additional funds for
exchange programmes with Kocaeli were obtained from the World Bank, the European
Union, MATRA (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and LOGO East (VNG International).
Right after the earthquake, an EU grant of EUR 4 million was secured to equip the fire
department (the Marmara Earthquake Rehabilitation Programme–MERP).

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106 The total budget was EUR 830,000, of which EUR 500,000 was financed through MATRA. The
Municipality of Amsterdam contributed EUR 92,500, spread out over several years. Additional funds were
secured from the municipalities of Utrecht and Deventer as well as other organizations: Cordaid/Caritas,
Kerken in Actie, housing cooperation Ymere and VNG International. Also, a grant was obtained from the
Turkish central government, the Municipality of Kocaeli and Sabanci Holding (a large Turkish company).
107 A total of EUR 4.5 million was allocated once and will only be supplemented by interest. EUR 280,000
were allocated for the assistance and rebuilding of Al Hoceima (Morocco). A total of EUR 129,000 was
allocated to the rebuilding of the General Office of Statistics of Suriname, due to the fire that destroyed the
building and resulted in the loss of the results of the 2003 population census (Pieters 2009).
The Amsterdam fire department’s budget for the three year international cooperation programme (2008–2010) was EUR 95,000, consisting mainly of staff costs (EUR 80,000). It was estimated that at the time of research approximately 0.5% of the total workforce of Amsterdam’s fire department was dedicated to international exchanges in Turkey and Suriname. For the exchange regarding heritage preservation a budget of EUR 52,000 was secured through the LOGO East programme. Model 5.4 presents a simplified overview of the main actors involved in the exchanges on fire safety and hazardous materials.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 5.6** Main actors and knowledge exchange Amsterdam-Kocaeli, LOGO East project on fire safety (2007–2011).

### B. Haarlem-Emirdag

**General policy**

The municipal partnership between Haarlem and Emirdag was initiated by the CBO Haarlem-Emirdag Foundation, based in Haarlem, and the environmental NGO TEMA, based in Emirdag. The two organizations approached the two municipalities in 2001 for assistance in starting collaborations. In 2005 the first official agreement for cooperation was signed by both municipalities. As described, the majority of citizens of Turkish origin in Haarlem have their roots in Emirdag. Emirdag municipality is located 220 km south-west of the capital Ankara, in a poor, semi-arid area greatly affected by emigration (Timmerman 2008: 586). Compared to the city of Haarlem, with its 150,000 inhabitants,
the municipality of Emirdag is small; approximately 20,000 people live in the town of Emirdag, which is the administrative centre of the Emirdag District (total population of 40,000), located in the Province of Afyon. During the last 50 years many people have moved to other areas in Turkey and to Western Europe. Translocal linkages between Emirdag and its diasporas are strong: large numbers of migrants return during the summer holiday season; large numbers of young people who live in Western Europe choose to marry a partner from Emirdag (Timmerman 2008); and the local news channels in Emirdag are heavily dominated by what happens in Western Europe (own observation). Between 2005 and 2008 there was an international coordinator within the local government body of Haarlem, who fulfilled a central role in the international exchanges between Haarlem and Emirdag as well as in other municipal partnerships. This position was changed after a reorganization of the Municipality of Haarlem, and due to budget cuts less money was available for the coordination of international affairs. The change of the position also implied that the previous coordinator resigned and another officer was appointed, who had less time for facilitating international exchanges.

**Main activities and actors**

On the local government level, the Haarlem-Emirdag partnership has mainly focused on the project on waste management and raising awareness on environmental issues in Emirdag—identified by both local governments as priority issues. The projects were supported through the LOGO East programme in two phases (LOGO East I and II). Two policy advisors, one from Haarlem and one from Emirdag have been coordinating programme activities (both with a strong technical background in environmental management). A programme team was established for the implementation of the LOGO East programme. The main actors include a company on waste management in Haarlem, the newly established Provincial Environmental Union of Municipalities in Afyonkarahisar, the Afyon Kocatepe University (based in the city of Afyonkarahisar), and the NGO TEMA (based in Emirdag). Finally a Dutch consultant of Turkish origin, based in Amsterdam, was contracted to organize and facilitate trainings on environmental awareness raising and to assist in translation. The chairman of the Haarlem-Emirdag foundation, who is also employed as a civil servant in the Municipality of Haarlem, assisted in translation when needed.

At the end of the LOGO East programme, after the May 2009 local elections, a new mayor was elected and the coordinator in Emirdag was replaced. Two primary schools have also exchanged information through the Ecokids programme. This exchange programme focused on raising environmental awareness among primary schools pupils. Another objective was to increase understanding of the culture of the other country, to combat prejudices and to foster global citizenship (Stichting Ecokids Nederland 2007). The exchange ended in 2010 on initiative by the primary school in Haarlem. Model 5.5 illustrates the involvement of a wide range of actors operating at various levels.

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108 Most migrants are concentrated in Belgium, specifically in Brussels, Antwerp and Gent. There is also a smaller group living in Haarlem.
Fostering the participation of various actors was also one of the core project objectives of LOGO East II: ‘The separate collection and treatment of hazardous waste and oil waste in good cooperation between the municipal, regional, and provincial level, taking into account the interests of all stakeholders involved’ (LOGO East II application form 2008).

Figure 5.7 Main actors and knowledge exchange Haarlem-Emirdag (2007-2011).

Past and other exchanges
On the wider civil society level, the foundation Haarlem-Emirdag fulfilled a key role in the municipal partnership. They were involved in several programmes for cooperation in Emirdag and also organized public cultural events in Haarlem. Their main partner in Emirdag was the environmental NGO TEMA.

Haarlem-Emirdag foundation and TEMA participated in the establishment of a care centre for the elderly in Emirdag, funded by the national government, private companies and the diaspora in Western Europe. The Haarlem-Emirdag foundation and TEMA also explored possibilities to set up a project for handicapped people in Emirdag. Retired professionals from the Haarlem-based care organization Schorlewald visited Emirdag for a fact finding mission (paid by the organization itself). Other exchanges that were explored included exchanges between secondary schools and hospitals. Most of these explorations were not backed by local government and have not resulted in concrete programmes for cooperation.
The resources involved

The project period for the LOGO East II programme on waste management was 1 June 2008 to 30 November 2009, with a budget of EUR 44,078. The municipal budget for international cooperation of Haarlem is limited and primarily used for supporting the Haarlem-Emirdag foundation (approximately EUR 4,000 per year). The Municipality of Emirdag has no budget for international cooperation. Through the translocal linkage additional resources were involved: both the Haarlem-Emirdag Foundation and TEMA dedicated many hours of voluntary work (also including visits that they financed themselves to family members in Emirdag for project-related issues).

Table 5.4 summarizes key information on all the cases studied, including use of support programmes, the existence of transnational linkages, the main projects for cooperation as well as the involved municipal departments and civil society actors.
Table 5.4 Overview of the cases studies: main characteristic and actors (2007–2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipal partnership</th>
<th>Dutch-Moroccan</th>
<th>Dutch-Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdame-Casablanca</td>
<td>• Police exchange</td>
<td>MATRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Domestic violence: MATRA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeist-Berkane</td>
<td>MATRA</td>
<td>LOGO East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meppel-Al Hoceima</td>
<td>LOGO East</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam-Kocaeli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haarlem-Emirdag</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Use of support programme**
- Police exchange: no support programme
- Domestic violence: MATRA

**Translocal linkages**
- No
- Limited

**Focus of main projects**
- Police exchange
- Domestic violence
- Youth participation
- Waste management
- Environmental awareness
- Fire safety
- Preservation of cultural landmarks
- Waste management
- Environment awareness

**Main actors in the Dutch municipality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local government</th>
<th>Civil society</th>
<th>Main actors in the partner municipality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• International Affairs</td>
<td>• Former Centre for International Cooperation (COS)</td>
<td>• Migrant organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Police department</td>
<td>• Citizens of Moroccan descent</td>
<td>• Private company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Health department</td>
<td>• Consultants of Moroccan descent</td>
<td>• Primary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Employees from various departments</td>
<td>• Youth organization</td>
<td>• Consultant of migrant descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Coordinator for international cooperation</td>
<td>• Private companies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Employees from various departments</td>
<td>• Women’s organizations AMVEF</td>
<td>• International coordination officer, with expertise in waste management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• NGO L’Homme et L’Environnement</td>
<td>• Provincial Environmental Union of Municipalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• SSR</td>
<td>• Akyon Karahisar Afyon Kocatepe University</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>• NGO TEMA</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Primary school</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Main actors in the partner municipality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Civil society</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Coordinator for international relations</td>
<td>• Women’s organization AMVEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>• NGO L’Homme et L’Environnement</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Secondary school</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Youth organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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109 In the past, several other programmes for cooperation have taken place and new programmes are currently being explored.
5.4. Conclusions

This chapter focused on the question how national and local policies and translocal linkages influence the governmental and non-governmental actors involved as well as the themes and activities carried out in the Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch-Turkish municipal partnerships. The research question was based on an initial inventory review in which the national and local policies and the existence of translocal linkages were identified as crucial factors in relation to the kinds of actors involved as well as the process of knowledge exchange and learning (Van Ewijk 2007). The research indicated several patterns.

First of all, national policies and especially the use of Dutch national support played an important role in nearly all municipal partnerships as the municipal budgets for international exchanges are limited and these programmes mainly focused on transferring knowledge from the Netherlands to Morocco and Turkey. The programmes had an impact on the themes central for cooperation and the actors involved. These findings confirm earlier research, which emphasized the impact of support programmes in municipal partnerships (Johnson and Wilson 2006). Cooperation focusing on issues related to integration and strengthening social cohesion were generally not supported by such programmes. These programmes had a more open approach which implied a larger potential for mutual learning but also a less structured and weaker support base for facilitating knowledge exchanges. Generally speaking the municipal partnerships are ‘multi-level actor models’ whereby the national level has an important impact on the kind of actors involved and the kind of exchanges taking place.

Second, international cooperation policies of Dutch local governments were especially important for the involvement of non-governmental actors. The partnerships between the large municipalities have focused on cooperation between local government bodies, while involving NGOs was part of the policy of medium-sized and smaller municipalities, and this was connected to the third key factor: the existence of translocal linkages. Exogenous factors (the two earthquakes) triggered the involvement of multiple actors including the World Bank, the EU, national and local governments as well as civil society and migrant groups. Involving both governmental and non-governmental actors was considered a strength in city-to-city partnerships which also provides opportunities of horizontal exchanges (Devers-Kanoglu 2009). This horizontal multi-actor model is clearly visible in the case studies between the medium-sized and smaller local governments, while it is less clear in the linkages between the large municipalities.

Third, in the partnerships based on a translocal linkage, NGOs played a more important role, as there were already existing translocal linkages at the civil society level and/or municipalities were also committed to involve non-governmental actors. These partnerships are all multi-actor models.