

Municipal International Cooperation in Botswana: development strategy or social activity?

Comparing the South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and exploring how the institutional environment can positively impact (the effect of) municipal partnerships.



Master thesis
Iris Christine Breeman



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International Development Studies
Department of Human Geography
Faculty of Geosciences

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Supervisor: Dr. P.H.C.M. van Lindert

Picture front page: the SEDYEL youth centre sign in Ramotswa, South East District Council

Abstract

This thesis is the result of a baseline study conducted in Botswana at the Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA). It compares South – North and South – South municipal partnerships (city-to-city cooperation or Municipal International Cooperation). Botswana’s local authorities have engaged in a large number of municipal partnerships but most of those are inactive. When forming a municipal partnership it is important to execute this with care. There is need for practical guidance and deepen knowledge about MIC for local authorities that engage in partnerships. An important aspect of MIC and specifically in Botswana is the level of local governance and decentralisation. Botswana is not as decentralised and does not have a high level of local governance as is presented in the literature. It is therefore interesting to have witnessed that some municipal partnerships do develop into relevant, effective and efficient alliances. Most of the changes towards a more enabling environment would have to be made on the national level, such as changing the national HRM system and decentralise services to local government. However, since changes on this level are hard to accomplish suggestion is made to promote and enable MIC on a local level.

Key words: municipal partnerships, Municipal International Cooperation, MIC, City-to-city cooperation, C2C, local governance, decentralisation, South – North, North – South, South – South, Botswana, Botswana Association of Local Authorities, BALA, Francistown, Genk.

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired ImmunoDeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BALA	Botswana Association of Local authorities
BDC	Botswana Development Corporation
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BPP	Botswana People's Party
BWP	Botswana Pula (Botswana's currency)
CALG	Canadian Association of Local Governments
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
C2C	City-to-City
DPSM	Directorate of Public Sector Management
EU	European Union
GIZ	Deutschen Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Society for International Cooperation)
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRM	Human Resource Management
ICD	International Cooperation Department
ICLD	International Center for Local Democracy
ICMA	International City/County Management Association
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
LGA	Local Government Association
MIC	Municipal International Cooperation
MLG	Ministry of Local Government
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
P3	Partnership, Participation, Progress
PBRS	Performance Based Reward System
PRO	Public Relations Officer
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SEDYEL	South East District Youth Empowerment League
SIDA	Swedish International Development cooperation Agency
UCLGA	United Cities and Local Governments of Africa
VNG	Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (Association of Dutch Municipalities)
VVSG	Vereniging van Vlaamse Steden en Gemeenten (Association of Flemish Cities and Municipalities)
WDC	Ward Development Committee

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Introduction

This thesis aims to study municipal partnerships in Botswana, specifically South – North and South – South municipal relations. South – North municipal partnerships refer to partnerships between local governments in unindustrialised or developing countries with local governments in industrialised or Western countries. South – South municipal partnerships refer to cooperation between local governments internationally but both in developing countries. I have collected data via a three-month internship with the Botswana Association of Local authorities (BALA) where a practical assignment has been carried out and data has been collected for the academic research.

This paper serves both a practical and an academic purpose. Practically, this paper contributes to fill the gap created by the lack of guidance for Botswana's local authorities who are engaged in municipal partnerships. Nor is there any opportunity to share knowledge between local authorities. This raises questions as to how organised Botswana is regarding municipal partnership. Academically, this research hopes to contribute to the limited body of literature on Municipal International Cooperation (MIC) or its other denotation, City-to-City (C2C) cooperation, which will be used interchangeably in this thesis. With regard to the case of Botswana this research aims to study whether MIC in Botswana leads to organisational – and / or institutional change.

Botswana is a unique case with regard to public administration research, for three reasons. Firstly, the lack of sufficient knowledge; municipal partnerships have never been studied for Botswana. Secondly the combination of decentralised and centralised forms of administration. After independence Botswana was a primarily decentralised country, but recently it started centralising service delivery again. Finally, Botswana is a unique case study because of its low amount of inhabitants (2 million in 2011, World Bank) and few amount of local authorities (16) with variable areas of land to cover.

Due to this unique character of Botswana, it creates the opportunity to research how the practice of MIC is different in North – South and South – South cooperation. In the most ideal situation, a platform would be established and a programme for guidance developed. It is plausible that not all of the existing twinnings that exist in Botswana are useful. If local authorities are looking for improvement, how can BALA and to further extend national government assist to improve them? One of the issues that has received a lot of attention throughout in the body of literature is the environment in which municipal partnerships take place, the public sector arena (a.o. Bontenbal, 2009).

These opportunities for research have led to the following research question and sub research questions for the baseline study carried out in Botswana:

Municipal International Cooperation in Botswana: development strategy or social activity?

Comparing South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in Botswana in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and exploring how the institutional environment can positively impact (the effect of) municipal partnerships.

This research question can be broken down into three sub research questions on the difference between South – North and South – South municipal partnerships:

- 1. What South – North and South – South municipal partnerships exist in Botswana?*
- 2. What are the characteristics of these South – North and South – South municipal partnerships?*
- 3. How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?*

As said earlier, the environment in which municipal partnerships take place is proven to be determining. Therefore two sub research questions have been included to determine this environment:

4. What is the institutional environment on national- , local- and LGA level in which these municipal partnerships take place?

5. How can the value of South – North and South – South municipal partnerships be increased by the Ministry of Local Government, the Local Government Association and the Local authorities?

Readers guide

Botswana is introduced in chapter 1, as well as relevant facts and processes. Chapter 2 forms the theoretical framework for this thesis and introduces the themes and theories used in this research. In chapter 3 forms the methodological justification of this research. Chapter 4 and chapter 5 present the answers to respectively sub research question 1 – 3 and 4 and 5. Chapter 6 discusses these outcomes in the light of the theoretical-thematic frame and forms the conclusion of the thesis.

Chapter 1 The blessed land of Botswana

1.1 Introduction

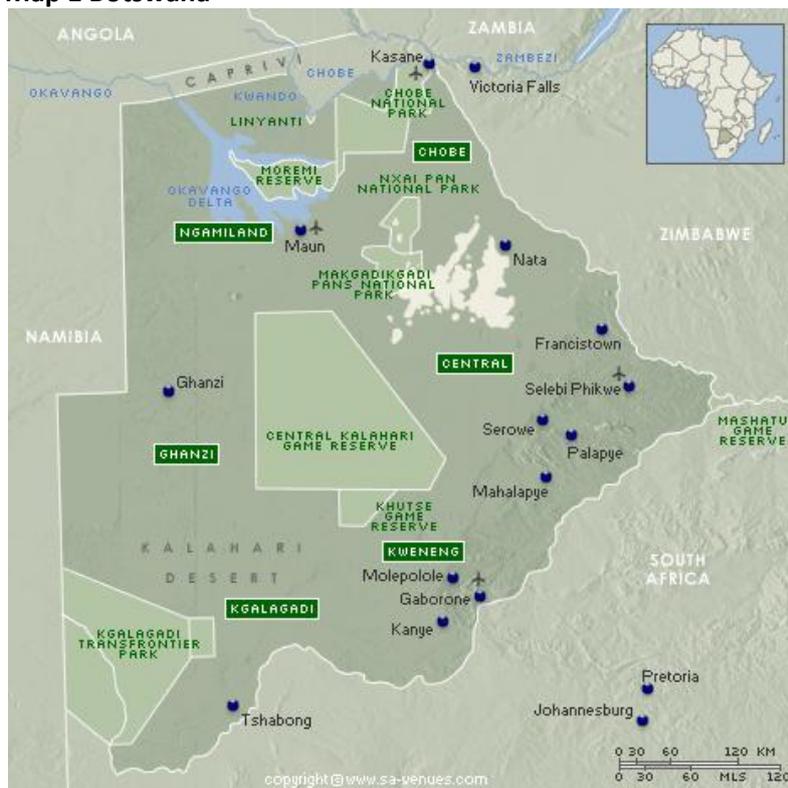
This chapter provides the introduction to Botswana as a country. Information will be given on history, politics, governance, economy, health, the position of Botswana in regional- and international perspective and the introduction to the host organisation during the research period. This is important as an introduction to Botswana and as background for the results of the research which will be set out in the course of this thesis.

1.2 State of the art Botswana

Lefatshe la Botswana, as The Republic of Botswana is called in Botswana's main local language Tswana, is a middle-sized, land-locked country in Southern Africa which is home to just over 2 million people (World Bank, 2011). The capital of Botswana is Gaborone. Botswana borders South Africa to the Southeast, Namibia in the West and North and Zimbabwe to the Northeast. It meets Zambia at a single point in the Northeast. The Kalahari Desert accounts for 84 percent of Botswana and makes most of the country uninhabitable for people. As a result, 80 percent of the population lives along the fertile eastern border (Map 1). Being drought-ridden, Botswana values water highly. The word 'pula' in the coat of arms is not only the national currency but also means 'rain' in Tswana.

Botswana is predominantly flat and has a very diverse landscape: from the huge Kalahari Desert in the western part of the country to the Okavango Delta, the world's largest inland delta in the northwest to the Makgadikgadi (salt) Pan in the midst of the country to the Limpopo Basin in the southeast forming the border with South Africa. In between these extremes there is grassland and savannah. Because of its mixed vegetation Botswana has diverse wildlife. Botswana's National Parks (NP) and Game Reserves (GR) such as Chobe NP and Moremi GR are major tourist attractions. An estimated 25% of the country's surface is protected through an NP or GR status.

Map 1 Botswana



Source: http://www.sa-venues.com/maps/botswana_attractions.htm

1.2.1 Demography

The Batswana, plural for the singular Motswana as inhabitants of Botswana, are a proud people. Botswana's demographic structure is largely homogenic. The vast majority (79%) of the Batswana are Tswana, an ethnic group also present in most of South Africa. A small amount of ethnic Kalanga (11%) live in the Northeast of Botswana and are also present in Zimbabwe. A small percentage of the population of Botswana is Basarwa (3%), Kgalagadi (3%) or white African (3%). 60% of the population of Botswana lives in the urban areas (World Factbook, 2010).

1.2.2 Human development

Between 1980 and 2010 Botswana's Human Development Index rose by 1.3% annually, from 0.431 in 1980 to 0.631 in 2010 (UNDP, 2011). The HDI of Sub-Saharan Africa as a region increased from 0.293 to 0.389 in the same time slot placing Botswana far above the regional average (UNDP, 2011). The lowest factor in the HDI cumulative for Botswana is the issue of health. Life expectancy at birth is 55.5, 3% dies under the age of 5 and 26% of the total population is undernourished (UNDP, 2011). These issues are all on the regional average of Sub-Saharan Africa. The most influential issue is the HIV/AIDS epidemic: Botswana has the second highest prevalence rate in the world, after Swaziland. 25% of the Batswana between 15 and 49 is infected with HIV. In women visiting antenatal clinics infection rate is as high as 35,4% and approximately 66,000 children were orphaned because of HIV/AIDS (UNAids, 2003). Botswana has in the beginning of this century adopted a strategy to battle the large amount of HIV/AIDS related deaths and high infection ratio. Since 2002, antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) are available for free for all Batswana, drastically decreasing the amount of HIV/AIDS related deaths. According to Global Health Facts, the antiretroviral therapy coverage in Botswana is 93% (<http://www.globalhealthfacts.org/data/topic/map.aspx?ind=11>). Besides a positive effect on the health situation of the Batswana the strategy towards HIV/AIDS is a huge strain on Botswana's national budget. About \$16 million was spend by the government of Botswana in 2001-2002 and was supplemented by \$96 million of donor money in total (Gayle, 2003). In comparison to its direct neighbours, Botswana's expenditure on HIV/AIDS is a manifold as can be seen in table 1. Since 2003 things have taken a turn: donor agencies are suffering from the global economic crisis and Botswana is compensating the lack of donor money with government money.

Table 1.1 Summary of expenditure on HIV/AIDS by country (2000-2001, US\$)

	Core government expenditure on HIV/AIDS				External assistance for AIDS expenditures				Total expenditures on AIDS (excluding OOP)			
	US\$	Per capita US\$	Per PLWHA US\$	% of GDP	US\$	Per capita US\$	Per PLWHA US\$	% of GDP	US\$	Per capita US\$	Per PLWHA US\$	% of GDP
Botswana	16,968,890	29.67	51.42	0.90	96,066,667	59.97	291.11	1.82	113,035,557	70.56	342.53	2.14
Lesotho	842,075	0.41	2.34	0.07	5,303,862	2.61	14.73	0.45	6,145,937	3.02	17.07	0.52
Mozambique	16,036,000	0.91	14.58	0.43	73,309,250	4.14	66.64	1.96	89,345,250	5.05	81.22	2.38
South Africa	33,271,939	0.78	6.65	0.03	-	-	-	0.00	33,271,939	0.78	6.65	0.03
Swaziland	1,416,000	1.36	8.33	0.10	5,285,897	5.06	31.09	0.36	6,701,897	6.41	39.42	0.46
Median	16,036,000	0.91	8.33	0.10	39,306,556	4.14	31.09	0.45	33,271,939	5.05	39.42	0.52
Mean (unweighted)	13,706,981	6.62	16.66	0.30	44,991,419	14.36	80.72	0.92	49,700,116	17.16	97.38	1.11
Total	68,534,904	0.88	8.05	0.05	179,965,676	2.31	19.43	0.12	248,500,580	3.19	26.84	0.17

Source: A Comparative Analysis of the Financing of HIV/AIDS Programmes (Gayle, 2003)

Regarding education, Botswana's literacy rate is 84.8% in adults (15 and above). The gross enrolment is 70.6% and the female/male ratio for population with at least secondary education is

0.949 (UNDP 2011). Botswana has a Gender Inequality Index of 0.627. One of the biggest advocacy organisations in the country is Gender Links, a regional organisation working in all the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries aiming for equal treatment for men and women in Botswana. Gender Links is one of BALA's main partners (see 1.7).

1.3 Economy

Human development is expensive. It takes a lot of investment in public health, education and economy to reach an HDI as high as Botswana's. How is Botswana able to pay for this? The answer is in Botswana's economy. Since independence in 1966 until 1995, Botswana was the fastest growing economy in the world. During these 30 years Botswana's average annual growth rate was 7.7% moving Botswana from being the third poorest nation in the world in 1966 to being an *upper middle income* nation according to the World Bank (World Bank, 2002). In 2001 Botswana's real per capita income was \$7,820, more than four times the \$1,826 average per capita income of an individual living in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2002). Botswana has transformed itself, becoming one of the fastest-growing economies in the world to a GDP (purchasing power parity) per capita of about \$14,800 (2010 IMF estimate). Unfortunately Botswana's economy is still, after 45 years, highly dependent upon diamond revenues. Revenues which in 2005 account for 45% of government revenues and 75% of export (IMF staff country report Botswana, 2006) but which are decreasing and will eventually dry out. The mining share of the GDP is 33% while the manufacturing share is only 6% (UNDP, 2011). The second largest source of income for the Botswana is ranching and it is hoped by many that ecotourism and mainly high-value tourism will benefit Botswana's conservation plans as well as economy. Unemployment is 17.6% of the labour force and poverty is still widespread, 30% of the Botswana live below the global poverty line (World Bank, 2010). The Gini index of 63 shows there is still high inequality in Botswana while other countries in SSA, such as Uganda (43) and Tanzania (38.2), are doing much better (UNDP, HDI, 2004).

Botswana's growth through diamonds is not undisputed. Yes, the immense economic growth gives a lot of opportunities but on the other hand human suffering prevails. A long dispute has existed between the mining company Debswana (the cooperation between mining company De Beers and the state of Botswana) and the relocation of the Bushman tribe from land, in order to exploit it for diamonds. The Bushmen have been facing threats from government policies since at least 1980. They were forcefully relocated because *'their hunting and gathering has become obsolete and their presence is no longer compatible with preserving wildlife resources'* (Survival International website). They have had *'their water supplies cut off, they have been taxed, fined, beaten and tortured as per land clearing requests by De Beers'* (Survival International website). A campaign was fought by indigenous rights organization, Survival International to reclaim the land that the tribe has been living in for thousands of years. This campaign was supported by several models who were previously involved in advertisement for De Beers.

Except for the fact that Botswana has managed to keep up this growth, how can this impressive growth so quickly after independence be explained? Robinsons and Parsons argue that the explanation can be found in the formation of the legal-rational state. Botswana invested heavily in the formation of a nation state after independence without retreating from the historical decentralisation in the following manor. Firstly, *'traditional Tswana political institutions integrated non-Tswana groups into the polity and these pre-colonial societies had genuine states, though perhaps not nation states'*. Secondly, *'facing the onslaught first of the Boers, next of the British South Africa Company, and finally of the Union of South Africa, Tswana political elites attempted to maintain a good measure of independence by defensively modernising'*. Third and last, *'the political elites in both local states before independence and the national state at independence heavily invested in the country's most important economic activity: ranching'* (Robinsons and Parsons, 2006). The necessity and opportunity to invest in economic growth gave them an incentive to foster rational state institutions and private property while the integration of minorities in Tswana traditional

institutions reduced the chance that minority groups would aggressively contest the new unitary state (Robinsons and Parsons, 2006).

1.4 State formation

The area we now call Botswana has stayed out of colonial control. However, appeals by Botswana's tribal leaders Khama III, Bathoen and Sebele led the British Government to put Bechuanaland as it was then called under its protection on March 31st, 1885. This meant Bechuanaland became a part of the British Commonwealth and the plan of the Brits was to annex this territory into South Africa in time. During this time, Bechuanaland held on to its indigenous structure which slightly resembles local government. The most important element of this cultural structure is the Kgotla. A Kgotla is a community meeting or even a community court in which everyone can get their say. In this cultural 'court' any dispute can be brought up and it is chaired by the village chief. In many cases disputes and decisions are democratically resolved.

The election of the Nationalist government in South Africa in 1948 which instituted apartheid, and later on South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961, ended any prospect of incorporation of the territories into South Africa. By 1960, the an anti-apartheid, anti-colonial party had been formed: the Botswana People's Party. A striking detail in this history is that Chief Seretse Khama, one of Bechuanaland's chiefs was not allowed to return to his land to rule in 1948. He studied in England and had married an Englishwoman, Ruth Williams. This was not allowed under South Africa's apartheid regime and created a lot of tension between South Africa and the protectorate. In 1956 Khama successfully made his claim to chieftainship and returned to Bechuanaland. Khama helped to form the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), which appealed to all the Batswana and tribal chiefs alike (Beaulier, 2003). In 1964 the three chiefs flew to Britain to demand independence from the Commonwealth, which was accepted. The 1965 constitution led to the first general elections and to independence on 30 September 1966 – still Botswana's National Holiday. (Chief) Seretse Khama was elected as the first president and was re-elected twice.

After Khama, Quett Masire and Festus Mogae held office between 1980 and 2008. The presidency passed in 2008 to vice president Ian Khama, the son of the first president, Seretse Khama. Khama had resigned from his position as leader of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) to take up his role as vice president in 1999.

Botswana is a representative democratic republic in which the President is both head of state and head of government. Executive power is exercised by the government, legislative power is vested in both the government and the Parliament of Botswana and the judiciary power is independent of the executive and the legislature. Local authorities, a total of sixteen cities, towns and districts exist by an Act of Parliament and receive their financial assets (roughly 80% - 90% of their total budget) through the Ministry of Local Government (MLG). Since Botswana was a relatively decentralised country before independence was retrieved the local authorities had a broad area of jurisdiction. However, key services to the people such as education and health have been centralised in the last years. Also, local government taxes have been abolished leaving local authorities dependent upon government issued allowance.

An interesting fact is the Human Resource Management (HRM) system: the Directorate of Public Sector Management (DPSM): this directorate is the employer of all administrative staff in Botswana and is under direct executive power of the government of Botswana. It's goal is to spread out the public servant capacity evenly over the whole country so no inequality develops between rural and urban areas. Approximately 25% of the Botswana workforce is employed in government making it the number one employer of Botswana. But besides creating jobs and wealth this large overhead also creates inefficiency and entanglement of policy and people carrying out policy.

1.5 Contemporary politics

The ethnic groups in Botswana, divided in chiefdoms, were united in the BDP during the 1960's. The party represented all the Batswana through their local, traditional and fairly democratic chiefships. This explains why the BDP has won every election since independence. Recently Botswana is characterised as *'a stable democracy with a multiparty system and regular general and free elections. Extensive constitutional protection of civil rights and freedoms, an independent judicial system and effective civilian control over the armed forces help make Botswana one of the countries leading the way for Africa'* (SIDA, 2008). As academics are agreeing failure in African countries is in the failure of governance, the success of Botswana has been in governance (Robinsons and Parsons, 2006, Beaulier, 2003). So is Botswana really only a success story? Robinsons and Parsons (2006) write about Botswana's *'relatively vibrant democracy'* which has had *'continual openly contested elections and a free press [...] despite the hegemony of the BDP'* (Robinsons and Parsons, 2006). There is not a lot of information present about the BDP and development in the party – due to repression from within this entity. More critics to Botswana's government (strategy) do exist. An academic from Australia, Kenneth Good, a former professor at the University of Botswana and since 2005 a 'prohibited immigrant' of Botswana has described it in this way: *'Botswana's much celebrated democracy is actually characterised by an immensely powerful president, unelected by the people and who needs consult no one in making decisions. The president appoints everyone of any importance, characteristically on conditions determined by himself, and he alone chooses his successor, an arrangement which President Festus Mogae, the first beneficiary of this autocratic process, styled 'permanent democracy'*' (Good and Taylor, 2007). According to Transparency International, Botswana is the least corrupt country in Africa (Transparency International, 2009).

Since a former military man, Ian Khama, became president, criticism has not decreased. Khama has appointed many friends and family in strategic positions, uses military forces for public and private surveillance and has responded to criticism by saying: *'If something needs to be done, I want it done yesterday'* (CNN, 2009). Tensions between political parties are increasing as Khama's power and BDP's grip on Botswana increases. Chapter 5 will provide more information on the issue of decentralisation and democracy as it determines the public sector environment in which partnerships take place.

1.6 Botswana in the region

Botswana is not often in the media, it is a relatively quiet country in the region and in Africa as a whole. Botswana is largely dependent upon food and other supplies through South Africa and serves as a transit country for trade between South Africa and Northern SADC countries such as Zambia, Tanzania and DR Congo. Mozambique has bad infrastructure while passage through Zimbabwe is risky and costly due to taxes.

Within Southern Africa the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) is promoting regional cooperation. SADC's mission is *'to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security, so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy'* (SADC website). Botswana is a critical and respected member-state within the SADC community and plays an important role when it comes to the controversial position neighbouring Zimbabwe plays in the community.

Prevailing racism and discrimination tensions in neighbouring Zimbabwe continue to threaten stability in the region. As Young African National Congress (ANC) leader Malema not only inspired young people to enter in youth branches of political parties in South Africa but also in Botswana. Fortunately for the stability of the region his reckless actions bringing ANC in disrepute has earned him a disciplinary charges from the ANC. Though he is appealing the charges, his

influence is broken down. Nevertheless, some (young) Batswana are racist towards whites, presuming they are all white Africans and assuming all of those are racists in their turn.

1.6.1 International aid and trade

Botswana is considered a middle-income country because of its high diamonds revenues. Therefore, many Western donors and donor countries do not consider Botswana a priority in development aid. One of the main development partners is the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA, 2008). As of 2009 they are no longer donating money but fostering partnership in development: *'Selective cooperation with Botswana is based on partnership, shared values, mutual benefits and interests, shared responsibilities and non-aid funded activities. As far as possible, future cooperation will be based on the knowledge and experience gained from previous cooperation and developed in close dialogue between the countries'* (SIDA, 2008). A framework has been developed for cooperation in the period 2009-2013 which also includes setting up a number of municipal partnerships with Botswana through the LGA of Botswana, BALA. The Swedish government focuses on three thematic priorities in development cooperation: democracy and human rights, environment and climate and the promotion of gender equality and the role of women in development as they *'are particularly important and are to be taken into account both when analysing the current situation and when considering new opportunities for cooperation'* (SIDA, 2008).

Other Western partners are GIZ (Deutschen Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Germany's Development Agency) and several politically oriented small-scale development agencies from Germany. An important new partner for Botswana and in particular BALA is ICLD (International Center for Local Democracy) which is located in Sweden. Their Municipal partnership programme is a programme designed to contribute to poverty alleviation through equal partnership instead of through a donor-recipient connection.

As will be treated later in this thesis, Botswana like so many other African countries has adopted a 'look East' strategy: Chinese manufacturing is available in every store and approximately 5,000 to 6,000 Chinese people live in Botswana (France 24, 2009).

1.7 Botswana Association of Local Authorities (BALA)

BALA was established in 1983 to promote unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among local authorities in Botswana. The association was established at a time when tasks delegated to councils saw a rapid increase. As a result there was a greater need for information, exchange of experience, and for an organisation that could represent the interests of its members. The founders envisioned BALA playing a key role in building strong and democratic local government in Botswana. BALA was constituted by Councillors and Chief Executives of Councils, as well as Councils themselves as Corporate Members.

BALA has struggled over the years to gain recognition and to claim an influential role in (inter)national affairs. They take part in numerous regional and international platforms to discuss the progress of the work of LGAs such as United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA) and International Union of Local authorities (IULA) conferences. BALA is coordinating one large donor funded project in Botswana: P3, which stands for 'Partnership, Participation, Progress'. This project funded by Sweden (SIDA) and the European Union for Botswana, South Africa and Namibia focusing on local economic development and transparency within councils.

BALA positions itself as a lobby group for the local authorities and the local councillors. This is not in line with their background rationale since individual councillors and not the local authorities pay fee to be member of BALA. It is also not obligatory to be a member of BALA if you want to participate in their activities. Consequently, many councillors remain non-paying members and councillors are more likely to be represented rather than local authorities as a whole. And above

that, BALA receives the majority of their funding from the Ministry of Local Government (MLG), which makes them dependent.

According to BALA, the services to their members are to:

- *Promote and strengthen local governance;*
- *Provide advice and guidance to local authorities;*
- *Provide training to members;*
- *Provide opportunities for discussing issues of common interests;*
- *Formulate common policies on issues affecting local government;*
- *Collaborate and engage in dialogue with central government;*
- *Build partnerships, networks and coalitions with strategic organizations, locally, regionally and internationally;*
- *Finance Management training;*
- *Insurance and funeral cover for councillors;*
- *Investment vehicle for councils (asset management);*
- *Capacity building training, communication and marketing through the quarterly newsletter;*
- *Local Economic Development (LED) facilitation;*
- *Research and documentation (policy);*
- *Partnerships development;*
- *Service improvement;*
- *Process reengineering and*
- *Consultancy services and training.*

Source: www.bala.org.bw

This is an extensive list of services and a lot to take on for an organisation consisting of 5 employees: an executive secretary, a project manager, a finance officer, a PRO officer and a receptionist. Two full time employees for the P3 project use the office too, as well as interns. BALA's president plays a ceremonial role. The focus is on councillors interests: they are the members that (potentially) bring revenue. This explains why BALA mainly provides trainings for councillors, not for administrative staff. A lot of the training focuses on gender issues together with Gender Links, a regional gender organisation active in all SADC countries. BALA also acts as a broker for P3 in the local authorities.

The internship position at BALA has been a great way to investigate municipal partnerships in Botswana. Because of the position in the middle of the public sector arena attention will be paid to the interesting position BALA holds and the tension between MLG, BALA, the local authorities and councillors in chapter 5. Another issue that will receive attention in chapter 5 is the current position of BALA. Despite being known for its decentralisation, Botswana is not as decentralised as is pictured in some of the articles referred to earlier since re-centralisation of government tasks is occurring.

1.8 Conclusion

In this regional introduction attention was paid to elements which will contribute to understanding the research results presented in the next chapters. State formation in Botswana has been easy because of their traditional decentralised system, the need to modernise defensively and the shared

need for economic prosperity. The discovery of diamonds has brought Botswana a lot of money but only limited progress in (human) development. A major role in development is played by the health situation of the people. Botswana, with the second highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rate worldwide carries a heavy socio-economic and budgetary burden. The position of Botswana in the region is accepted and important. In the world, Botswana is looking to the East for trade and or aid as Western donor agencies and – countries are retreating. The position of BALA as well as issues of decentralisation and governance will return in greater detail in the course of this thesis.

From here, chapter 2 will provide more academic and thematic information vital for researching and understanding the dynamics within municipal partnerships and within municipal partnerships in Botswana in particular.

Chapter 2 Theoretic - thematic framework

2.1 Introduction

Where municipal partnerships have received limited attention in literature and thematic studies, South – South municipal partnerships have never been studied. A comparative study between South – North and South – South partnerships has never been done before. Consequently, an analytical framework for analysis and comparison is absent.

This chapter introduces the academic and non-academic writings that contribute to a South – North and South – South comparison while also examining the environment in which municipal partnerships take place. This research is carried out against the background of a global economic recession and the public budget cuts which subsequently risks to negatively affect the global development budget as a whole and MIC specifically. MIC is introduced as a concept and its development is described. Then, there is an overview of what can be seen as preconditions for C2C cooperation: local governance and decentralisation and the interconnection between these two in paragraph 2.3. Paragraph 2.4 will go into the conditions for successful partnership. Attention will be paid to capacity building and learning related to MIC and city networks in paragraph 2.5. At the end of the chapter all major concepts will be presented in an conceptual framework (2.6).

2.2 Decentralised Cooperation and Municipal International Cooperation

Twinning is not specific for local authorities, it is also entered into by many other types of organisations such as schools, universities and main ports for multiple reasons. It is believed that a different perspective can improve your performance. An estimated 70 per cent of the world's cities participate in transnational municipal networking through local cooperation partnerships, projects and programmes (UCLG, 2010). In most municipal partnerships only two municipalities are active however in some private sector partners and civil society movements are involved too.

MIC should not be regarded the same as Decentralised Cooperation (DC) but can be considered a branch in DC. Decentralised Cooperation is suggested to be an overarching concept concerning three similar elements: the actors are or at least involve local governments, the focus is on development in the South and the means are activities such as exchange and support (Hafteck, 2003). MIC includes all of the above. There are two explanations for the development of MIC and municipal partnerships. Firstly, rapid urbanization due to globalization trends leads to the growing need for specific knowledge in urban areas in the global South (a.o. Campbell, 2009, Bontenbal, 2006, Hafteck, 2003). Secondly, the wave of decentralisation and subsequently the increased focus on local governance required increased quality of service delivery (a.o. Bontenbal, 2009).

The terms City to City (C2C) cooperation and municipal international cooperation (MIC) are used interchangeably in this thesis. This is a reflection of the academic writings in which the same is done, even though not much academic literature has been published about MIC. There is however a difference between concepts including the words partnership or cooperation and twinnings. Twinnings, linkages and jumelages are considered to be a *'long-term partnership between communities in different cities or towns'* (UNDP, 2000:8). This form of 'partnering' implies something else than is implied in this thesis. Additional to the above definition the aim of the partnership should be to learn, exchange ideas and mutually benefit from the partnership. In that sense, De Villiers (2005) considers the term 'alliance' has both a general and more specific meaning. A strategic alliance implies a much stronger and solid bond between localities and not just between the municipalities. It is therefore that the definition by De Villiers will serve as a thread throughout this thesis:

'C2C partnership is a long-term strategic alliance between communities in different cities or towns, in which their municipalities are key actors' (De Villiers, 2005).

MIC in historical perspective

Hoetjes (2009) distinguishes six waves turning gradually into layers in the development of MIC. The table below shows a time- and incentive induced development of MIC from a Dutch perspective but can be regarded as representative for the development of MIC in Western Europe.

Table 2.1 Development of MIC according to time and incentive

Layer	Time	Incentive	Example
1	1945-1950	Fragile peace in Europe after WW2	Germany, France
2	1960-1970s	Political idealism	South Africa, Nicaragua
3	1990	Integration of former Eastern Europe in Europe	Romania, Poland
4	1990s	European Union: peer to peer learning in Central- & Eastern European municipalities	Eastern- & Central European countries
5	Late 1990s	Diaspora's to Western Europe post- WW2	Surinam, Morocco, Turkey
6	Early 2000s	UN: Millennium Development Goals	Millenium Gemeente

Created from: *Trends and issues in municipal twinnings from the Netherlands* by Hoetjes (2009).

2.2.1 Thematic reviews of MIC

In theory the strategy always works: by means of the colleague to colleague approach knowledge is transferred to the Southern partner. It is considered by some as a cost effective method since it does not require special programme/project managers and direct improvements can be made which are immediately visible to the participants. But C2C is not undisputed as a practice. Evaluation of projects and programmes have been written since MIC evolved to a worldwide phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century but the cooperation on a local level between Northern and Southern municipalities is not yet thoroughly explored. Critics are saying, for instance in the Netherlands, that development strategies nor international relations are a core task of local government. Therefore, motivation for partnering should be carefully chosen. The most recent trend in MIC – partnering with local authorities from which many migrants working in The Netherlands originate – can be considered a positive influence on the element of mutuality (2.5.3) of a partnership. Ewijk & Baud argue that mutual interests increase the legitimacy of Municipal International Relations: *'International activities are generally followed critically by (local) politicians and (part of) the electorate. The new links provide Dutch municipalities with more opportunities to benefit from international exchanges, making it easier to justify their engagement with municipalities abroad'* (Ewijk & Baud, 2009).

Since a few years there has been an integration of practical and theoretical knowledge on C2C, for instance by commissioning academic experts evaluate the Dutch MIC support programme LOGO South. In the last years a number of evaluations have been carried out and published. These publications reveal practical conclusions and recommendations serve as a basis on which more research can and should be built for the further improvement of the body of knowledge and the practice of MIC. The evaluation of the LOGO South programme (Van Lindert et al, 2010) consists of a sharp analysis in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and provides a set of clear cut recommendations for practitioners while Policy Management Report 10 (ECDPM, 2000) provides the link between decentralised cooperation in its different forms and the need for joint action.

After these thematic reviews of MIC more academic-oriented subjects connected to MIC will be presented.

2.3 Local governance and decentralisation

Bontenbal (2006) links decentralisation and local governance and explains how these both enable C2C and can be strengthened by C2C. Local governance can be defined as:

'the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies, and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions amongst them.' (Kaufmann, 1999)

Decentralisation is an umbrella concept and manifests itself in different forms:

'Decentralisation can be defined as the transfer of power, authority or responsibility for decision making, planning, management or resource allocation from the central government to its field units, district administrative units, local governments, regional or functional authorities, semi-autonomous public authorities, parastatal organisations, private entities and non-governmental private or voluntary organisations.' (Rondinelli, 1983)

In the case of devolving to a lower unit within central government ministries it is called deconcentration. Delegation refers to transferring autonomy to an entity outside of the bureaucracy. The kind of decentralisation that benefits local governance the most is the devolving of power and autonomy (including financial autonomy) to governments on a lower level, called fiscal decentralisation. Decentralisation is not only a matter of local management but also wider in governance, including not only strictly the government activities but also other flows through which 'commands' flow: activities in the private sector, civil society and social systems (Hope, 2000). Hope describes decentralisation as an aspect of local governance: *'it helps to shift thinking away from state-centred perspectives and contributes to greater local autonomy and accountability'* (Hope, 2000).

According to Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992 in Devers-Kanoglu, 2009) decentralised government and governance plays a vital role in local culture. Decentralisation works to achieve accountability on a local level because local government politicians have better feeling with people and issues. Also, Hope presents decentralisation *'can be designed to satisfy the demands for recognition of communal identity or to defuse civil strife or even civil war'* (Smith, 1993 and World Bank, 1999 in Hope, 2000) while there is general consensus amongst the global community that *'fostering good governance is a must for sustainable development'* (UN-Habitat, 2002).

Crawford and Hartmann describe a number of reasons for decentralisation in Africa. In the 1980s the neo-liberal approach toward development argued that decentralised government would achieve greater efficiency in delivering goods and services to the people. In the 1990s this development was further encouraged by the World Bank: *'countries everywhere are devolving political, fiscal and administrative powers to sub-national tiers of government'* (Crawford, 2008). This led to two arguments for (further) decentralisation: the rise of democratic movements in the South and the addition of 'good governance' to donors' agenda stimulated governments in the South. Decentralisation in government has proved to contribute to providing quality services to the people in a cost effective and cost efficient way because accurate information is available. Furthermore, due to the proximity to the people and the physical area of legislation managerial autonomy and accountability can be increased (Hope, 2000).

When it comes to local governance in Africa, Olowu et. al. have developed four variables which determine local governance: local resource availability, local autonomy and accountability,

local accountability through an open political process and effective local institutions of collective choice (Olowu et. al., 2004). According to their study, Botswana scores a medium-high report on these four variables and *'displays unusually high levels of local government performance both in its internal management as in delivering services (schools, water, roads, relief, health care) throughout most of the country'* (Olowu et. al., 2004). This 'unusually high level of performance' is supported by, among others, high levels of resources and personnel, open and critical media, active voluntary organisations and a high number of responsibilities. Threats determined in the study are the inability to adjust national policy to local needs. In order to reach the next level of governance, local governments are in need of raising their funds and expanding their legislation area according to local needs (Olowu et. al., 2004).

As mentioned before, decentralisation and local governance have not gone unnoticed in thematic programmes either. Support programmes for MIC as well as overarching programmes by UNDP and the World Bank aim to increase capacity on a local level, improve governance level, increase accountability. For instance, VNG Internationals support programme 'LOGO South' uses the following description: *the programme is dedicated to strengthening the capacity of local governments in service provision, promotion of economic development and poverty reduction in an accountable manner* (VNG International website). The World Bank paper *Decentralisation in Africa: a stocktaking survey*, reports about decentralisation in Sub-Saharan Africa because we are in need of knowing what happens to adequately contribute to it through development cooperation. The conclusion in this World Bank paper is that decentralisation in SSA is moderate, and higher in Anglophone countries in comparison to Francophone countries. However, in countries where decentralisation is installed there is need for deepening (World Bank, 2002).

Ultimately, the above means that in order for C2C to be effective, a country needs a certain level of decentralisation and local governance. Without giving authority and money to the local level (fiscal decentralisation) local governance systems will not be able to produce much good for the citizens. Without good local governance on the other hand, money and responsibility transferred to the lower level would run a great risk of being misused. According to the academic readings, on paper, Botswana provides a good climate for C2C and therefore a good possibility to investigate the difference between South – North and South – South cooperation and its position in the public sector environment. It has to be said, however, that as solid as Botswana's (local) government seems, it has never been tested by someone meaning harm and it has always been supported by economic prosperity. In chapter 5 attention will be paid to empirical findings concerning decentralisation and governance practice in Botswana.

2.4 Successful partnerships

Despite good intentions and possibly due to (pre)conditions not being met a vast number of municipal partnerships (over 50% in South Africa according to De Villiers, 2005) fail. In the literature there are, at least, five key elements believed necessary for successful C2C cooperation including: commitment to link, community-wide participation, understanding, reciprocity, results through real examples (UNDP, 2000). A number of academics have written about conditions for successful partnership. This paragraph introduces the main conditions described by those academics.

In 2006 Bontenbal described success factors in MIC. Those were (1) political will and commitment from civil society, (2) community-wide participation, (3) clear objectives and work plans and (4) understanding between the partners (Bontenbal, 2006). If those conditions are not met bringing the partnership to a success is a serious challenge. Tjandradewi and Marcotullio researched MIC in Asian cities and conclude that a number of key elements are considered consistently important by participating decision makers. Respondents were asked to judge from 1 to 4 (1 does not contribute and 4 contributes the most), whether a specific element contributed to the success of C2C

experiences. The average scores and percent that scored the element a four are reported in table 2.2 (below).

Table 2.2 Factors contributing to successful MIC

Respondent scores for the importance of various elements of success for C2C cooperation

Element	Percent ranked highest		Average score	
	Percent	Rank	Score	Rank
Reciprocity	71	1	3.67	1
Free flow of information	71	1	3.67	1
Understanding	65	2	3.60	3
Cost-sharing and cost-effectiveness	65	2	3.55	5
Real examples	62	3	3.57	4
Leadership	62	3	3.57	4
Support from higher levels of government	57	4	3.52	6
Commitment	52	5	3.62	2
Community Participation	48	6	3.48	7

Source: (Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009)

The research found that among these Asian cities, local governmental staff consider free flows of information, reciprocity, understanding, and leadership to contribute the most to the success of partnerships. Interestingly, community participation was not considered to be very important to successful C2C cooperation.

De Villiers identifies a number of success factors after his baseline study on municipal partnerships in South Africa. The paper suggests that C2C cooperation can make a major development contribution and that application of this model can effectively increase relationship success at the local level. The model is presented and discussed in the next paragraph.

The latest determinants in C2C are described by Bontenbal and Van Lindert (2011) based on empirical research:

1. *The availability and quality of institutional capacity (human, organisational and management resources) in the partner municipalities to employ MIC as a development strategy;*
2. *The role of politics and vested interests in MIC relations;*
3. *The extent to which MIC objectives are embedded in national strategies and development priorities;*
4. *The availability of financial resources and the capacity to tap into external funding and*
5. *The process of knowledge exchange and ‘translocal’ flows of knowledge, expertise and experience of municipal affairs.*

Source: Bontenbal & Van Lindert, 2011

These conditions for individual partnerships and the institutional context show resemblance with previously mentioned success factors and will be taken into account in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

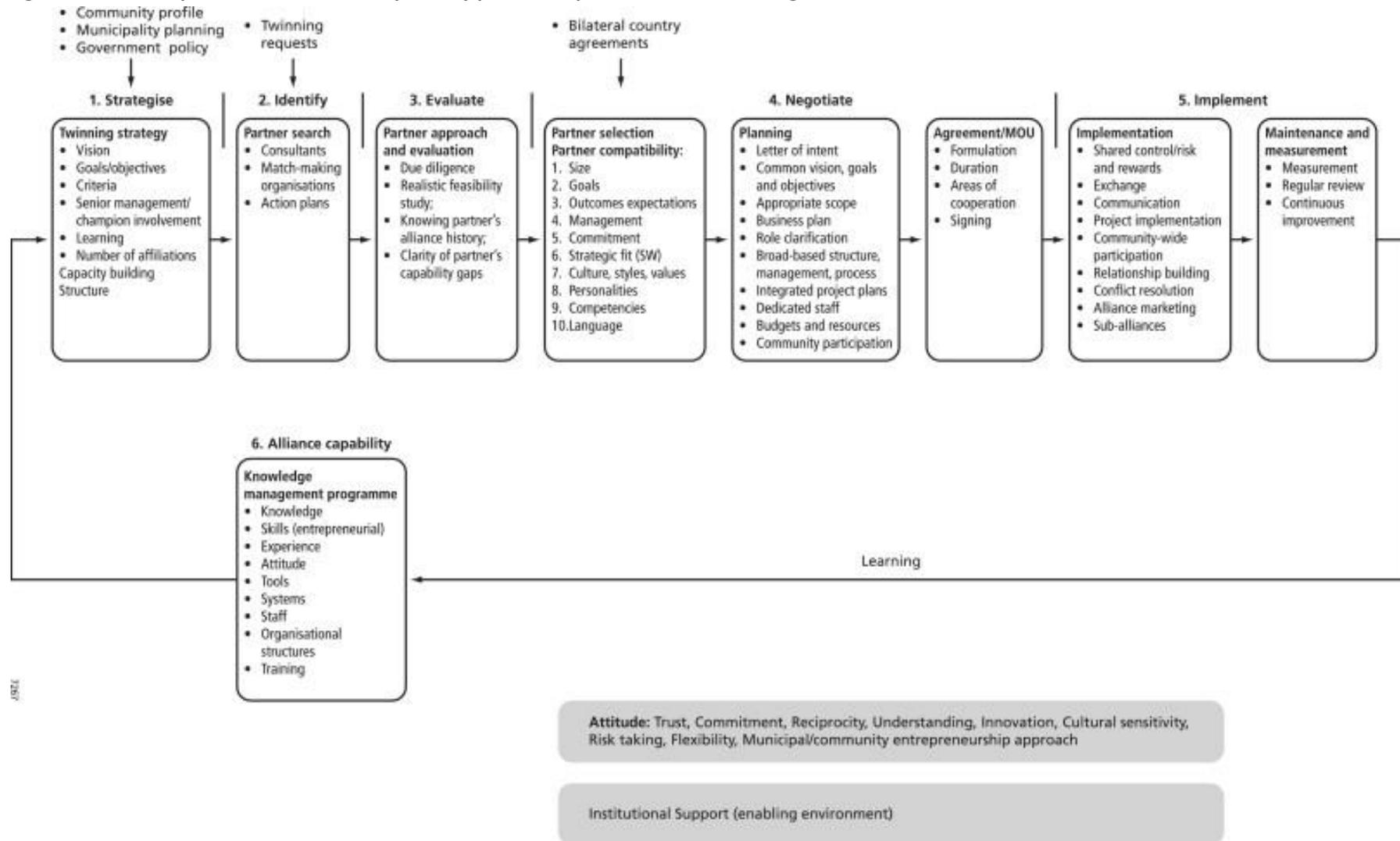
2.4.1 Framework for city-to-city partnership formation and management

‘Many C2C partnerships fail’, states De Villiers (2009): circa 50% of all identified partnerships in his study in 2004 are abandoned in 2006 increased the believe that there is need for guiding local governments towards successful alliances. As a reaction to this need, De Villiers established a six step management framework to successful C2C. This management model is pictured below (Figure 2.1).

This framework can be interpreted to serve local governments engaged in C2C but can also be considered useful to serve the entire enabling environment of C2C: national government, local government association and local government alike. De Villiers classifies this as the meta level learning considering the practice of C2C (De Villiers, 2009).

The enabling environment is materialised by for instance national government policy and general position towards municipal international cooperation. A second condition is careful partner selection keeping in mind choosing a partner *'who can assist the community in reaching specific goals'* (De Villiers, 2009). In this element it is also advised to concentrate resources on *'limiting the number of partners'* (De Villiers, 2009). Strong support from the municipal council and commitment on a management level is key, as well as community involvement and possibly sub-alliance between institutions or even private sector. Community awareness raises chances for success and the International City/County Management Association (ICMA) found out that *'more citizen participation leads to a higher degree of sustainability'* (ICMA, 2004). Quality of management as well as strong community leadership play a role in these elements while organisational practicalities such as signing an agreement and developing a business plan with clear objectives, goals and activities is important to sustain the partnership. Maintaining the partnership should happen through reliable and regular communications between stakeholders under the condition of mutual understanding and commitment. Access to community-based financial resources is very important to sustain the partnership, as well as regular evaluation and revision of the agreement and the relationship. It is suggested by De Villiers that none of these conditions stand alone: it is the combination of these factors that determine the level of success. Also, an underlying success factor is identified by De Villiers: the foundation of relationships is the attitudes and values of trust, reciprocity, commitment, understanding, cultural sensitivity, positive attitude towards risk, and flexibility.

Figure 2.1 A conceptual framework of city-to-city partnership formation and management



Source: De Villiers, 2009

2.4.2 The role of Local Government Associations

Since this research is carried out from an LGA and because LGA's play a role in coordinating MIC it is important to consider the article written by Buis (2009). He argues that, since LGA's exist to serve their members in lobbying at national government level, providing services and acting as an information platform, there is need for them to be strengthened *'before they can take up a role in general and in C2C specifically'*. Strengthening should be done by gaining resources, developing a well-functioning internal structure and correct leadership (Buis, 2009).

2.5 Development through learning

Identified goals for municipal partnerships are mostly: mutual learning, knowledge exchange and capacity building in the South. And while learning and knowledge exchange and capacity building are not the same, they all serve the same goal in municipal partnership: development in the Southern partner. In this thesis, the concepts of capacity building, capacity development, knowledge exchange and learning will be used interchangeably. This paragraph will introduce the most important elements of learning related to MIC.

2.5.1 Conditions for capacity building

Aid relationships between Northern and Southern partners can be described as 'inherently unequal' (Bontenbal, 2009) and it is questioned whether in North – South twinnings these inequalities can be overcome. There are numerous definitions of capacity building but the one generally used is the one by the UNDP:

'Capacity building is defined as the process by which individuals, organisations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives' (UNDP, 1997)

Capacity building in the public sector is mainly directed at getting good governance through the strengthening of institutions (Grindle, 1997). He distinguishes three levels of capacity building: the individual level (e.g. through training of staff), organizational level (e.g. improving management and management structures) and the institutional levels (e.g. policy and legal change). Therefore, the next definition is also used as an interpretation of the concept:

'Capacity building represents the potential for using resources effectively and maintaining gains in performance with gradually reduced levels of support' (LaFond & Brown, 2003, in Ubels, 2010)

In her paper discussing conditions for capacity development after a case study Bontenbal (2009) distinguishes two sets of conditions which can be applied generally: organizational conditions and partnership conditions.

Organisational conditions are political backing, financial and human resources in the North and organizational support, policy alignment and donor relations in the South. Political backing refers to the support from municipal councils in the North to put effort in an alliance with a Southern partner. One of the ways in which this political backing can show is the availability of human – and financial resources to sustain the partnership. In most Northern countries a support programme to foster MIC is present from which municipalities can gain partnership guidance as well as financial

support. One of the conditions in the South are an international cooperation department (ICD) within the municipality which manages partnerships with international municipalities and makes sure projects align with municipal policy priorities. Not only alignment with municipal policy is considered a condition for capacity development: relations with international donors and possibly even other municipal partnerships to the same municipality prove to be effective.

Partnership conditions are ownership and power for capacity development, capacity as a process: sustainable results and municipal versus NGO capacity building. In Bontenbals case study the agenda for capacity building was set by the Southern partner under a couple of ‘umbrella themes’ for this partnerships. Because of that ownership the effectiveness of the partnership could be increased. As De Villiers presents a municipal partnership, capacity development should be seen as a process too: a cycle of activities which should constantly be in motion. A second issue is the sustainability of capacity building: ideally there should be continuity in participants and should base on existing knowledge. Bontenbal also questions whether municipal capacity building is better than NGO capacity building. The result from this case study is that due to the similarities in organisation and challenges capacity development between municipal partners is appreciated higher than NGO capacity building.

Relating back to Grindles’ three levels of capacity building there is general belief that C2C can contribute to capacity building on an individual level. However, the hierarchal levels imply that this level should be followed by improvements on an organisational and institutional level. The question therefore is whether C2C achieves the wider goal (Bontenbal 2006). The answer to this question in the case of Botswana will receive attention in chapter 6, discussion.

2.5.2 Variety in knowledge and learning types

Learning in this thesis is considered *‘the acquisition of knowledge which is then tested, converted, stored for future use, and employed to make change’* (Campbell, 2009). In the case of MIC implications are often made that learning or knowledge transfer would take place solely from North to South since knowledge is ‘universally applicable’, and can be distributed globally because it can be codified into for instance books and models (Ewijk & Baud, 2009 and King & McGrath, 2004). This model is heavily criticised since this model ignores the context in which knowledge is developed and ignores the limits this has on the knowledge (Ewijk & Baud, 2009). There are also alternatives to this perception of knowledge. Chambers describes that opposed to knowledge produced by the scientific communities there is also more ‘practice-based’ knowledge, also called ‘local-’ or ‘craft knowledge’ (Chambers, 1997 in Ewijk & Baud, 2009). In general this type of knowledge is regarded ‘tacit knowledge’ (King & McGrath, 2004). This knowledge is much more based on experience and is often transferred through one on one contact and is not systemically expressed.

In her research concerning learning in municipal partnerships Devers-Kanoglu identifies different types of learning. The four most important types are formal – and informal learning and intended – and unintended learning. Formal learning is *‘typically provided by an education or training institution, structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and leading to certification. Formal learning is intentional from the learner’s perspective’* (Commission of the European Communities, 2001) while informal learning has been provided by the Commission of the European Communities as: *‘learning resulting from daily life activities related to work, family or leisure. It is not structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and typically does not lead to certification. Informal learning may be intentional but in most cases it is non-intentional.’*

Devers-Kanoglu also identifies two types of learning levels which can be loosely related to the organisational - and institutional level of capacity building defined by Grindle (1997). Intra-municipal cooperation, which *‘takes place through interaction and partnerships amongst individuals and groups on a local level’* (Devers-Kanoglu, 2009) can be considered as the organisational capacity building. Inter-municipal cooperation, which takes place *‘through interaction and partnerships*

between the respective municipalities, groups, and individuals involved' (Devers-Kanoglu, 2009) can improve the institutions. Informal learning and transferring tacit knowledge should be regarded in evaluating C2C partnerships.

2.5.3 Issues of mutuality

In the beginning of this paragraph reference was made to the unequal relation between the Northern and Southern partner. This is partly due to the perception that the practice of Northern municipalities is regarded best practice from which Southern municipality can learn. This classic relation between North and South is not the most effective way for municipal partnerships and furthermore threatens the existence of municipal partnerships in for instance The Netherlands. In this classic relation the Northern municipality does not learn and therefore feeds critics in their statement that MIC should not be an activity of Northern municipalities. Questions are raised in the academic debate whether or not equal municipal partnerships (and beyond) between North and South are at all possible. Baud and Post have argued that *'partnerships have the greatest potential for mutual learning when partners bring in complementary resources that are seen to be useful for the other members of the partnership'* (Baud & Post, 2002). This 'potential synergy' is threatened by the inequalities mentioned above but also creates an opportunity to change relations on a local scale and create mutual beneficial municipal partnerships. Besides Baud and Post Johnson and Wilson also point out the importance of mutuality for the stability of municipal partnerships: *'In case local governments cannot demonstrate mutual gains in terms of core functions, it becomes difficult to justify their continuation'* (Johnson & Wilson, 2006).

Mutuality and equality is also mentioned in paragraph 2.2 covering the practical studies about success factors and conditions for municipal partnerships. These conditions and success factors are related to the process of knowledge exchange between municipal partners. Johnson and Wilson argue that mutual learning begins by the differences in perception that the participants bring to the table concerning a certain topic or knowledge (Johnson & Wilson, 2006).

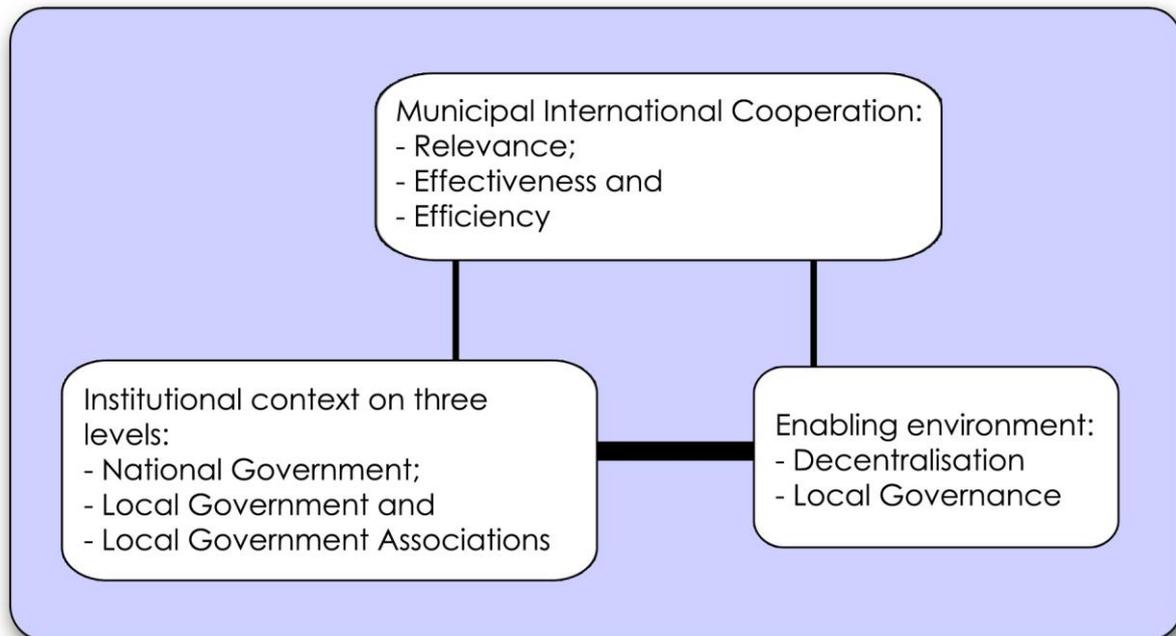
2.5.4 Network learning as social capital of cities

MIC is based upon colleague to colleague learning and through individual and organisational learning contribute to the strengthening of local governance in the Southern partner. But by only North to South transfer of knowledge it would need continuous interference of the Northern partner in order to improve and develop capacity. Creating city networks and platforms for knowledge exchange South – South MIC could be the next step forward in spreading knowledge, know-how and best practices to develop sustainable government, governance structures and stable economies. The bottom line of these types of learning is that mainly, cities or city networks should be smart and proactive. City networks are a part of the 'social capital of cities' (Blanco & Campbell, 2005). MIC can be classified as a city networks, therefore city networks can be classified as capacity development or learning. Campbell (2009) describes four different types of learning in cities. It distinguishes city networks and bilateral contacts as well as individual initiatives regarding learning and states that in all of the types, the attitude and pro active behaviour from cities is key for its success. In chapter 5 the opportunities for developing South – South city networks to benefit C2C will be taken in to account.

2.6 Conceptual framework

In this paragraph the concepts from the theories that have been described in this chapter are presented in the conceptual framework. This framework visualises the complexity of the institutional environment of MIC. The operationalisation of the elements used in this conceptual framework will be explained in chapter 3.

Figure 2.2 Conceptual framework



This figure represents the strong interconnection between the enabling environment (the preconditions for MIC) and the three levels of government that are involved in and influence MIC (national- and local government and LGA) and their connection to the relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of MIC.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter presents the most important academic and non-academic writings about MIC and relevant related themes. Decentralisation and local governance can be considered a precondition for MIC. A fairly large share of MIC is knowledge transfer and/or capacity building and these elements require certain conditions. On a more specific level, conditions for capacity development can be addressed to guarantee knowledge is built up. The management framework developed by De Villiers can be applied to ensure the alliance between cities reaches highest potential, as should be equal relations and mutually beneficial targets. Also, there are different types of knowledge which should be acknowledged so the knowledge can be valued the right way and to ensure the transfer of knowledge takes place in the adequate way.

In the following chapter the operationalisation of this theoretical-thematic chapter will take place. Furthermore the methods and techniques used will be explained. Chapter 4 will present the results of the baseline study considering the first three research questions: the comparison between South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in Botswana. An framework for comparing South – North and South – South municipal partnerships will also be presented in chapter 4. In chapter 5 the sub research questions 4 and 5 will cover the analysis of Botswana's state of decentralisation and local governance in order to find out if Botswana's local government is decentralised enough for C2C to be successful. In this chapter, reference will also be made to the impact of the political situation in Botswana as is also hinted upon in chapter 1.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research was planned to contribute to the limited number of academic literature on C2C setting out a path to comparing South – North and South – South municipal partnerships. However, in the course of the research in Botswana, reality forced to retreat from this ambitious plan. Many of the municipal partnerships that were to be studied were far less developed than was presented in the research proposal by the host organisation and then presented in the returned questionnaires (appendix 1,2 and 3) received in February and March. During the course of the research evidence was found that the institutional environment of Botswana, at three levels (Ministry of Local Government, BALA and the local authorities), was of great influence on the success of municipal partnerships. The subsequent question, therefore, was if Botswana has an enabling environment for municipal partnerships. The research is therefore split up into two intertwined baseline studies. The first research attempts to make a comparison between South – North and South – South MIC in Botswana through an analytical framework – as was initially the plan – while the second part of the research focuses on the institutional environment in which municipal partnerships take place in Botswana, a research never carried out before. The first research objective aims to develop and provide a comprehensive analytical framework for comparing South – North and South – South partnerships, using Botswana as an example. The second research objective is to investigate why Municipal partnerships in Botswana develop the way they do in the institutional environment and inquires what adjustments have to be made to get more value from the municipal partnerships that currently exist and draw lessons for future municipal partnerships.

3.1.1 Explanation of research question and sub questions

This paragraph contains the explanation of the research question and sub research questions.

Municipal International Cooperation in Botswana: development strategy or social activity?

Comparing South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in Botswana in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and exploring how the institutional environment can positively impact (the effect of) municipal partnerships.

As explained above, during the course of the research it became clear that a research focussing solely on the difference between South – North and South – South partnerships would not lead to enough valuable information to write a thesis. Therefore, considering the fact that the information answering sub questions 1, 2 and 3 were covered for the partnerships that were active, attention shifted to the fact that many partnerships were not active. How could this be explained through an analysis of the environment (on three levels) in which partnerships take place?

1. What South – North and South – South municipal partnerships exist in Botswana?

This question, this baseline investigation of the field of municipal partnerships in Botswana, is the very start of the inventory. Because there was hardly any information present at BALA or the MLG, all information about the partnerships has to come from the Local authorities. In these Municipal partnerships there will be a classification between South – North and South – South cooperation for further research. All local authorities will be included in this inventory.

2. What are the characteristics of these South – North and South-South municipal partnerships?

The second sub research question is a key element in the study for inventory for BALA as well as for this MSc research. The characteristics, defined in paragraph 3.4, Operationalisation, will give the key information about the municipal partnerships. This information will also have to come from the local

authorities and will be retrieved from all local authorities. For the purpose of the research, however, more in depth questions will be posed to key informants at the local authorities.

3. How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?

The relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of the municipal partnerships and the difference in South – North and South – South will be based on the characteristics from sub research question 2 and further in depth interviews with selected Local authorities. Here, however, other key stakeholders will also be interviewed for their expertise on the matter. This includes MLG staff, donor agencies, private sector actors, CBO's and NGO's if they are involved in the municipal partnerships.

4. What is the institutional environment on national-, local- and LGA level in which these municipal partnerships take place?

In chapter 2 attention has been paid to the importance of the preconditions and an enabling environment for MIC. Sub question 4 explores the institutional environment on three levels: national- and local government and the LGA. The data to answer this question is retrieved through interviews, desk study, literature and participant observation during the mini-workshop.

5. How can the value of South – North and South – South municipal partnerships be increased by the Ministry of Local Government, the Local Government Association and the Local authorities?

During the interviews conducted at all three levels of the institutional environment questions were posed concerning possible improvements in this environment. This has served as input for the answering of this sub research question but input has also been gathered through a literature study and implicit experiences of the researcher. This sub research question is possibly the most important one because this is where improvements can be made at all three levels.

The results of this twofold research are presented in the way they were researched: in two subsequent chapters.

3.2 Rationale of approach

Any academic research starts with a literature review. It has also been the basis of this research and will be used to analyse the data gathered in Botswana on municipal partnerships. The structure of the research was to start with an inventory of the existing municipal partnerships and then, depending on the response and outcome of the questionnaire, schedule interviews with key people at the Local authorities. This research is – besides a numerical inventory of the amount of Municipal partnerships – a *qualitative research* aiming to, through *exploring and describing* the field in Botswana, lead to recommendations for the host organisation and a *science oriented analysis* contributing to academic literature about the subject. It deals with interpretations of informants and with interpretations of documents and situations by the researcher. According to the definition of Mayoux in Desai and Potter (2009), this research is a classic qualitative research. The research is done with a geographical and social science background, poses holistic questions trying to understand complex processes and uses micro case studies based on informal interviews and participant observation. It's questions are formulated open-ended focusing on small purposive samples and (contingent) key informants. It is done to find causal inference through systematic analysis of patterns of difference between the various accounts and case studies (Desai and Potter, 2009).

3.3 Instruments – a balancing act

Defining research instruments might just be the hardest part of a research. This paragraph describes the instruments used to obtain the data necessary for researching municipal partnerships in Botswana. The methods used in this study are the following:

- Inventory of twinning/municipal partnerships through *questionnaire*;
- *Interviews* with internal stakeholders (LA, BALA, MLG);
- *Interviews* with external stakeholders (CBO, CSO, NGO, donors, private sector);
- *Case study* at one local authority and
- *Participant observation* during a mini-workshop.

3.3.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires enable researchers to obtain data about practices, situations or views by sending out a form or filling out a form with a participant. In this qualitative research in which limited information was available previous to the commence of the research the data obtained is used as primary data on which to built the rest of the research. Whilst on the one hand giving information about the partnerships it gave the possibility to select local authorities for the next step, the interviews. Because of this and the time-effectiveness administering questionnaires is considered the key data collection instrument. A weakness of a questionnaire is that it is very difficult to realise insights relating to the causes of or processes involved in the subject under research. There are several sources of bias such as the design of the questionnaire, the self-selecting nature of respondents (below) and the point in time at which the questionnaire is conducted. This questionnaire was designed as semi-structured, using closed - and open questions (Simon in Desai and Potter, 2009). The knowledge gained in the subject in research techniques was combined with local knowledge, from BALA, as to how address the subject of municipal partnerships in the questionnaire. The introductory letter written by the internship supervisor and the researcher addressed the concept to ensure the research would be understood by the people filling out the questionnaire. During the design of the questionnaire an underlying assumption caused not to put more space than two municipal partnerships. However, in the questionnaire and during the course of interviews, some local authorities gave information about more partnerships existing.

Sample size and response

All of Botswana's local authorities were approached to participate in this research. Out of 16 local authorities 13 replied, making the response rate 80%. Sending out the questionnaires by fax required a follow up to make sure someone received it. After one week and a limited number of responses (2) another follow up was made. Two weeks after sending out the questionnaire a total of 6 responses was received and after three weeks the 50% response rate was made with 9 returned questionnaires. The last 4 were collected between 4 and 7 weeks after sending them out. 3 were never returned, despite numerous attempts. From the 3 local authorities that did not respond to the questionnaire 2 did also not attend the mini-workshop about MIC in Botswana. These local authorities, Kweneng and Kgalagadi, were hard to get through to. It is very well possible these districts do not have a partnership at all and therefore did not know what to do with the information they received. These districts were also not selected to take part in the partnership programme between ICLD and BALA. The table below provides an overview of the councils and in which part of the research they were involved.

Table 3.1 Inclusion of local authorities in different stages of the research

Type	Local authority	Reply to questionnaire	Selected for interviews	Case study	Participation at workshop
City Council	Gaborone	X	X		X
	Francistown	X	X	X	X
Town Council	Lobatse	X	X ¹		X
	Selebi-Pikwe				X
	Jwaneng	X	X		X
	Sowa	X			X
District Council	Northwest	X			X
	Chobe	X			X
	Northeast	X			X
	Central	X			X
	Ghanzi	X			X
	Kgalagadi				
	Kweneng				
	Kgatleng	X	X		X
	Southeast	X	X		
	Southern	X			
Total		13/16	6/13	1/6	12/16

3.3.2 Interviews

For this research interviews have been used to gather necessary information from key people involved in municipal partnerships. The interviews were planned after analysis of the questionnaires. Conducting in-depth interviews has multiple advantages but the most important advantage in this research is that before the interviews not much was known about the partnerships. Therefore posing in-depth questions to stakeholders at local authorities contributed to the nuances in the research results. A weakness of conducting interviews is the uncertainty of the reliability and credibility of participant. For instance: some participants repeatedly rescheduled interview date and – time and some never showed. Some that kept their appointment did not pay attention during the interview or gave incomplete answers.

3.3.3 Case study

A case study is generally an attempt by an observer-researcher to describe relationships that exist in reality (Desai and Potter, 2009). The format of the case study depends on the researcher: the instruments, the data collected and the analytical techniques used. Case studies can be considered weak as they are restricted to a single case and it is therefore difficult to generalise findings in a statistically meaningful way(Desai and Potter, 2009). However, in a baseline study like this research, the use of a case study is considered useful because it illustrates the complex reality of a municipal partnership in its institutional context.

3.3.4 Stakeholders conference

Besides the individual interviews and the incidental group consultation at local authorities the research as proposed by BALA also included organising a stakeholders conference. Initially, the plan

¹ Unfortunately the interviews at Lobatse Town Council never materialized. Partly due to the public sector strike and partly due to internal affairs at Lobatse Town Council.

was to co-organise a conference from BALA with ICLD but as a result of the public sector strike (see 3.6.2) turning violent this conference was cancelled four days prior to departure of the ICLD and Swedish local authorities delegation². This conference was going to bring nine Botswana local authorities and six Swedish local authorities together to form municipal partnerships in inception phase with one another and – ideally – would have given a lot of opportunity to interview participants from local authorities too far to reach from Gaborone. As this conference was cancelled at the last moment, a lot of potentially valuable data got lost! Luckily a back-up plan was developed. This included getting together as many as possible participants from different local authorities to inform them about and prepare them for municipal partnerships, an instrument of development which could be developed to have more effect in Botswana. This mini-workshop gave the opportunity to observe through participation in the workshop but did not give the opportunity to interview participants due to the fact that the researcher contributed to many of the items in the workshop.

3.4 Operationalisation

This paragraph covers the operationalisation of the research to compare South – North and South – South municipal partnerships. The operationalisation starts with the first level of inquiry (questionnaire), followed by the second level of the research (interviews) and ending with the third level of enquiry (case study) and participatory observation during mini workshop). While fewer data concerning explorative research was available an attempt is made to operationalise the framework for comparing South – North and South – South partnerships. A literature review as presented in chapter 2 contributes to the framework, as do the practical instruments used in Botswana to gather information. These characteristics are considered important to answer research question 3 regarding relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and research question 4 and 5 regarding the institutional context in which these partnership take place and the possibilities which could be explored in order to increase the effect of MIC in Botswana.

3.4.1 Level 1: questionnaire

Through the questionnaire a number of basic characteristics were retrieved. The main question in the questionnaire is to find out if a Local Authority has **one or more partners** in the form of a twinning or a more developed Municipal partnership. A question was posed regarding the **duration** (as endorsed in formal agreement) of this (or these) partnerships. Then, inquiry is made regarding the position of the partnership. Does it operate within a (Northern – or Southern) **support programme** comparable to the Dutch LOGO South programme? This could make a difference regarding the planning and evaluation processes agreed upon and is therefore relevant. The next question concerns **areas of cooperation**. In the research, areas of cooperation are not asked to measure impact in this field. However, it does play a role as to the relevance of the partnership and the selection of the partner later on in the analysis. **Involvement of third parties** was inquired about to get a first glance of how embedded the partnership is or can be in a governance context. Participants were then asked to fill out any **possible partners** they could think of in an international context. Since this research is carried out from within BALA and in cooperation with the Ministry of Local Government the next questions concern **BALA's and MLG's support and possible improvement** of this support for MIC.

3.4.2 Level 2: interviews

² From the point of view of the researcher, the public sector strike was not the only reason why the conference was cancelled. More information on this issue will be given in chapter six.

The interviews with a selected number of local authorities were used to gather more information about the characteristics stated above. However, more depth was created by adding the following variables previously discussed in chapter 2. The semi-structured interviews were prepared individually, acting on the specifics per local authority adding to a maximum total of 7 parts within the interview. The first part was used to clarify answers from the questionnaire, the second part aimed to get more numerical information and measure participation within the local government body and within the community. The third part focuses on the relevance of the partnership enquiring about selection of the partner and the **areas of cooperation**. The fourth part deals with the effectiveness of the partnership posing questions about **results** and **monitoring and evaluation**. Efficiency of the partnership is discussed in part five focusing on quality of results and time planning. The **learning and capacity building** variable is discussed in part six enquiring about how the participants learn and what knowledge is gained. The last part of the interview is about best practices asking participants to reflect on the partnership explaining why it (does not) work.

The characteristics retrieved through the questionnaire and the interviews provide the necessary information to answer the first three research questions.

3.4.3 Level 3: case study

In this level of the research only the partnership between Francistown and Genk qualifies for taking a closer look. This case study enhanced a three-day visit to Francistown during which the questionnaire was discussed, several semi-structured interviews with both Southern and Northern stakeholder(s) were held, documentation such as progress reports, newspaper articles provided by the Northern and Southern stakeholder were studied, a focus group interview with the partnership committee was held and projects resulting from the municipal partnership were visited.

3.4.4 Level 4: participant observation

During the mini-workshop the researcher presented a lot as can be seen in the schedule. However, during leading discussions and group work it was possible to observe how people operate and reacted to their colleagues and the subject of the mini workshop. The interpretations gathered there will be used in the analysis of the institutional environment of municipal partnerships in Botswana.

3.5 Strategy and planning

This paragraph discusses the planning of the research as well as the strategy to conduct the research.

3.5.1 Ethics

A research based on people's experiences and opinions requires careful planning regarding reliability. While dealing with respondents (mostly) never met before it felt good to – before starting the official interview – have a general introduction to get to know them. During the course of interviews respondents were given the possibility not to respond to questions they were uncomfortable with. Also, when respondents did not want their answers in the report written for BALA they were given the opportunity to only respond for the academic research. Conducting research in the local government arena implicitly means conducting research in a political environment. Whilst in the West politics is not (explicitly) present within the administration of local authorities, in Botswana politics is very much embedded in administrations. The experience in this research is that every

interview is different and depending on the municipal partnership as well as the interviewee a smaller or larger amount of information was collected.

3.5.2 Operational details

During the 13 weeks of research home was Gaborone, Botswana's capital. The first 3 weeks were used to get acquainted with BALA, send out the questionnaire, conduct a desk study at BALA and further define the definitive research question(s). Through working in the office and questioning the key people about everything they do (and don't do!) a lot was discovered about how contacts are with the other key players in the local government arena. A visit to a few of the surrounding local governments with BALA staff and getting in contact with the University of Botswana were also part of the first weeks of the internship. Also, since this research will serve as input for the development of the guidelines for MIC by the Ministry of Local Government, the ministry is involved in this research. They had suggested – previously to the research – to set up a project group to support the research and provide a solid base for the implementation of the outcome.

Gaborone is located in the Southeast of Botswana, leaving many local authorities too far away to reach in one (or even two) days. This meant interviews with local authorities far away were to take place either in Gaborone or in the local authorities whilst on a long and lonely road trip. Given the fact that the research was carried out largely by one person and no one from BALA was available to join on a long road trip the only option was to try and interview these during a holiday. Due to the public sector strike, unfortunately, none of these interviews materialised. Roughly, the research was divided into three parts: questionnaire and analysis, conducting interviews and organising and holding the mini-workshop.

3.5.3 Analysis

In chapter 4 and 5 the data results of the instruments presented above will be written up and analysed in subsequent order of the research sub-questions. The issues addressed in paragraph 3.6, Assumptions, limitations and complications, will be reflected on throughout the rest of the thesis and will mainly be reviewed in the reflection paragraph in chapter 6.

3.6 Assumptions, limitations and complications

3.6.1 Assumptions

Before heading off to Botswana to gather data during the fieldwork period a research proposal had to be written. Going over that again this paragraph came up:

“As this research is a qualitative research it will depend largely on the knowledge that the key people within the institutions involved are willing to share. However, as the base of this research is in the BALA office not many problems are expected with people responding. The people at BALA are very dedicated to the research and resources are available to carry out this research.” (Research proposal, February 2011)

The research carried out was chosen from a large number of options because it was a ‘South initiative’: an initiative from BALA, reaching out to the University of Utrecht to find a student to assist them and allowing this student to research the subject closely in its turn. Going to Botswana with the best intentions, willing to work hard and leave behind a valuable, comprehensive framework the researcher was determined to complete the plan as presented in the research proposal. Hereby, no attention was paid to the variables included in these assumptions. How, for example, could it be proven that BALA – as an organisation rather than one person – was so dedicated to the research? What resources were available and how guaranteed were these resources necessary to enable the

research? Moreover, what kind of organisation is BALA and what is their position as a Local Government Association? The assumptions were not made explicit in the research proposal: Botswana's Local Government Association (BALA), is a neutral body without any political agenda, comparable to the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG), in which every local authority is equally represented and in which every local authority receives equal treatment. Employees at BALA don't let their personal or political preferences judge their professional work. This assumption is supported by BALA's mission statement. BALA's members, the local authorities, the institutions that are represented by BALA, were supposed to be excited about the research as it could greatly improve the value of their partnerships and improve their knowledge.

Expectations were (also) high regarding the involvement of the Ministry of Local Government. The ministry was said to be in the process of developing guidelines for local authorities that were involved in or about to get involved in municipal partnerships. It would be an ideal opportunity to work together and use each other's data. As it turned out, the Ministry wasn't as far as was presented by BALA. There was no fruitful cooperation between BALA and the Ministry: communication took place but was slow, there was not one person to work with and the guidelines which were said to be in development were not.

Furthermore, it is the researchers assumption that, when in touch with the internship supervisor before taking off for Botswana, relevant information should be shared as much as possible and the researcher should be prepared as much as possible. Making expectations and objectives clear is one of the key elements, made possible through modern ICT such as e-mail and Skype. This, unfortunately, was not exploited to the fullest.

As to the contents of the research, expectation were as follows. It was expected not all local authorities have municipal partnerships. A few municipal partnerships were known at BALA but most of the local authorities had to be approached to get information on partnerships. If a local authority had a partnership it was expected not all of those would be active. However, judgement was made from 9000 kilometres that the amount of active partnerships would be enough to make a comparison between North – South and South – South cooperation. As said before, this was not the case after which the decision was made to add another branch to the research: the exploration of the environment in which these partnerships operate.

3.6.2 Limitations and complications

This paragraphs gives an overview of the limitations and complications experienced before, during and after the research.

The perception of time changes in a country where having a meeting at 2 pm means you start to get moving to the office where the meeting takes place at 2 pm. Whilst always aiming to arrive in time the people around me. This, incidentally, led to anxiety or frustration. Also, Botswana is a country 16 times the size of The Netherlands, which makes 5 hours of driving worth a 45 minute interview! The fact that eight of the local authorities were not within a day's drive reach resulted in a bias in the selection of the local authorities for interviews. Those closer to Gaborone were preferred over those further away have the same characteristics.

Due to the 8 week public sector strike taking place in April, May and June the availability of public servants and council members was limited. Not many of them were actually on strike but a great number of them had to cover for their absent colleagues or had to keep a close eye on service delivery and protecting law and order in their local authority. As this was the prime time of data gathering it has had an impact on the amount of data. The consequences regarding the stakeholders conference have been discussed earlier in this chapter (3.1).

As stated above, the research mainly builds on the interpretations of key people involved in municipal partnerships at different levels of government and the LGA. All participants in this research were approached in English. English is not the native language of Botswana, though it is used extensively in official documents and is the official language of the Botswana government. Tswana is the local native language and the majority of the people come across switched to Tswana (or their

mutual mother language) when talking amongst each other. This happened not only in unknown places such as local authorities unfamiliar with the researcher and the subject but also at BALA and other places regularly visited. This was unexpected and caused unease at the researchers side. For instance: key people spoke amongst each other first in Tswana (or mutual mother language) before answering questions. What was discussed during these consultations cannot be retrieved.

In the preparations and in the research proposal it is proposed to investigate past, present and future partnerships. Terminated partnerships or partnerships that were dormant for a long time, however, could not be investigated. Due to the Human Resource Management system (DPSM) described in chapter 1 not many people work at a local authority for a long period of time. Therefore, enquiring about past partnership would have been time consuming, if at all possible.

The use of fax and telephone limited the possibility to communicate quickly, as is usual in the West, through modern Information and Communications Technology (ICT) such as e-mail and cell phone. Some faxes may never have arrived, a number of them arrived damaged. Furthermore, all government staff that owned a government e-mail address preferred working from their private e-mail addresses because the professional ones were not (always) working. These are all limitations to the data collection.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter a detailed account of the research rationale, methodology and strategy has been presented according to which the research was carried out in 13 weeks. The research was carried out through a mix of research techniques being: questionnaire, interview, case study and participant observation. Furthermore, in this chapter attention is paid to the assumptions regarding the research and also the limitations and complications experienced during the research.

Chapter 4 South – North and South – South municipal partnerships

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the answers to the first three sub research questions gathered through the research methods described in chapter 3. The answers are a selection of the outcome of the questionnaire, the interviews conducted at a selection of the Local authorities, case study and the results of a mini-workshop on municipal partnerships. Section 4.2 presents the answer to research question 1: *What South – North and South – South municipal partnerships take place in Botswana?* Furthermore it presents in detail the Municipal partnerships that are studied in depth. Section 4.3 presents the answer to research question 2: *What are the characteristics of these South – North and South – South municipal partnerships?* The focus in this section will be on the partnerships that have been studied in depth. Section 4.4 compares Botswana’s South – North and South – South partnerships based on the characteristics presented in 4.3 answering to research question 3: *How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?* Paragraph 4.5 concludes the chapter and will connect this chapter to chapter 5 in which the institutional environment on three levels (local, national and LGA) will be central.

4.2 South – North and South – South municipal partnerships

This paragraph gives an overview of the results for sub research question 1: *What South – North and South – South municipal partnerships exist in Botswana?* An overview of all municipal partnerships that were retrieved during this study are presented in appendix 1 (overview all municipal partnerships). Table 4.1 presents the amount of South – North and South – South municipal partnerships to their geographical position, specific country and the level of activity as interpreted during the research.

Table 4.1 South – North and South – South municipal partnerships

Global	Partner country	Active	Dormant	Past	Initiated	Total
South	South Africa		5			5
	Namibia		4			4
	Zambia		2			2
	Mozambique	1				1
North	Belgium	1				1
	Sweden		1		3	4
	Canada	1		1		2
	United Kingdom			1		1
East	China	1			1	2
Total		4	12	2	4	22

As can be told from the table above, Botswana has at least 22 municipal partnerships: 11 with Southern partners, 8 with Northern partners and 2 with an Eastern partner: China. One of the differences between the results presented in appendix 3 (extended results questionnaire) and table 4.1 is that this table contains more partnerships. During the course of the research, more partnerships came to the surface. Gaborone City Council, for instance, has another partnership in the inception phase with Vestaros in Sweden and Central District Council used to have a partnership with a city in the United Kingdom. Selebi-Phikwe Town Council spoke about a dormant partnership with a town in South-Africa during the mini-workshop. Selebi-Phikwe never replied to the questionnaire but

during the mini-workshop they said the questionnaire had worked as an incentive to get back in touch with each other and revive the partnership. During the visit to Francistown another two municipal partnerships surfaced. A partnership with Tian (China) had recently been initiated and a token of appreciation in the Mayor’s office reminded of a past partnership between Swift Current in Canada. Also, table 4.1 contains more dormant partnerships. A number of times municipal partnerships that were presented as active in the questionnaire were in fact dormant for several years. Gaborone serves as an example: there used to be a partnership with Windhoek, Namibia’s capital. It turned out, however, that this was merely a social activity of former councillors which was not prolonged by the current councillors.

Map 4.1 Botswana: districts and towns



Source: <http://www.geographicguide.net/africa/botswana.htm>

To gain more in depth information a selection was made of the South – North and South – South municipal partnerships. In the next paragraphs the South – North and South – South partnerships will be briefly introduced after which their characteristics will be described in 4.3.

4.2.1 South – North partnerships

This paragraph provides a short overview of the content of the four South – North partnerships that have been looked at in depth. These partnerships are City of Francistown Council (COFC) – Genk (Belgium), Southeast District Council (SEDC) – Toronto (Canada), Gaborone City Council (Gaborone CC) – Nantong (China) and the initiated partnership between Gaborone CC – Vestaros (Sweden).

The partnership between **Francistown and Genk** is initiated by COFC and officially exists since 2004. Francistown is the country's second largest city in close proximity to the Zimbabwean border in the east of Botswana. It inhabits about 200.000 people and is struggling with issues of infrastructure and land. The areas of cooperation are diverse (see table 4.3) and numerous and this partnership is presented by BALA as the most developed partnership in the country.

The partnership between **Southeast DC and Toronto** is considered an active partnership because the outcome of a brief municipal partnership is still very active. South East District Youth Empowerment League (SEDYEL) continues to expand their work and is still supported by both local authorities even though there is no more communication between the municipalities.

The partnership between **Gaborone and Vestaros** is initiated by the ICLD Municipal partnership programme. This partnership is very new still but is hoped to contribute to solving the solid waste issues Gaborone is dealing with.

An interesting position in Botswana is taken in by China. China is classified as one of the four BRIC – countries: new economic powers (the other being Brazil, Russia and India). Therefore China doesn't fit into the traditional classifications of 'South' or 'North' in this research partnerships with China will be considered South – North partnerships because it is a partnership between a developed, (semi-) industrialised country (North) and a developing, unindustrialised country (South). Even though there is one official municipal partnership between **Gaborone and Nantong** the involvement of the Chinese seems to be much more intense than involvement of other countries. Everywhere in Botswana there are Chinese corporations contributing to infrastructure: roads, housing, faculties at the campus of the University of Botswana and even power plants. The municipal partnership between Gaborone and Nantong includes mainly *'exchange programmes in terms of culture and skills [...]*' (Interview Town Clerk, Gaborone CC, June 2011) which is beneficial for the investment climate for Chinese corporations and contributes to mutual understanding.

4.2.2 The South – South Partnerships

This paragraph provides a short overview of the content of the five South – South partnerships that have been looked at in depth. These partnerships are Jwaneng Town Council (Jwaneng TC) – Sol Plaatje (South Africa), Kgatleng DC – Waterberg (South Africa), Lobatse Town Council (Lobatse TC) – Xai Xai (Mozambique), Gaborone CC – Windhoek (Namibia), Francistown (COFC) – Livingstone (Zambia).

The partnership between **Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje** is one of the longer lasting partnerships in Botswana. They partnered 13 years ago with the small mining town in the Kimberly in South Africa. Jwaneng is situated towards the Northwest of Gaborone at about 200km and is very dependent upon diamond mining in the area. The dependency on mining was the reason for partnering with Sol Plaatje, a small town in the Kimberly, one of the largest mining areas in South Africa. The activities they undertook mutually included joined fire fighting training and exchanging knowledge about (economic) development to ensure survival after the closure of the mine(s). Unfortunately the partnership has been dormant for a long time.

Neighbours and municipal partners **Kgatlang and Waterberg** signed a partnership in 2003 in order to exchange knowledge and commonly resolve border issues. Kgatleng is a relatively small district close to Gaborone and bordering South Africa in the South. However, in 2005 a task force had to be called into existence to identify specific areas of cooperation between the two. This was carried out and presented in a report (2006) and despite another attempt in 2009 the partnership never flowered.

The partnership between **Lobatse and Xai Xai** was signed in April 2011 after which areas of cooperation still had to be determined. Lobatse is a small town some 70 km Southwest of Gaborone and has one of the strongest economic positions in the country. It is situated at one of the main border posts with South Africa, along the only railway in the country (between South Africa, Gaborone, Francistown and Zimbabwe) and has a huge abattoir of the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC).

The partnership between **Gaborone and Windhoek** can hardly be considered a real municipal partnership. The ‘friendship’ was initiated by the councillors some 10 years ago. Ever since the current councillors entered office the friendship has been abandoned. As far as it is known there were only a number of courtesy visits between the councillors without involvement of administrative staff.

Francistown focuses on its partnership with Genk. However, it once formed a partnership with **Livingstone** but due to political unrest and constant change on the Zambian side it never took off. Francistown also has contacts with **Buffalo City** in South Africa but these were never explored fully.

From this moment on, focus in the results will be on the following municipal partnerships:

Geographic orientation	Local government in Botswana	Partner local government
South – North	Francistown City Council	Genk (Belgium)
South – North	South East District Council	Toronto (Canada)
South – North	Gaborone City Council	Nantong (China)
South – North	Gaborone City Council	Vestros (Sweden)
South – South	Kgatleng District Council	Waterberg (South Africa)
South – South	Jwaneng Town Council	Sol Plaatje (South Africa)
South – South	Lobatse Town Council	Xai Xai (Mozambique)

4.3 The characteristics of Botswana’s municipal partnerships

This paragraph gives an overview of the results for sub research question 2: *What are the characteristics of these South – North and South – South municipal partnerships?* The characteristics are also presented in table 4.4.

4.3.1 Initiative and duration of municipal partnership

As can be derived from table 4.1, a great number of Botswana’s municipal partnerships are dormant. For example, the partnership between Gaborone and Windhoek was perceived, from the information provided by the host organisation, to be an active partnership. However, during the interviews with several individuals at Gaborone City Council, it was impossible to retrieve any information about this partnership because it was a project by the former mayor and councillors and more of a friendship.³ 14 out of 22 partnerships are found to be dormant or terminated, 4 are active and 4 are initiated.

To Botswana, municipal partnerships are a relatively new concept. The first partnerships were started around the turn of the century although initiatives regarding decentralisation and local government training were initiated by the UK in the 1980s in Central District. Most South – North partnerships are initiated by the Northern partner but the South – South partnerships are mostly a co-initiative. A great number of the municipal partnerships never really take off but act as a symbolic friendship. From the nine partnerships that were taken into closer consideration, five are active and four are inactive. The two longest lasting partnerships are two active South – North Partnerships: Southeast District – Toronto (9 years) and Francistown – Genk (7 years). Recently, ICLD has taken initiative to form municipal partnerships between local authorities in Sweden and in Botswana. These partnerships are not mature enough to take in to account.

³ The importance of politics in (some) municipal partnerships will be taken into consideration in Chapter 5

4.3.2 Preparation and implementation of municipal partnership

The municipal partnerships that are studied in depth gave clarification as to the selection of their partner and the preparation for such a partnership. Some of them, such as Francistown and Jwaneng, did specifically look for a compatible partner whilst for instance Southeast DC was selected by Toronto because of similar challenges. Gaborone is using municipal partnerships mainly for economic reasons.

Only 2 of the researched partnerships are enabled by a supporting programme. The Southeast District – Toronto partnership was enabled in 2002 by the Canadian Association of Local Government (CALG). However, because progress on Botswana's end is slower than planned the partnership is currently without funds. The Francistown – Genk partnership is funded by VVSG and therefore embedded in VVSG's decentralised development cooperation programme 'Winning through Twinning'. Botswana does not have a programme to support MIC but BALA is engaging with ICLD to enable Municipal partnerships between Botswana and Sweden. Some of the costs will be paid for by ICLD but emphasis will be on cooperation rather than aid.

The partnerships which will be supported by the ICLD programme are closely monitored and partnered. Preparations at one of the municipal partnerships could be monitored closely: Lobatse was in the process of signing an MoU during the study in Botswana. Their preparations have been limited and the selection of the partner, Xai Xai in Mozambique, does not seem logical. Mozambique is a Portuguese speaking country and the knowledge of English is very limited. During the signing of the MoU there was a translator present to translate from Portuguese to English and vice versa. At one point even an elderly Motswana, a prominent figure in the Lobatse community, was invited to speak during the signing ceremony. Her speech was in Tswana and subsequently her words had to be translated into English and then from English into Portuguese before the Xai Xai delegation could catch up. During the preparations a feeling of fatigue was felt from the Lobatse staff and after the signing ceremony the staff was *'glad it was now over'*.

A complication for municipal partnerships in Botswana is the state of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Even though every government staff member has an e-mail address, fax is the most common way to communicate. Frequent and prolonged power cuts make this a challenge. Furthermore, land lines are expensive and unreliable and therefore not numerous which results in people using their private mobile telephone and e-mail addresses. This is not beneficial for continuity in local government in general and for municipal partnership in particular.

Not only the selection of a municipal partner and the area(s) of cooperation are executed haphazardly by some of the local authorities. A very important aspect in the preparation of the partnership is the dedication of local authority staff and local politics. One of the main reasons why the partnerships Francistown – Genk and Southeast DC – Toronto are as successful as they are now is through dedication and hard work from the partnership liaison(s) and political support (in the case of Francistown) and the project director of SEDYEL (in the case of Southeast DC). They truly are the backbone of their partnership. In some of the other cases the dedication from either politicians or staff is or was missing which clearly had a negative influence on the success of the partnership. This element will get more attention in chapter 5.

4.3.3 Areas of cooperation versus challenges for development

In an ideal municipal partnership, local governments engage because there is valuable information to gain and/or exchange. What stands out is the amount of different areas in which local governments cooperate within their municipal partnership. Table 4.2 gives an overview of the areas of cooperation and the amount of times they were mentioned in the questionnaire⁴.

⁴ In this case the results from all respondents to the questionnaire are used (13 out of 16).

Table 4.2 Areas of cooperation between Botswana local authorities and municipal partner⁵

Area of cooperation	Amount of times mentioned in questionnaire
Local Government Administration issues (financial management, strategic planning, etc.)	13
Planning (social-economic)	11
Planning (physical)	10
Local Economic Development	8
Environmental, waste – or management, natural resources	8
Health, HIV/Aids	5
Education, Youth	5
Tourism	2
Gender issues, disadvantaged groups	1

What stands out in table 4.2 is that issues of Health, HIV/AIDS prevention strategies and Education are not areas of legislation of local authorities in Botswana (as explained in chapter 1) but seem to be prominent and popular subjects for MIC in Botswana. Also, partnerships tend to focus on many different areas instead of prioritising and targeting specific areas. Considering how much time and effort goes into building a municipal partnership work this could be one of the reasons why many partnerships never take off and go into a dormant state so soon.

From the interviews at five local authorities the challenges for development were diluted. For the relevance of a municipal partnership it is important to know which challenges are identified by the local authorities as these are possible areas of cooperation with the partner municipality. Only in the municipal partnerships of Francistown, Southeast DC and Gaborone these selected areas of cooperation actually results (or resulted) in development projects in the Southern municipality. The cross matching of the areas of cooperation and the challenges for development are presented in table 4.3 (below).

⁵ For this table, some of the answers (from extended results, appendix x) have been generalised. For instance, issues such as infrastructure and housing were generalised into 'physical planning'.

Table 4.3 Comparison between area of cooperation and challenges for development

Geographic orientation	Municipal partnership	Areas of cooperation	Challenge for development
South – North	Francistown - Genk	Public Health, Education, Community Development, Youth Development, Health Care	Youth unemployment, land scarcity, community development, quality of health care.
South – North	South East DC -Toronto	Financial support, Public health, Education	Public Health (mainly HIV/Aids) in combination with high percentage of youth. Teenage pregnancies. Low quality of education
South – North	Gaborone CC - Nantong	Exchange programmes in terms of culture and skills further to that there is potential for adoption of socio-economic development (best practices).	Waste management and infrastructure development due to fast expansion of the city
South – North	Gaborone CC - Vestaros	Skills transfer and socio-economic development in areas of land management and water management.	See above
South – South	Kgatlang DC - Waterberg	Infrastructure, Local Economic Development, Tourism, Development of natural and cultural resources, Encourage social and cultural development, Development of Human resources through capacity building, Pursuing excellence in governance	Economic development, Local governance, Lack of tourism.
South – South	Jwaneng TC - Sol Plaatje	Tourism, Economic development, Physical planning, Cultural exchange & sport, personnel & HR development, fire department, housing department, social & community development, environmental health.	Environmental Health, safety of mines and local economic livelihood after closing of mines.
South – South	Lobatse TC - Xai Xai	proposed areas are local governance, community development, infrastructure development, environmental issues, business partnership.	Unknown ⁶

⁶ The interview at Lobatse TC never materialised. Therefore, development challenges cannot be displayed.

In **Francistown** there is a match between the issue of youth unemployment and projects supported by Genk. By supporting Francistown in providing a youth centre, computers and computer classes to instructors, young people in Francistown can develop computer skills (130 in 2010). By organising a photography workshop and inviting some of the participants to exhibit their work in Genk 5 young people have been employed in photography now in Botswana. These projects and the contacts that are established between the city of Francistown and its youth more projects are being initiated now. The partnership between two health institutes, Institute of Health Sciences (IHS) in Francistown and Regina Mundi in Genk, has resulted in exchanges of knowledge between them and in that way builds capacity on a local level. Other issues, such as the involvement of the inhabitants in local government is addressed in the connection between Ward Development Committees (WDCs) and the local council and the opportunity to win €2.500 in a yearly competition between project proposals submitted by the WDCs. Alongside increasing the amount of projects within these areas of cooperation, Francistown and Genk are now initiating more projects in the field of waste water management.

In the case of **Southeast DC**, the main challenges for development are considered the low quality of education, the high level of youth unemployment, high level of HIV infection amongst young people and the high amount of teenage pregnancies in the area. Geographically the last two issues are easily explained: Southeast district is a densely populated district in which the capital of Botswana is situated. There is a lot of movement of (young) people in this area and in this way HIV/Aids can spread faster compared to remote areas. Also, it is stretched along the border with South Africa and has several border posts. These border posts mean a high number of passing through truck drivers who contribute to (illegal) prostitution in the area. As explained in chapter one, education is not within the jurisdiction of local authorities in Botswana, nor is primary health care. HIV/AIDS prevention strategies are therefore not within the direct influence of local authorities and local differences are not taken into account. The joint project of Southeast District Council and Toronto, SEDYEL, aims to educate young people about sexuality and HIV/AIDS whilst offering them leisure and income generating activities which empower them for adulthood. In the words of the project director, a former gang member, they want to contribute to a HIV/AIDS prevention strategy by '*channelling energy away from risky behaviour*'. Activities include a football competition throughout the district, beads work, shoe making, community garden and poultry raising and a catering service. Furthermore they focus on girls with a small scale volleyball competition and 'Safe Spaces': 15 girls (3 girls from 5 villages) form a core group and per 3 mentor a group of 9 to 15 fragile girls in their village.

Even though the municipal partnerships between **Gaborone** and Nantong and Vestaros are not very active (yet) the motivation for partnering with these local governments specifically is logical. Nantong province invests a lot of construction building in Gaborone and thus provides infrastructure for development. The motivation for partnering with Vestaros (through the ICLD programme) is to gain information about solid waste management from Vestaros.

The municipal partnership between **Jwaneng** and Sol Plaatje was a carefully selected partnership and promising because of their shared challenges for development. From what was presented during the interview, a few activities were held together but the partnership was not active very long. In general the motivation for partnering at **Kgatleng** is very eligible and it is unfortunate that the partnerships – until now – never led to projects. In the case of **Lobatse** the partnership is in a stage where it is too early to assess the match between the area of cooperation and the development challenges in the area.

4.3.4 Involvement stakeholders in municipal partnership

Another characteristic taken into account in this research is whether or not external parties such as CSO's or private sector are involved in a municipal partnership. It is proven by among others Bontenbal (2009) that taking cooperation beyond just the local authorities increases the chance of a successful partnership. In three of Botswana's municipal partnerships involvement goes beyond the

mutual local governments and one local authority is trying to go beyond this point: Francistown, South East DC and Gaborone.

In the case of Francistown this includes two health institutes (one in Francistown and one in Genk), four community junior secondary schools and Ward Development Committees. There are also plans to partner with Water Utilities (a parastatal organisation) regarding the upgrade of the waste water services. Representation of business investors of both cities are involved.

The partnership project SEDYEL in Southeast DC involves the Ministry of Health, Botswana Football Association and the Baylor Foundation⁷. In the interviews conducted it surfaced that the local authority is no longer involved so much. However the fact that SEDYEL is low on funding from Toronto as pressured them into finding more private sector sponsors (for instance for the football competition) and also other parties such as schools and CSO's.

In the case of Gaborone the plan is to include the private sector more and more. For now, in the case of their partnership with China a junior school had been donated by Nantong. Contact between mutual junior schools is not present. As said before, a lot of Chinese companies from Nantong have signs up all over Gaborone for construction purposes. In their partnership with Vestaros the plan is to cooperate with a parastatal organisation in the area of solid waste collection.

It is believed by the interviewees at Jwaneng TC that the mutual mines in Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje participated in the partnerships activities. In the case of Kgatleng no external parties are involved. In Lobatse there were no initiatives to include external parties.

4.3.5 Learning ability

Knowledge transfer is not a priority in all partnerships. In three of the partnerships knowledge transfer takes place (Francistown – Genk), has taken place (Southeast DC – Toronto) or will take place (Gaborone - Vestaros) on an individual basis. It is striking that these three are all South – North partnerships. In two partnerships (Francistown and Southeast DC) this 'learning' has also resulted in learning on an organisational level. Regarding learning as explained by Devers-Kanoglu (2009) all types of learning take place. While most of the visits are made by politicians who are not 'hands – on' within local authorities one of the interviewees has made herself irreplaceable in the partnership process and always joins on visits. She responded by saying: *'it's impossible not to learn from one another when you work so closely together'* (Interview with partnership liaison at Francistown). In this case (Francistown – Genk) and also in the case of SEDYEL there is informal - as well as formal learning and intended - as well as unintended learning.

Generalised to the South – North partnerships knowledge transfer is successful. The South – South partnerships that have been studied in this research are not as active as was expected previous to the research. Intentions and motivation for partnering are (or were) very plausible and good initiatives were made but since most of the partnerships do not result in joint activities there is also no learning between the partners. The partnerships between Botswana and China is not focussed on knowledge transfer between the local governments but is used to create an enabling investment climate for Chinese corporations and deliver infrastructure to Botswana.

A complication in this aspect of municipal partnerships is the state of ICT (4.3.2). Another element that needs to be taken into account is the willingness to exchange knowledge. This element stood out in the workshop. The (results of the) workshop will get more attention in Chapter 5. Politicians in Botswana are very interested in travelling⁸, especially to countries in the global North. Therefore, the transfer of knowledge and practice is limited to a select amount of people. And, as has

⁷ Baylor Foundation is a branch of the Texans Children's hospital which works in several African countries to support care delivery to children with HIV infection in Gaborone and its surroundings.

⁸ A phenomena in close relation to the high per diem granted by (local) government for (international) work-related travels.

been explained earlier, only in a few municipal partnerships there is actual exchange of knowledge between administrative staff regarding the areas of cooperation.

4.3.6 Results of municipal partnership

The people that were interviewed mostly didn't have a reference point as to what a municipal partnership is or should be and what can and cannot be achieved through MIC. The municipal partnership between Francistown and Genk is perceived to be the best developed partnership in Botswana and therefore receives a lot of attention. According to the Belgium evaluation report (City of Genk, 2009) the investments of the first 5 years of the partnership should deliver great results in the second term (2009-2014). So far, both parties are very content with the progress. However, in terms of impact, the outcome of the Southeast DC – Toronto partnership could be considered more successful. SEDYEL is well-known throughout the entire region. Besides organising a football competition including the provision of training and transport, maintaining a youth centre and catering service attention is paid to the empowerment of girls through multiple projects. The partnership between Gaborone and Vestaros and Lobatse and Xai Xai are too early to be assessed. In the case of Gaborone and Nantong the municipal partnership is a result of the economic relations growing: it gained Gaborone a new junior school and multiple investments in infrastructure and construction. Very little is known about the results of the partnership between Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje due to the partnership being dormant for some time. There were some visits and joint training which were considered useful. Today, Botswana is very aware that Jwaneng will one day have to survive without the mine and would like to reinstate the partnership or find a new partner to share ideas about economic sustainability. The start of the partnership between Kgatleng DC and Waterberg was promising and an attempt was made to establish areas in which cooperation would be fruitful in 2006 in order to revive the partnership. A second revival attempt failed in 2009. No results can be assessed.

One of the things the partnerships between Francistown and Genk and Southeast DC and Toronto has established for Botswana the realisation that if there is a high level of involvement on a political level, high dedication of staff members, mutual understanding and if executed correctly, MIC can contribute to development.

Below, all the discussed characteristics that are discussed in this chapter are presented in a table using three colours: green, yellow and red. The colour green represents a 'yes', yellow means 'in development' or 'partly' and red symbolises a 'no'. In this way, the next paragraphs – concerning relevance, effectiveness and efficiency – will be much easier to follow when it comes to judging the partnerships individually.

Table 4.4 Overview of characteristics of Botswana’s municipal partnerships

LG Botswana	Francistown	South East	Gaborone	Gaborone	Kgatleng	Jwaneng	Lobatse
LG International	Genk	Toronto	Vestaros	Nantong	Waterberg	Sol Plaatje	Xai Xai
Start	2004	2002	2011	2009	2003	1998	2010
Active at time of research	Green	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Green
Memorandum of Understanding objectives defined and agreed	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Yellow	Green
Visits (total)	5 to 10	5 to 10	0	0 to 5	0 to 5	0 to 5	0 to 5
Support programme	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red
Monitoring and evaluation	Green	Green	Yellow	Red	Green	Red	Red
Match area of cooperation and development challenge	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Yellow
Involvement CSO	Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Red	Red
Involvement private sector	Yellow	Green	Yellow	Red	Red	Green	Red
Involvement citizens	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red
Knowledge transfer	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Considered successful (by involved staff)	Green	Green	Yellow	Green	Red	Yellow	Red
Considered successful (by researcher)	Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red

4.4 Difference between South – North and South – South municipal partnerships

This paragraph gives an overview of the results answering sub research question 3: *How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?* It is necessary to state that to the majority of the Botswana institutions involved in this research (local authorities, MLG and BALA), relevance and efficiency were not at all considered important to research. The effectiveness and efficiency of South – North partnerships is sometimes considered an element of discussion but only by those who have a South – North partnership, not other local authorities, the MLG or BALA. In South – South partnerships attention for these elements is even lower. In order to judge the individual municipal partnerships use will be made of the ‘traffic-light’ overview in table 4.4. The paragraph will be concluded with a case study about the municipal partnership between Francistown and Genk.

4.4.1 Relevance

Questions regarding the relevance of municipal partnership(s) were only asked at six local authorities that were selected for the interviews. Their answers can be generalised into the following. As a current (Francistown) and former mine city (Genk), the cities face(d) similar challenges and therefore their focus on employment development and specifically youth employment is very useful and relevant. Southeast DC was selected by Toronto to partner with because they wanted to share their experience in the field of youth empowerment, a project which definitely landed in fertile land in Southeast. These two examples prove that careful selection of a partner can influence the success of the partnership.

Even though most of the responding local authorities in Botswana have one or more partnership already, all local authorities are interested in developing one or more new municipal partnerships. This added another point of view to the research: with whom would Botswana’s local authorities like to cooperate?

Table 4.5 Partnerships requested by Botswana’s local authorities

Partner requested	Geographic location	Amount	Specifics
Municipal	Within Botswana	1	Northwest District Council
	Within region	8	Namibia (3), South Africa (3), Zambia (1) and Mozambique (1)
	Global North	3	Sweden (1) and UK (2)
	China	3	Jiujiang, Weihai and Taiwan
Other	Within Botswana	1	Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) ⁹
	Within region	2	SALGA and ALAN ¹⁰
	Global North	2	FIFA (Switzerland) and Street Football World (Germany)

In general, there is most enthusiasm for partnering within the region, Southern Africa and specifically with directly neighbouring countries. The request to partner with FIFA and Street Football World was puzzling at first, but is not at all strange in the light of the partnership project of Southeast, SEDYEL: their largest project within the municipal partnership is an extended football competition. Moreover, this question revealed the fact that local authorities would like more than one municipal partner. Even though many municipal partnerships in Botswana are dormant and are

⁹ BDC is Botswana’s main agency for commercial and industrial development (www.bdc.bw)

¹⁰ SALGA and ALAN are the Local Government Associations for respectively South Africa and Namibia.

never revived, local authorities are willing to engage in new partnerships. Apparently it is possible and even considered good to have multiple municipal partnerships.

Looking back on the issues of mutuality (Ewijk & Baud, 2009) question remains if there is equal partnership between North and South colleagues. The answer is nuanced: sometimes, but definitely not is the majority of the municipal partnerships in Botswana. It is felt in Botswana that reciprocity should be a large part in municipal partnerships. These are mostly ambitious, well educated staff members.

4.4.2 Effectiveness

A total of 22 partnerships shared between a maximum of 14 local governments (2 replied they had none, 2 did not reply) in Botswana is quite a high number. In terms of acquiring a municipal partnership Botswana's local governments are very successful. When it comes to developing a partnership into a (mutually) beneficial undertaking, however, Botswana is less effective. Many partnerships (14 out of 22) are dormant or terminated leaving 4 partnerships in the inception phase too young to assess and 4 active partnerships. Monitoring and evaluation – individually or jointly – takes place in only three of the cases: Francistown – Genk, Southeast DC – Toronto and Kgatleng – Waterberg.

Both the Francistown – Genk and the Southeast DC – Toronto partnership are considered effective by the involved staff and are considered effective judged from the researchers' experiences. It is promising to see these partnerships acting on local challenges, focussing on those and gradually expanding from there to other areas of cooperation. Gaborone and Nantong seem to have established a good working relation due to better mutual understanding and the Botswana climate for Chinese investors is definitely good. Looking forward to the new partnership with Vestaros it is believed that this partnership will help Gaborone deal with solid waste challenges which could really help the urban area to become cleaner. Regarding the other partnerships it is believed that for a short period of time the partnership between Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje might have had some effect but this has not led to sustainable changes in Jwaneng.

In South – North partnerships the accent really is on knowledge transfer and increasing capacity in the Southern partner based on the colleague to colleague approach. However, the Northern partners preferably support projects which can be finished in one sponsorship term or projects that are fully financed before commencing.

Between the South – South partners there is hardly any activity and almost never any transfer or exchange of knowledge. Relations are about friendship, they are ceremonial, short term and focus mainly on 'cultural exchange' even though no exchange of cultural organisations happens and the only people joining in on visits are related to the local authority. From the interviews about South – South partnerships the conclusion can be drawn that the amount of partnerships is more important than the content of these partnerships. There is one exception: the partnership between Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje. This partnership is dormant but in the past the partnership has contributed to solving development issues. The highlight in South – South partnerships is on the quantity of partnerships as opposed to the quality, content or results.

4.4.3 Efficiency

Since results of partnerships are not abundant it is hard to measure the efficiency of these projects and the partnerships in general. However, the efficiency of a partnership is also connected to the sustainability of the partnerships.

Both the Francistown - and the Genk partnership coordinator are very pleased with the cooperation and the progress of the different projects. They are in frequent contact with each other about objectives and planning and both of them receive full support from the political leadership. Their cooperation leads to a greater confidence – at least on an individual level – and creates more understanding for the problems at stake. The one that remains in the case of Francistown – Genk is

high staff turnover and (the possibility of) political change. All of the respondents for Southeast DC consider SEDYEL sustainable enough to continue without support from Toronto. There are even plans from within SEDYEL to develop SEDYEL into an NGO within Botswana. Sustainability is acceptable for now though this could improve by ensuring the involvement of more staff. A lot of the activities depend on the project director who has been around since the start of the project. The project budget only allows him a small salary and if he were to find a job it would be a tremendous challenge to keep the project running as it is now. Issues such as ICT, high staff turnover (in both North and South) and budgetary constraints influence the speed of the process.

Table 4.6 Relevance, effectiveness and efficiency at a glance

Geographic orientation	Municipal partnership	Relevance	Effectiveness	Efficiency
South – North	Francistown - Genk	Green	Green	Green
South – North	South East DC -Toronto	Green	Green	Green
South – North	Gaborone CC - Nantong	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
South – North	Gaborone CC - Vestaros	Green	Yellow	Yellow
South – South	Kgatlang DC - Waterberg	Green	Red	Red
South – South	Jwaneng TC - Sol Plaatje	Green	Yellow	Red
South – South	Lobatse TC - Xai Xai	Red	n/a	n/a

The South – North partnerships aims to be result-oriented (effective), time-efficient (efficient) and focused on challenges in the geographical area (relevant) while South – South Municipal partnerships are experienced to be not much more than symbolic friendship ties where the amount of partnerships is more relevant than the effectiveness and efficiency of these partnerships.

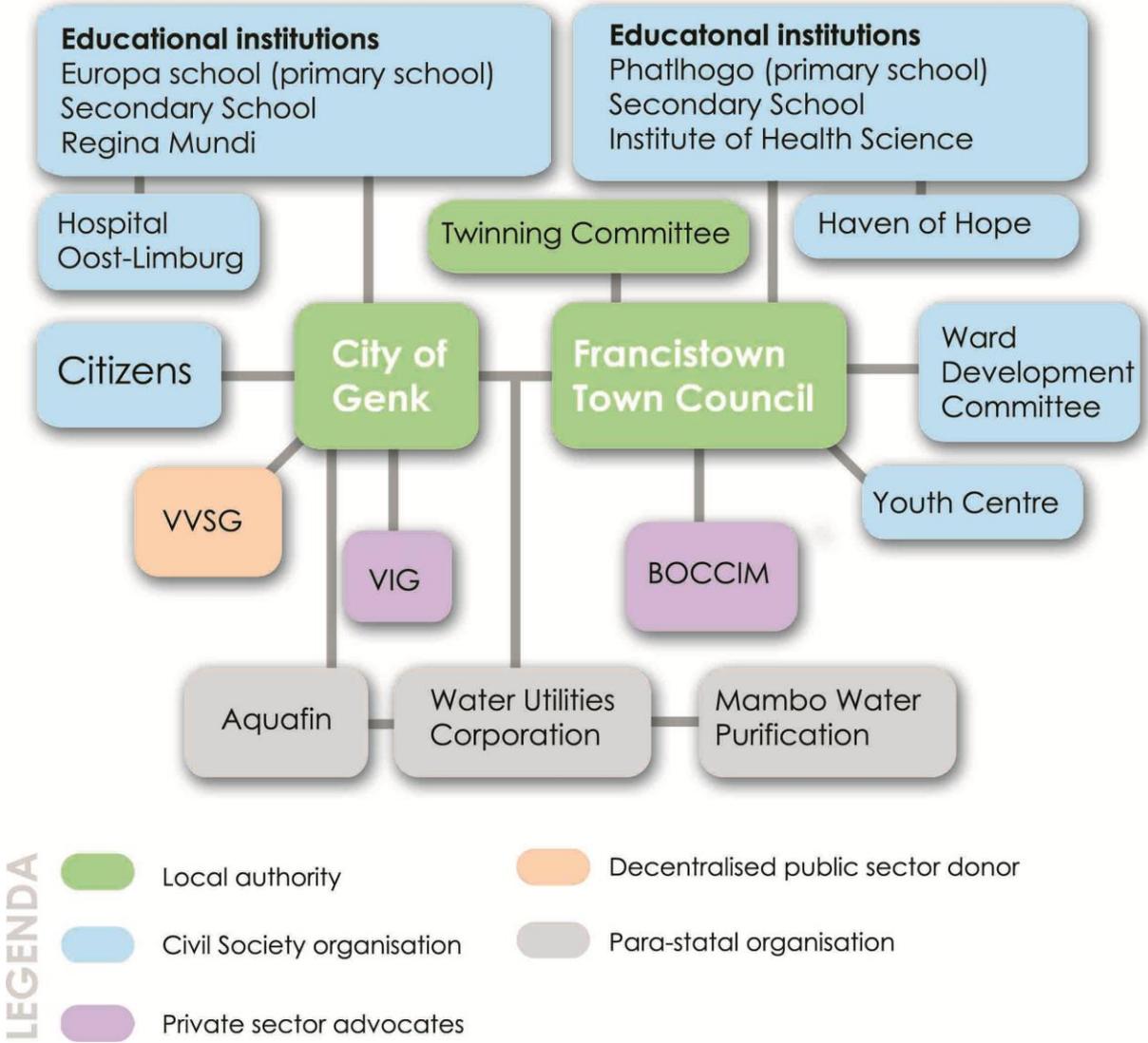
4.4.4 Case Study Francistown – Genk

The municipal partnership between Francistown and Genk is in many ways considered the most successful partnership in Botswana. It originates from the beginning of the century when Francistown’s Mayor visited Belgium and met with the Mayor of Genk (also chairman of VVSG in that time). They bonded over similar challenges: both cities originate from mining communities, are located close to the border and inhabit a significant amount of migrants. The similarities in development challenges encouraged them to stay in touch and eventually, in 2004, resulted in the signing of an MOU between the two cities.

The financial resources from VVSG (€150.000 per 3 years) are used to fund trips from Belgium to Botswana and fund projects and other involvement of Genk in Francistown besides (partly) paying for the salary of the partnership officer in Genk. Francistown does only have a limited budget to fund projects but does fund the trips made by the Botswana delegation to Genk which take place once a year. Including the external funds that are raised in Genk they spend about €30.000 – €50.000 per 3 years in Botswana.

Below a municipal network for the partnership is presented. This stakeholder presentation helps to analyse the involvement and position of all the involved parties. After this figure the partnership will be described in detail.

Figure 4.1 Municipal partnership network Francistown – Genk



The 7-year partnership has resulted in several projects of which I will discuss four. The first project is the formation of 23 Ward Development Committees (WDC), representing the 23 wards of Francistown. A WDC is made up out of 10 people living in the ward, elections are held every 2 years. The WDC should hold ward meetings every 3 months with people living in the ward and are able to address development issues to the City Council through monthly meetings with their ‘extension officers’. These are public servants such as teachers, policemen and social workers that work in the ward. The WDCs can annually strive for the ‘Genk Award’ worth BWP25.000 (€2.500) of encouragement: they enter their ideas for the development of their ward with the project liaison in Francistown and a committee of citizens in Genk decides which idea receives the Genk Award. These ideas are never solely funded through the Genk Award and are always supported by the City of Francistown, also financially. The two projects visited, however, were at a standstill: the WDC that was developing a children’s day care centre had received BWP250.000 and a piece of land from the City Council in addition to the Genk Award. The building was finished but painting and furnishing still had to be done, as well as the landscaping of the garden/playground. Since the money to finish this was lacking and even a fund raising in the community had not resulted in the necessary resources the WDC was not very hopeful the day care centre would ever open. The intended recreation park was also unfinished and not accessible due to financial constraints.

Another result of the partnership is the Youth Centre: a place where youth meets and where the older generation helps to equip the young people with skills which will help them further on in life to get proper employment. and serves as a place where they can meet and get counselling. The centre is also the 'heart' of the partnership and has a symbol to remind them: a 4 meter high Golem designed by a young artist from Genk. The Golem is a wooden, colourful sculpture where young people can bring their worries or sorrows. Ideally, the issues they deliver at the Golem will be used as discussion points at the schools in Francistown and Genk.

Besides focussing on ward development and youth, Genk has expanded the partnership goals to contributing to physical challenges. Waste- and water management as well as sewerage is a challenge in Francistown. By including the Water Utilities Corporation and Mambo Water purification in Botswana and Aquafin from Belgium steps have been made to provide Francistown with more sustainable water management. Initiatives to contribute to waste management have so far not been successful.

The partnership is, even though it has had its difficulties, experienced as very organised and groomed. Both parties were very aware of what they were getting themselves into resulting in strong cooperation and mutual coordination. They are also aware of the pitfalls and invest a lot of time and energy in the continuity and development of the partnership. One of the success factors might be that after a few years of staff turnover on the Francistown side there is now a partnership liaison who is paid directly by the City of Francistown (and therefore no part of the DPSM) who works very well with the partnership coordinator from Genk. On the Botswana side there have been 5 partnership liaisons since 2004 before her and in Belgium the partnership officer is the second one. They have both been around for several years now and frequently call and e-mail and work together to manage expectations on both sides. Both of them acknowledge that it is difficult and mainly hard work to keep inhabitants as well as politicians and administrative staff motivated for the partnership. But they are very motivated and eager for more success and the expansion of the partnership, step by step. Another success factor could be that on the Francistown side there is an extensive Twinning Committee. This committee consists of 10 people, including 4 local councillors. In this way the contribution of involved staff members and the involvement of local councillors is guaranteed. This committee is also involved in evaluation and is frequently consulted when it comes to expansion of the partnership to different areas of legislation.

The most important aspect of the Francistown – Genk partnership is knowledge transfer from Genk to Francistown tackling development issues and capacity building in the South. This is directly followed by the provision of resources, for instance computers and the yearly Genk Award. This, and the way in which they dose their energy and resources to one specific goal has proven successful. In conclusion it can be stated that even though challenges remain, Francistown and Genk make the very most of their partnership.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the results to the first three sub research questions have been presented:

- 1. What South – North and South – South municipal partnerships exist in Botswana?*
- 2. What are the characteristics of these South – North and South – South municipal partnerships?*
- 3. How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?*

12 out of 16 local authorities in Botswana have municipal partnerships, two do not and of two the situation is unknown. Most of those local authorities have more than one partnership. Striking is the amount of inactive or terminated partnerships: 12 out of 22.

The municipal partnerships are characterised by a high variety of areas of cooperation and low level of organisation. Only two partnerships take place under the umbrella of a partnership

programme. There are challenges to overcome before a partnership matures into a (mutually) beneficial partnership.

Both South – North and South – South partnerships can be considered relevant in the case of Botswana. Despite favourable culture characteristics and close proximity no intensive relationships with neighbours have developed. The effectiveness of municipal partnerships largely depends on the dedication of staff and support from political staff. Regarding the efficient execution of projects it is believed this could definitely improve. The colleague to colleague approach could also work on a South – South basis: cooperation within the country or region could possibly be much more relevant, effective and efficient than cooperating with Northern partners. However, this would require investment in the organisation of municipal partnerships.

From here the thesis will continue with the presentation of the environment in which the partnerships take place (sub research question 4) and the assessment of how this environment could improve for municipal partnerships on three levels: national government, local government and how the LGA can play a role in this improvement (sub research question 5).

Chapter 5 The institutional context of Botswana's municipal partnerships

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter deals with the differences between South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency based on a number of characteristics. In chapter 4 questions have been raised on what connection can be made between these differences and the institutional environment in which municipal partnerships take place. These questions are posed in the research sub questions 4 *What is the institutional environment on a national, local and LGA level in which the South – North and South – South municipal partnerships take place?* and 5: *How can the value of South – North and South – South municipal partnerships be increased by the Ministry of Local Government, the local authorities and the Local Government Association?* These questions will be answered in this chapter. Paragraph 5.2 focuses on the preconditions that create an enabling environment as it was perceived during the research in Botswana. Paragraph 5.3 focuses on the institutional context on three different levels and ends with a SWOT analysis. Paragraph 5.4 lists a number of changes that would need to be made to create a more enabling environment on three levels for municipal partnerships.

5.2 Enabling environment

This paragraph describes the level of local governance and decentralisation in Botswana as these are perceived pre-conditions to developing MIC.

5.2.1 Local governance in Botswana

Governance and specifically local governance is a difficult aspect to measure. Regarding the four elements that Olowu et al have developed (local resource availability, local autonomy and accountability, local accountability through an open political process and effective local institutions of collective choice), this has changed since their research. *Local resource availability* and *local autonomy and accountability* has drastically lowered since the abolition of local government tax (resources) and the centralisation of services (decrease in responsibilities). *Local accountability* has remained the same but for less services and the *open political process* is not feasible for everyone because of the high costs of campaigning. *Local institutions* are restricted to local government bodies, departments of ministries, Kgotlas (traditional courts), churches and a small amount of CSO's.

As said in chapter 1, political parties do play a significant role in Botswana's society. The BDP was founded in 1962 serving one goal: gaining independence as a united people without falling into economic dismay or citizen strife. And they succeeded: after independence a unified ethnicity largely determined the political landscape. One of the results is that the BDP dominates not only national – and local politics but also dominates society on all levels. The embedding of the BDP was a good thing: every Motswana was represented by the BDP and felt represented by it. Now, after 45 years of independence, ethnicity plays a much smaller role. This is due to the fact that (especially young) people do not necessarily live within their ethnic groups in one place. The sense of space and place is changing and politics is displayed through modern (social) media instead of through community gatherings (Kgotla). Thus, people more often judge politics from an opportunistic, economic perspective rather than from a historical, ethnic background. The consequence of this is that the historically heroic BDP is judged more on its contemporary achievements than its legacy. Opposition parties like Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana Congress Party (BCP) and Movement for Democracy Botswana (MDB) are getting increasingly more support from (young) people, especially in the cities. This does lead to incidental overthrows of the BDP in urban areas: Gaborone City Council has ruled the city for a number of years in the 1990's and 2000's and Francistown is currently ruled by Botswana Movement for Democracy. But just under half of Botswana's population lives in rural

areas. In these rural areas there is only one TV channel, one radio channel and one newspaper: all three owned and controlled by the Botswana government. There is free and critical media in Botswana, as explained in chapter 2 (Olowu et. al., 2004), but this is not available in the entire country.

In chapter 3 the eight weeks of public sector strike are considered a complication to data gathering process but regarding the government – and governance processes going on in that time, these weeks were helpful. National and international papers reported on the issues at stake in Botswana and the differences of opinion became more visible in the otherwise so quiet streets. In many ways this strike was unique, there had never been a strike before in the history of Botswana and never before had there been such opposition to the ruling party (BDP). One of the interviewees explained this as follows: *'the Batswana are a complaisant people. We do not complain and we are unorganised. History and legacy has shaped this democracy, not experience. President Khama is identified with love because of his ancestors'*.

The earlier mentioned recentralisation of local services has its effect on local governance: it negatively affects the autonomy of Botswana's local authorities, decreases their responsibilities and influences their accountability. Assistant Minister of Local Government and former president of BALA stated there is *'not enough decentralisation in Botswana due to a lack of political accountability'*, an analysis which works both ways: decentralisation can only take place when there is political accountability. However, one can only speak of political accountability on a local level when local politicians have responsibilities. This is not a good development for MIC: it gives local authorities little to no opportunity to develop relevant, effective and efficient municipal partnership projects. The experience with one of the local ministry departments is that their participation within the local government as well as in the community is low. Before centralisation, the health department of the local government was one of the main partners of the partnership project. Since centralisation in 2010, the Ministry of Health does not actively take part in the project of the municipal partnership. Since the abolition of local government tax (in 2010), 90% of local authorities budget comes directly from national government. In this way there is only money to pay employees, not support projects within municipal partnerships.

Furthermore, decentralisation, as aspect of local governance, is of influence on the position of local government professionals. The Directorate of Public Sector Management (DPSM) deploys people in to government positions according to their education and experience (this means it is impossible to directly apply to positions at government bodies). Almost every newly graduated citizen of Botswana registers as a candidate for a position at DPSM. Usually they are deployed to local authorities first. In order to apply for promotion to urban local authorities or national government employees are supposed to use Performance Based Reward System (PBRS). This system is the reason why there is a gap between the qualities and experience of people working in national ministries and local governments. Not only in time and distance but also in knowledge, culture and development.

5.2.2 Decentralisation in Botswana

In the past there has been quite a fixation on decentralisation and Botswana has definitely profited from the fact that their cultural traditions were not overthrown by colonisation. A number of these traditions, highly respected and valued institution such as Kgotla, are still in place. But Botswana is no longer as decentralised as is pictured in some of the articles referred to in the regional and thematic-theoretical framework. Since a number of years some decentralised services have been (re)centralised: local government tax has been abolished and health clinics that were run from within local authorities have been centrally run since 2010. Now, these clinics are regarded mini-ministries throughout the country and they work from national policies and can hardly act on local knowledge and demand.

In his paper, Hope (2000) writes about decentralisation and decentralisation plans of National Government. He specifically writes about the dependency of local authorities on national

budget allocation. And even in the National Development Plan 1997-1998 to 2002-2003, developed every 5 years, mention is made for the urge of fiscal decentralisation: *'financial dependence reverses the desirable direction of accountability, making local authorities less responsive to the needs of their constituents. Decreasing the financial dependence of local authorities upon Central Government, and thereby increasing their autonomy and accountability to their own constituents, is a primary policy goal'* (Republic of Botswana, 1997: 467). So even though there is general consensus both in theory and in practice about the urge for fiscal decentralisation because it would benefit local authorities and local accountability, the opposite is happening in Botswana. According to a number of employees of the MLG: *'centralisation is a painful issue'* at the ministry. The professionals from the ministry believe in local authorities delivering and don't believe that centralising government tasks is serving the people. Because of the huge distance – both in kilometres and in knowledge – between Gaborone and the rural areas, national government should not want to unify policy. He pleaded *'there should be a development formula for distributing development money to local authorities to give them the opportunity to develop'*. The Assistant Minister was immediately discharged from his position in May 2011 after announcing his candidacy for Secretary General of the BDP. Legislation orders politicians cannot, not even temporarily, combine a government position with a political ambition. Only 38 days after becoming Secretary General of the BDP in July 2011 he resigned from this position and ended his membership of the BDP due to differences in opinion between him and BDP leader and Botswana president Khama (Mmegi, 2011). These two examples show that not the BDP does not favour discussion within his party, let alone discussion within the party's leadership.

5.3 Institutional context

This paragraph deals with the institutional context in which MIC takes place. Three levels can be determined: the first level is the national context, the second level is the local authorities that engage in municipal partnerships and the third level is the local government association. Moreover, the interaction (or lack thereof) between these levels is taken into account. As there are also external partners such as ICLD, these will be taken into account at the end of this paragraph. The paragraph is concluded with a SWOT analysis.

5.3.1 National government

This level is undoubtedly the most difficult level to analyse. Thirteen weeks do not provide enough time to fully understand the atmosphere and dynamics of Botswana's administrative - and political situation. Therefore, focus has been on the Ministry of Local Governance. The earlier mentioned language constraints made it difficult if not impossible to follow the news on television and radio. And the most wide spread papers are controlled by the ruling party, BDP.

The Assistant Minister of Local Government made no secret of supporting MIC: *'We have a lot to learn and MIC can help us learn'*. But he also stressed that *'there is need for guidelines for municipal partnerships. Not only social guidelines but especially when it comes to setting objectives. After that we can start to support by administrative staff and resources'*. This last remark refers to requests BALA had made for resources to fund a municipal partnership officer although acknowledging that *'BALA is ambitious but understaffed'*. In line of these statements he initialized an alignment meeting between his ministry and BALA straight after the interview. The Assistant Minister, who was looking forward to the alignment meeting, was discharged from his position from the moment he announced he was going to campaign for Secretary General in the BDP.

Other Ministry staff members were less forgiving towards BALA. Discussions about funding were continuing after months of meetings. From 2008 BALA received an annual BWP 2 million a year (roughly €200.000). For 2011 a request of BWP 4.7 million (€470.000) was budgeted by BALA. Questions were posed regarding the position of BALA: *'have they grown adjusted to funds?'*. Moreover, relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of BALA was openly questioned: *'around the world*

LGA's are strong. BALA is not strong, they should get themselves organised. Performance audits will be implemented for the funding by MLG. Corporate image should improve and stakeholder bonding should be executed'.

In order to analyse the position of the ministry within the local government arena questions were posed in the questionnaire regarding the embedding of municipal partnerships in the Ministry of Local Government, because alignment with national policy and priorities increases the chances of MIC being successful. The results were quite extensive and can be found in appendix 3 (extended results questionnaire). Generally the respondents were satisfied with the involvement of the Ministry in their council in general but saw many opportunities to engage further regarding MIC. Most of them requested funds and guidance to increase chances of success for their municipal partnerships. This is in line with the research findings discussed in the paragraphs about local governance and decentralisation: there are insufficient resources to act on local challenges for development (5.2.1 and 5.2.2). The Assistant Minister also mentioned the level of decentralisation as an obstacle for MIC: *'in decentralised projects, the involvement of local government should be primary'.*

The Directorate of Public Sector Management employs all public servants in Botswana. In this way DPSM and therefore the ruling party controls who works where and how long. Officially DPSM makes sure knowledge and capacity is spread equally amongst all government levels because some offices are unpopular due to the location is rural areas. But in practice it seems to also serve a different purpose: public servants are moved according to the will of the ruling party. It is whispered that if people become too influential in one place they are moved but people that keep an eye out for the ruling party can remain in a favourable position for years. For instance, none of the people who were involved in the partnership between Jwaneng and Sol Plaatje were working in Jwaneng at the moment the interview took place. However, these remarks are based on informal conversations, not official statements.

5.3.2 Local authorities

Local authorities are the end of the local government chain. They exist by the virtue of an Act of Parliament which means they can be undone quicker than they were called into existence. Therefore, local authorities are very dependent upon the Ministry of Local Government. Towns receive 80% of their budget from the state, in districts this is 90%. The remaining 20% or 10% is gained through incurring service levies and licenses. Most of the local authorities only have money to pay employees and no money for projects. So money for municipal partnership projects but also visits has to come from development cooperation budget, support programmes or the partner local authority in the partner country. Another complication for local authorities is that their annual budget is determined yearly and can greatly differ compared to earlier years. This makes long-term planning impossible because expensive projects and programmes run the risk of being broken down within a year. In the 5-year Development Plans priorities are set for local authorities. The criticism from within the ministry on this strategy is high: *'what are priorities without funding? The current set of development plans is set by national government for local governments. Politics influences these choices, not local problems'.* Local authority councils do not have any power when it comes to influencing these priorities.

Most of the local authorities are enthusiastic about MIC even though none of the local authorities have International Cooperation Departments. Politicians and administrative staff seem to have heard MIC is a way to develop themselves and their local government but they don't possess a blueprint. Nonetheless, it is a great way for them to expand their views, claim fame and apply for a transfer through the Performance Based Reward System. In all cases except Francistown coordination of the municipal partnership is executed as an extra task. This can both work as an individual incentive but also means these individuals can drop the position at any time. Transfer of these tasks is seldom arranged. All of the professionals interviewed made clear a lot of guidance is necessary to make partnerships a success.

What local authorities are missing – in general but also specifically when it comes to MIC – is a platform to share and gain knowledge to tackle development problems. But there are two reasons why this does not exist. The DPSM human resource system is not doing any good for sharing knowledge since people are often placed in different government positions. And, in order to be moved around, a local government professional will need excellent PBRs reports: only when you perform, you stand out and can apply for promotion. This means that knowledge is power and this atmosphere creates negative competition within local governments and between local governments: *'There is competition within and between councils. Together they could take development to a higher level, if only they were not holding back. There are certainly 'champions' within councils but generally competition is so high people don't share'*, was the reaction from an MLG interviewee. This interview took place shortly after the mini-workshop on municipal partnerships. For this mini-workshop the partnership liaison for the best-developed partnership in the country (Francistown-Genk) was asked to present during one of the elements of the workshop. She was immediately swamped with questions about success factors in 'her' partnership and general do's and don'ts. She answered all of them politely but looking back she never revealed any revolutionary information.

The human resource system DPSM and the personal performance system PBRs induces a high dispersion between administrative staff on a national – and local level. But also on the political level there is difference in quality. Again, successful politicians move towards urban areas and the political system is not accessible for everyone. Being a local representative is a costly business: in order to get chosen you are expected to throw parties for potential voters and gain goodwill in the current council.

5.3.3 Local Government Association

BALA also exists by virtue of an Act of Parliament which makes them - too - very dependent upon the Ministry of Local Government. Also, the majority of BALA's resources come from the Ministry (as said earlier: they receive BWP2 million per year). The rest of the funding is received through monthly donations by local councillors. Officially all councillors are supposed to donate BWP 50 (€5) to BALA monthly. However, this is not obligatory and it is suspected that only those councillors who are closely related to BALA pay. Politics is also heavily felt within BALA: BALA was established in 1983 between the (mainly BDP) councillors within local authorities. As the councillors and not the local authorities are BALA's members, BALA can be regarded a political organisation protecting the interests of the councillors. Subsequently, not all local councillors feel connected with or represented by BALA, let alone the local authority administrative staff. It is hard to escape the signs that since some local authorities are no longer dominated by BDP politics these local authorities are more often side tracked in consultation and participation. This was revealed by the selection by BALA for the participation in the ICLD Municipal Partnership Programme. BALA only represents the political part of local authorities and provides training to councillors, not to administrators / staff. Because of its close relation with the BDP local authorities where BDP is governing is chosen over local authorities where opposition parties rule. One could even go as far as to state that BALA is not the LGA but in practice the association of local councillors from the BDP. The challenge for BALA is to appeal to not only the BDP councillors but also to the not-BDP councillors and the administrative staff. From the interviews held at BALA it became clear that this was starting to take place slowly and that it was a wish of BALA to offer local authorities membership instead of individual councillors.

The questions posed in the questionnaire and during the interviews regarding the involvement of the ministry were also posed in relation to BALA. The answers are almost identical to those regarding the ministry: there's a call for guidance on how to manage MIC and a call for money to support projects. Until now, BALA's has not done much to promote MIC in Botswana. They have been contacted by ICLD in 2010 to engage in MIC with local authorities from Sweden and had talked about the subject with the ministry but other than that there had been no efforts. BALA is also a small organisation: an executive secretary, a project manager, a finance officer and a PRO/administrative assistant. Besides these four employees there are trainees and two people are

located at BALA to execute the P3 project in Botswana. The president of BALA only plays a ceremonial role.

The relation between BALA and the ministry leaves a lot to be decided. People at the ministry do not know the role BALA plays so support and guidance for BALA is minimal. Also, these are issues of personalities, or even politics, therefore a meeting in which ambitions and plans are aligned was necessary: *'the connection between BALA and the MLG is very important. We should not work in isolation but complement each other in activities. Some people's relationships from BALA and MLG are entangled and common ground is lacking'*.

At one point in the research all Botswana's partners in municipal partnerships – representatives from 13 local authorities, staff from the Ministry of Local Government and part of the BALA staff – were united. This happened during the workshop organised by BALA (for agenda see appendix 6). Instead of a small but intense workshop week in the light of the ICLD partnership programme the idea was raised to hold a mini-workshop to inform local authorities' staff about municipal partnerships and preparing them more thoroughly for the job using the researchers' knowledge and time to make it happen. It was positive to hear that in at least one case (Selebi Pikwe Town Council), the initial questionnaire has led to a 'revival plan' and a twinning committee to revive the partnership with Polomkwane (South Africa). This workshop was also an excellent opportunity to examine the institutional context and the general climate for municipal partnerships. Attendance to the workshop was very high, proving that local authorities are interested in learning more about the subject. Subsequently, expectations were high and the participation of the individual local authorities' officers, in general, was high too. Most of the local authorities stated in the introduction and expectation session that they were very interested in Francistown's successful partnership with Genk in Belgium. During the workshop issues such as the 'dying' of partnerships, the coordination - and financing of partnership projects was addressed by them. But also the proliferation of municipal partnerships was a hot issue. Some local authorities have (had) 5 municipal partnerships and none of them developed beyond courtesy visits and a Memorandum of Understanding. This frustrated staff involved in organizing those visits and negotiating MoU's: *'how do we tame the 'beast'?',* was their question referring to the political will to constantly connect.

The Ministry of Local Government added two issues on their part. They were (still in the process of) starting to develop guidelines for municipal partnerships and in this workshop they hoped to gain information on two things: to enquire the current state of municipal partnerships and to get general feedback and sentiment on municipal partnerships. This would serve as input for their guidelines. Their reaction afterwards regarding the mini-workshop was very positive. Some participants of the workshop broached the popularity of travelling in municipal partnerships: they felt underappreciated because they were never allowed to travel to the partner country. Other participants as well as the ministry were very strict when it came to these 'complaints': *'people should stop complaining about the issue of travelling. You should make yourself irreplaceable during a visit, that way you're guaranteed a seat on the plane'*.

In table 4.5 in the previous chapter the inventory of the partnership wishes of the local authorities was made. One of the discussions that took place during the mini-workshop was on what geographical scale they wanted to engage in order to keep it feasible. Not all local authorities were willing to engage in municipal partnerships on an international level. They argued that there is a lot to win if local authorities would connect within Botswana before looking across borders to gain information and benchmark strategies. Suggestion was made by Gaborone City Council to start sharing knowledge within councils, then between councils within Botswana, then partner on a local level and then move to international partnerships. The Ministry of Local Government reacted very positively to this initiative and looked at BALA to organize this. BALA argued this was definitely on their wish-list if they would have the staff to pull it off. From the information provided earlier it is obvious that, until the PBRs and DPSM system changes, there will be no sharing of information within or between councils.

It was learned during this workshop that municipal partnerships are not always an intrinsic desire from within Botswana. Dedication and true ownership from the Southern partner will help develop great municipal partnerships whilst if these are lacking, goals will not be met.

5.3.4 External partners

Botswana does not have a lot of international relations on a national level and it does not have an International Relations Policy. It does, as is explained in chapter 1, have (aid or trade) relations with several countries, but none are very extensive. The main external partners for BALA are ICLD and SIDA (for a joint project in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana called P3) and GIZ. ICLD has a Municipal Partnership Programme which was only in the exploratory phase during the research, SIDA's P3 project ended in 2011 and GIZ no longer financed projects in which BALA was engaged. Even though the most expanded partnership¹¹ in Botswana is supported by VVSG there are no official contacts between BALA and VVSG. Subsequently, ICLD is the only partner currently at the BALA table and this will be the first time BALA can receive information and coaching in MIC. ICLD has a strategy when it comes to municipal partnerships which is similar to the idea opted by Gaborone City Council during the mini-workshop: they have found a number of local authorities in Sweden in close proximity of each other willing to investigate the possibilities of partnering with local authorities in Botswana. This so called 'cluster – thinking' is believed to enlarge the chances of success for the individual partnerships and also to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the cluster of partnerships. This is very much like the city networks described in chapter 2.

When it comes to non-governmental partners in Botswana, these are not manifold. Because of Botswana's historical homogeneity, explained in chapter 1, not many Civil Society Organisations (CSO) exist: people were always represented in the political party and felt represented by it. It is only a contemporary trend that advocacy movements are manifesting themselves in Botswana and this mostly occurs in urban Botswana. It mostly concerns organizations fighting for equal rights of disadvantaged groups (such as Gender Links). These organisations have not found their place among the large institutions. A crucial factor for MIC in this development is whether or not local authorities want to cooperate with other groups such as CSO's or private sector partners. Even in partnerships where there is actual exchange between the municipal partners the ability and willingness to include other players is low.

5.3.5 SWOT analysis of institutional context

In order to present the above discussed elements of local governance and decentralisation and ongoing processes on three institutional levels they are presented in a SWOT analysis below. This SWOT presents the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of the complex surroundings of MIC in Botswana in a coherent way.

¹¹ Between Francistown and Genk

Table 5.1 SWOT analysis of the institutional context for MIC in Botswana

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong national political situation; - Growing interest in politics due to diversification of the political arena and - Large feeling of homogeneity within population. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recentralisation of local government tasks; - Low political accountability (local level); - No International Relations Policy; - High staff turnover on all levels; - Control over staff through DPSM / PBRs; - Large overhead (25% of working population); - Political instability in local government and - BALA does not represent councils but councillors.
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Budget cuts can force into cooperation; - Strong will for MIC; - Municipal partnership within Botswana before expanding regionally/internationally; - Cluster – thinking by ICLD and - Growing CSO culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - budget cuts in Northern countries and - budget cuts in Southern countries.

This SWOT focuses on the current state of affairs during the research in Botswana. From this SWOT it becomes clear that the weaknesses outnumber the strengths of the institutional environment of MIC. However, there are certainly opportunities to develop MIC further and use MIC to develop on an individual, organisational and institutional level.

5.4 Recommendations

The earlier paragraphs in this chapter have made it obvious that municipal partnerships in Botswana are not (yet) surrounded by an enabling environment when it comes to the institutional context. This does not mean, however, that MIC in Botswana is useless: MIC also aims to improve local governance. Nevertheless, in order for (more) municipal partnerships to succeed many changes would need to be made on the three institutional levels. This paragraph presents a number of these possible changes custom made for the case of Botswana, selected to national –, local – and LGA level and links back to the theoretical-thematic framework. In general the terminology used should fit the goal of municipal partnerships: in some cases municipal partnerships are a personal project of politicians, in some cases there is good intentions for communal goal. Use two different concepts: one for (national or international) alliances that aim to increase good governance and solve development issues and another for social, ceremonial jumelages between (national or international) local governments. All partners involved would have to make very clear what they want with either of them.

National government is so powerful changes would have to be made with their approval and even involvement. During an interview it was clearly stated that the ministry will not allow municipal partnership management to be executed by BALA at this stage because of the position BALA is in. Alignment between MLG and BALA local authorities would be necessary in order for the local authorities to benefit from their help and not be confused by it.

- Act on strengthening the relationship with local authorities on a political and professional level. Use the input given in this research to discuss what they want out of MIC and develop guidelines accordingly.

- Explore the academic and thematic publications on MIC and align with BALA to work together on providing local authorities with partnership guidelines (for instance a management framework like De Villiers, 2009).

Another strategy for local authorities as well as BALA and international partners could be to accept the situation on a national level and work around it. Recommendations for **LGA** would be:

- In the questionnaire a number of questions have been posed regarding the position of BALA. The outcomes are valuable to consider in the programme and future planning for municipal partnership officer(s). It is important for them to include the local authorities on an individual and group level in the programme.
- Engage further into a working relation with the University of Botswana. The University of Botswana is a very credible organization who has done a lot of research in local government in Botswana. There are a few professors who are definitely eager to engage in municipal partnership research (Bontenbal, 2009).
- The option should be explored to share the knowledge that is transferred from North to South in a South – South platform within Botswana. That way the knowledge can be shared extra and could root better in the first Southern municipalities (Campbell, 2009).
- Contribute to creating an enabling environment in which it is stimulating to exchange knowledge, share best practices and ideas. One of the challenges is, however, whether the local authorities want this and whether or not they are willing to put their money and their trust into BALA at this time. Because of BALA's history and bad relationship with the ministry they do not have the key position to develop this now (Buis, 2009).

And if focusing on bottom up initiatives instead of top-down changes, recommendations for the **local authorities** could be the following:

- More focus would lead to more results: those partnerships that focus on a small amount of projects and areas of cooperation achieve more results than those partnerships focusing on many different projects and areas of cooperation. By focusing on small scale initiatives and short term projects it is possible to build capacity first for individuals, then organizations and then the institutional environment (Bontenbal, 2006).
- Determine what kind of knowledge or practice you are trying to bring across and select the best way to do this. Knowledge exchange may not be the best way, sometimes it is enough bring knowledge. Also, the contributions the Northern partner can make by thinking alongside with the Southern partner considering their specific developmental issues should not be underestimated (Devers-Kanoglu, 2009).
- Include private sector, in this way it is possible to get donors for projects and possibly even air tickets for travelling abroad. Also include citizens and CSO in order to get more input for partnership projects and involvement and support for these projects (Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009 and Bontenbal, 2006).
- Awareness of the environment in which partnerships take place can be created by continuously analyzing the partnership network but also the capacity gap analysis (for project purpose) and stakeholders and drivers (such as private sector and CSO) (De Villiers, 2009).

External partners might also influence the development of MIC in Botswana:

- Some South – North municipal partnerships can be regarded a donor invented strategy for development for which the institutional environment is unprepared. It is up to these donors and Northern municipal partners to enable actor-driven cooperation and not to push projects that are not effective (Bontenbal and Van Lindert, 2011).

- It might be better for donors to facilitate knowledge sharing within councils and between councils rather than constructing very complicated networks with municipalities far away (Blanco and Campbell, 2005).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has answered the questions to the following research questions:

4. What is the institutional environment on a national, local and LGA level in which the South – North and South – South municipal partnerships take place?

5. How can the value of South – North and South – South municipal partnerships be increased by the Ministry of Local Government, the Local authorities and the Local Government Association?

When targeting MIC in Botswana specifically most politicians and administrative staff supported the idea. However, regarding the pre-conditions local governance and decentralisation, one has no other option than to conclude that these elements are fragile, even moving towards centralised power. There is no support programme for MIC and no International Relation Policy (IRP), which would both support international bonds and enable MIC. The real influence of local authorities is low: their responsibilities are low and the opportunity to act on local issues is small. Also, besides being a showpiece of BALA, MIC is definitely not on the agenda on a national level. Furthermore, large and complicated administrative bodies make it hard to position MIC in local authorities. Their bodies are not transparent, administrative staff is moved according to the will of DPSM and professionals mostly work solitary due to an individual performance based reward system (PBRs).

But all is not lost for MIC in Botswana: a different approach to MIC in Botswana could be to accept the institutional environment as it is and start bottom-up. There are numerous possibilities to engage in municipal partnerships on a local level, without the explicit support of national government, and still be successful. Focusing on small scale initiatives and short term projects try to increase capacity first for individuals, then organizations and then the institutional environment. When including citizens, CSO and private sector partners the chances of success would definitely increase because of ownership. In a time of budget cuts and partnership rather than donor – receiver relation this way of working is probably more viable than top-down attempts.

Chapter 6 Discussion and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The Botswana Association of Local authorities wrote a research proposal on investigating municipal partnerships in Botswana. Until then, in 2010, there had been no guidance for Botswana's local authorities who are engaged in municipal partnerships from either BALA or the Ministry of Local Government. The study for BALA would be practical, focussing on gathering as much data as possible for BALA to continue their work on. The academic research, conducted alongside the practical research, focused on the following question:

Municipal International Cooperation in Botswana: development strategy or social activity? Comparing South – North and South – South municipal partnerships in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency and exploring how the institutional environment can positively impact (the effect of) municipal partnerships.

This last chapter consists of the following paragraphs: in paragraph 6.2 the main findings of the research are presented briefly according to the sub research questions. Paragraph 6.3 covers the implications for the practical side of the research whereas in paragraph 6.4 the implications for theory are discussed. The chapter ends with a brief reflection on the research (6.5).

6.2 Main findings

In the previous chapters answers to the sub research questions are presented in detail. This paragraph discusses the main findings of the research.

1. What South – North and South - South municipal partnerships exist in Botswana?

In Botswana there are 22 municipal partnerships, in different varieties and intensities. 12 of those are South – South, 10 are South – North. Most local authorities have more than one partnership and the majority of all partnerships never developed to or beyond a MoU. Striking is the amount of inactive or terminated partnerships: 12 out of 22.

2. What are the characteristics of these South – North and South – South municipal partnerships?

The municipal partnerships in Botswana are characterised by a high amount of areas of cooperation and low level of organisation. Only two partnerships take place under the umbrella of a partnership programme (Francistown – Genk and Southeast DC – Toronto) so monitoring and evaluation is carried out in limited partnerships. Only a few partnerships involve citizens, CSO's and/or private sector partners in their partnership. In only three partnerships there is actual transfer and/or sharing of knowledge.

3. How do South – North and South – South municipal partnerships differ in relevance, effectiveness and efficiency?

Both South – North and South – South partnerships can be considered relevant in the case of Botswana. Despite favourable cultural characteristics and close proximity no intensive relationships with Southern partners have developed (yet). The effectiveness of municipal partnerships largely depends on the dedication of staff and support from political overhead. Regarding the efficient execution of projects it is believed this could improve. The colleague to colleague approach could also work on a South – South basis: cooperation within the country or region could possibly be much more relevant, effective and efficient than cooperating with Northern partners. However, this would require investment in the organisation of municipal partnerships.

4. What is the institutional environment on national-, local- and LGA level in which these municipal partnerships take place?

It is clear from the characteristics (sub research question 3) that municipal partnerships are not developed to the full potential in Botswana. There are challenges to overcome before MIC will develop into (mutually) beneficial and strong, sustainable municipal partnerships. The most important are: the low level of decentralisation and even recentralisation of important services, the interconnected lower and fluctuating budgets for local authorities, the HR system (DPSM and PBRS) and the low development of local governance.

5. How can the value of South – North and South - South municipal partnerships be increased by the Ministry of Local Government, the Local Government Association and the local authorities?

This research was supposed to benefit BALA, MLG and the local authorities. It was felt during the fieldwork as if these three were too much consumed with their own benefits to 'give and take' and work towards the greatest benefit for all. This does not mean MIC in Botswana is impossible. Since the national level is the most difficult to influence and change, suggestion is made to accept the institutional environment as it is and start bottom-up. This can be achieved by focusing on small scale initiatives and short term projects first and try to increase capacity for individuals, then the organisational – and institutional environment. When including citizens, CSO and private sector partners they would gain a feeling of ownership and definitely increase the chances of success. In a time of budget cuts and partnership rather than donor – receiver relation this way of working is probably more viable than top-down attempts.

6.3. Implications for practice

The goal of the internship was to continue the work BALA had already started, develop guidelines for MIC with the Ministry of Local Government and leave behind a platform for sharing knowledge about municipal partnerships in Botswana. It turned out differently. Due to a variety of reasons, the development of MIC in Botswana was slower. There are a number of issues blocking successful MIC in Botswana, namely: the low level of decentralisation and even recentralisation of important public services; the interconnected lower and fluctuating budgets for local authorities; the HR system (DPSM and PBRS) and the slow development of local governance in Botswana. These elements would have to be overcome top-down – from national level to local level to LGA level – before the effectiveness and efficiency of municipal partnerships can be increased. But MIC is definitely not 'on the agenda' on a national level and therefore this is not a realistic future for MIC. Because of the unfit environment, it is suggested to arrange MIC bottom-up rather than top-down. Local government in Botswana lacks the conditions to support municipal partnerships properly. However, willingness to engage in partnerships exists on an individual level. A good way to deliver development cooperation in a decentralised form would be to copy the way in which Francistown and South East DC have developed their municipal partnerships. By taking small steps and supporting relevant local initiatives, if possible initiated by civil society organisations and supported by local government. For BALA, taking on a task as time consuming and complex as enabling and propagating MIC in Botswana is highly ambitious. It could also be regarded a survival mechanism: it would force them to cooperate with all local authorities within Botswana and engaging with ICLD and other international LGA's will gain them resources too.

6.4 Implications for theory

In this paragraph the connection between the literature study and the empirical findings is laid out. The paragraph ends with a schematic overview of the main subjects from the theoretical-thematic framework supplemented with and compared to the research findings.

On an academic level, this research hopes to contribute to the limited body of literature on MIC. One of the goals is to contribute to more conceptual clarity, specifically aiming for the difference between South – North and South – South cooperation. In the context of this research it would have been extremely relevant to compare one South – North and one South – South partnership developed to more or less the same level. This was not possible because there were no (well developed) active South – South partnerships found in this study. It is found, however, that many forms of municipal partnerships exist and the general perception of MIC as presented in the thematic-theoretical framework differs from the perception people involved in MIC in Botswana have. Every local government develops their own ideas and set their own standards. Some are developed to gain knowledge about mutual challenges for development (and possibly extra development budget) from their international partner, others are merely ceremonial friendships and others are called into existence to increase the economic climate for investment. There is need for more knowledge about what MIC in order to measure partnerships properly. In general, distinction should be made between development strategy and social activity and between the goal of the partnerships: a communal- or individual goal?

A lot of attention is paid to local governance and decentralisation in Botswana as preconditions for developing MIC. Botswana is presented in the literature as a highly decentralised country that displays good (local) governance. In practice this has changed over the last few years: national government has re-centralised a number of services previously executed by local government and local authorities can hardly influence development priorities set on a national level. And when it comes to local governance: the Botswana are not very eager to organise themselves in advocacy groups. This is a legacy from the 1960's when Botswana – then a protectorate of the United Kingdom – was highly represented in the Botswana Democratic Party, a political party represented in all layers and institutions of society. Since independence in 1965, support for the BDP has remained high but is slowly declining, mainly in the urban areas. Because of the attention paid to the public sector strike underlying political discussions were played out in the open providing a lot of information regarding the political and institutional situation in Botswana. Even though local governance and decentralisation levels are not as high as was expected, there are a number of relevant municipal partnerships that have developed into effective, efficient alliances for local development. If local authorities would have not earmarked money to spend on local development this could benefit MIC.

There have been extensive studies regarding factors that contribute to the success of MIC. Factors such as (political) commitment, understanding between partners and reciprocity are considered success factors for MIC in Botswana. MIC is not a tool for development that sorts immediate success. It should be regarded as a constant process and not be engaged in unprepared. When it comes to partnership processes, most municipal partnerships in Botswana are executed haphazardly. There is a call from local authorities for guidelines and best practices from either the ministry or BALA in order to increase chances to success in MIC.

The position of the LGA is very important. A strong LGA is a key organisation in promoting and coordinating MIC. BALA is not considered a strong LGA: it is small and suffers from high staff turnover. But during the research a transition was noticed: BALA wants to unite local authorities – and not local councillors – now more than ever. Municipal partnership programmes are offered to Botswana through BALA's international network and this can gain them necessary funding to live up to their ambition.

Another goal was to research whether MIC in Botswana leads to organisational – and / or institutional change besides contributing to individual capacity development. In municipal partnerships in which organisational conditions in the North and South are met individual level capacity building definitely takes place. Capacity building on an organisational level is harder to achieve but is achieved in at least one municipal partnership. By focusing on MIC on a low level it is possible this bottom-up approach will contribute to institutional capacity development.

The practical interpretation of knowledge exchange in MIC is the exchange of knowledge, capacity building between colleagues from similar fields of expertise. This is different in Botswana: Botswana wants the knowledge and funds to be delivered to them. There is no culture in which local government professionals are willing to share their knowledge with others. The knowledge you gain as a local government professional is your strength, a ticket to another job through the DPSM/PBRS human resource management system. Sharing that knowledge would decrease your chance of success. Nevertheless, in some municipal partnerships there has been alliance between local governments to share knowledge about (mutual) development issues. Technical knowledge as well as tacit knowledge is shared in South – North as well South – South partnerships and all varieties of learning (formal/informal and intended/unintended) occur.

Mutually beneficial municipal partnerships are more likely to survive than partnerships in which one partner gains. South – South partnerships that developed beyond the ceremonial were often mutually beneficial whereas in North – South relations cultural and development differences tend to create inequality which is not easily overcome.

In order to develop capacity in the Southern partner (country), knowledge needs to be passed around, taught and applied. Botswana does not have any knowledge sharing platforms and it does not have the structure or culture to do this. So knowledge gained by individuals from local authorities as well as BALA and/or MLG staff members remains between them, it does not trickle down into the country.

Table 6.1 A comparison between literature- and research findings

Subject	Reference	Literature findings	Research findings
Decentralised cooperation terminology	UNDP (2000), Hafteck (2003), Devers-Kanoglu (2009), De Villiers (2009)	MIC is an example of decentralised cooperation: exchange focuses on development in the South by involving at least local governments. There are many different forms of decentralised cooperation, MIC is one of them.	Every municipal partnership is different and there is need for terminology that fits the relationship that local governments in Botswana engage in. Distinction should be made between social activity (jumelage) and development strategy (alliance). In that way they can also be measured in the same way.
Local governance in Botswana	Hope (2000), Olowu (2004), Good (2007)	Local governance in Botswana has always been high due to traditional chiefdoms and dialogue. It developed more after independence and is rated a medium-high score on the local governance ladder.	In general, citizen participation and - organisation is low. The only important organisation in Botswana's society is the BDP. Specifically in municipal partnership (project)s participation is very low. People are not as interested as they could be and local authorities do not see the benefit (yet).
Decentralisation in Botswana	Crawford & Hartmann (2008), Hope (2000)	Botswana is considered an example for Sub-Saharan Africa: it is highly decentralised.	Botswana is not as decentralised as depicted in academic literature. Yes, traditional local government have hardly any disadvantage during the time Botswana was a protectorate. And it managed to keep the stability
Preconditions to MIC: Local governance and decentralisation	Bontenbal (2006), World Bank (2002), VNG	Local governance and decentralisation are keys to sustainable development in the Global South. Local governance and decentralisation receive the status of precondition to MIC: a country needs a certain level of decentralisation and local governance in order for MIC to be feasible.	Botswana has many municipal partnerships, the majority being inactive/terminated. This is partly due to the preconditions not being met. However, there are a few relevant, effective and efficient (S-N and S-S) partnerships despite this. It is found that when other success factors occur MIC can be successful on a local level.
Factors for successful MIC	Tjandradewi & Marcotullio (2009), Bontenbal & Van Lindert (2011)	In academic and thematic writings alike there is attention for factors that contribute to successful MIC: institutional capacity, politics and interests, alignment with national strategies and development priorities, funding and mechanisms to facilitate knowledge exchange. Also social aspects such as reciprocity, understanding and leadership are considered important.	In the case of Botswana, aligning with national policies is difficult because national government is not actively involved in MIC and there is no IRP or other active foreign policy. On a local level, however, there is alignment. Funding for MIC will have to come from donors/partner municipality since local authorities in Botswana receive 80%-90% labelled budgets. It is proven in Francistown that politics play a vital role in municipal partnerships: their active involvement and enthusiasm determines part

			of the success.
Framework for MIC management	De Villiers (2009)	The effectiveness of municipal partnerships is dependent upon many factors. Therefore, the process of partnering should be executed with care. A six step management framework is suggested: strategise, identify, evaluate, negotiate, implement and learn and it will lead to alliance capability.	If a partnership develops beyond an incidental ceremonial visit and MoU signing, execution is mostly haphazard and prone to challenges. Also, given the small number of municipal partnerships in Botswana that have developed to an actual alliance there is great need for practical guidance for MIC.
The role of the LGA	Buis (2009)	LGA's worldwide represent local governments (inter)nationally and play an important role in coordinating MIC. They need to be strong: financially independent, well structured and with good leadership.	BALA is not a strong LGA. It is even questionable whether it is a LGA: it historically represents local councillors, not local governments. However, BALA has the ambition to become a strong LGA and work together with MLG to support MIC for their members.
Capacity building on three levels through MIC	Grindle (1997), UNDP (1997), Bontenbal (2006)	To reach capacity building through MIC there is need for organisational conditions in the South (organisational support, policy alignment and donor relations) and North (political support, financial and human resources) – as well as partnership conditions for the municipal partnership (ownership and capacity power).	In Botswana, these conditions are not always all met. As a result of this, MIC contributes to individual capacity building, partly to increasing organisational capacity and very limitedly to the development of institutional capacity.
Types of knowledge, types of learning	Chambers (1997), Ewijk & Baud (2009), Devers-Kanoglu (2009)	There is difference between universally applicable knowledge and more practical knowledge. Intentional, unintentional, formal and informal learning.	In Botswana there is need to gain more practical knowledge. To get this across it could be valuable to introduce intra-municipal learning.
Mutuality	Ewijk & Baud (2009)	The sustainability and effect of municipal partnerships is increased when both partners benefit (equally).	South – North partnerships are beneficial for the Southern partner and in some cases for the Northern partner. Active South – South partnerships are mutually beneficial.
City networks	Campbell and Blanco (2005), Campbell (2009)	(International) city networks, used as social capital of cities, can contribute to the spreading of knowledge and embedding knowledge in a country/region. Spreading of this knowledge implies further individual, organisational and institutional capacity development.	BALA and MLG take part in numerous (international) platforms, individual local authorities hardly take part and the trickle-down effect from the ministry and BALA to local authorities is low. There is no platform for sharing knowledge between local government in Botswana.

6.5 Reflection

When planning research in a foreign country, not knowing what you will find on the ground, you paint a perfect picture. When leaving for Botswana, there were certain expectations as to the situation and status of municipal partnerships to be found on the ground when getting to Botswana. From the review proposal designed by BALA it seemed many local authorities were involved in twinnings and most of them were active: *'There is no or little doubt as to the value and rationale for twinning. For example, twinning allows access to successful strategies and ways of addressing some numerous and common challenges that local authorities experience elsewhere in the world. Thus twinning allows for bench-marking with best practices in the region and globally. The benefits accruing from this benchmarking must eventually reach communities in the form of better ways of service delivery and improved customer satisfaction'*. The expectation on my side, after reading this proposal, was that many local authorities were involved in twinnings or even in municipal partnerships further developed. However, many of these partnerships had died out long ago if they had ever developed beyond a ceremonial friendship. as it turned out there was no platform within Botswana to share knowledge and lift the individual and national status to a higher level. It turned out, however, that most of the twinnings that existed did not go beyond a ceremonial – or friendship bond.

One of the main lessons from this internship is that no matter how thoroughly you investigate a subject, words cannot replace experiencing the situation in a country. Living in the country of research and participating in the processes of the research subject is vital for more successful internship result. There is the belief that the internship has contributed to raising awareness about MIC and spreading knowledge about this subject. It would have been more rewarding – at least for a short while – to leave behind infrastructure for knowledge sharing and learning for BALA and the local authorities. However, during the write-up of this research it dawned that information sharing is not in the culture nor in the structure of local government personnel. Botswana in its current state does not provide the most ideal environment for developing MIC when it comes to the autonomy local government receives from central government. Also, (local) governance structure and – culture is not as developed as is hoped. In regional comparison, Botswana is a quiet and content country, leaning comfortably on diamond revenues. The political stability (Botswana has always been ruled by the BDP) seems to be declining since ethnicity and legacy become less important for younger generations. The change in political landscape as well as increase in civil action benefits the environment for municipal partnerships: local authorities are eager to develop and learn from Northern and Southern partners like. This is shown for instance in the highly developed relevant, effective and efficient partnership between Francistown and Genk. This partnership proves that it is not necessary to organise MIC top-down: a bottom-up approach measuring up to organisational – and partnership conditions can be enough to .

With the information provided to the ministry, local authorities, BALA and external partners they can further develop the concept. The mini-workshop has given them the opportunity to share experiences and learn from one another as well as gain knowledge about the topic in general. Furthermore, by including the partners on three levels in Botswana and external partners in the research, the connection between them has improved.

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Appendix 1 Municipal partnerships in Botswana

Local Authority Botswana	Local Authority International
Gaborone (City, capital)	Nantong, China Vestros, Sweden Windhoek, Namibia
Francistown (City)	Genk, Belgium Livingstone, Zambia Buffalo City, South Africa Swift Current, Canada Tian, China
Lobatse (Town)	Xai Xai, Mozambique
Jwaneng (Town)	Sol Plaatje, South Africa
Selebi Pikwe (Town)	Polomkwane, South Africa
Southeast (District)	Toronto, Canada Sekhukhuwe, South Africa
Kgatleng (District)	Waterberg, South Africa
Chobe (District)	Kazangula, Zambia Swakopmund, Namibia
Northeast (District)	Eenhana, Namibia Tingsryds, Sweden
Northwest (District)	Hulstfred, Sweden Hentiesbay, Namibia
Ghanzi (District)	Omaheke, Namibia
Southern (District)	N/A
Central (District)	N/A
Kweneng (District)	unknown
Kgalagadi (District)	unknown

Appendix 2 questionnaire and introductory letter



Plot 1277 Office no. 05
Clover Hse. Old Lobatse Rd
P O Box 211211
Gaborone

Tel: 391 2063
Fax: 391 2181
www.bala.org.bw

REF: BALA/ ALC I

DATE: 09th February 2011

All Chief Executive Officers
All Councils

Dear Sir/ Madam

RE: Municipal Partnerships – Questionnaire

This communication serves to inform your esteemed office that as of today, there is an intern working at our office in Gaborone to review the Municipal Partnerships existing in Botswana. Her name is Iris Breeman and she is a masters student International Development Studies from Utrecht University in The Netherlands.

The objective of this review is to increase the knowledge and to improve existing and forthcoming partnerships and support the local governments in Botswana. Iris will be working with us for three months. Attached to this letter is a questionnaire that is the starting point of her research for us. This research depends largely on your participation and we will be very grateful if you could please take a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire.

Kindly return the filled out questionnaire before the 25th February 2011 to fax number 3912181. Please send any digital information to me at: kmoletsane@bala.org.bw.

If you have any questions please don't hesitate to contact Iris at: 76383191
Iris will be able to go through your much appreciated reactions quickly and then set up interviews with selected local governments quickly.

Your cooperation is always much appreciated.

Thank you.

Kind regards,

**Ketlhomilwe Moletsane,
Executive Secretary BALA**



Part 1 Introduction

1. What is the name of the local government you work for?

.....

2. What is your position at this local government?

.....

3. Please fill out your e-mail address (if possible) and telephone number for further communication. If you are not the key person in the municipal partnership, please include the name, the telephone number and (if possible) e-mail address below.

Name:

E-mail address:

Telephone number:

Part 2 Inventory of municipal partnership(s)

5. Does your local government have any formal contacts with other international local authorities?

No (please continue to **part 3**)

Yes (please indicate the name(s) of the local authority and the name of the country (or countries) below)

Municipal partnership 1: (local authority) in(country)

Municipal partnership 2: (local authority) in(country)

6. Is this partnership registered in a programme (at BALA or in the partner country)?

No

Yes (please fill out the programme if other than BALA below)

.....
.....
.....

7. Is this partnership supported by the Ministry of Local Government?

No

Yes (please explain how)

.....
.....
.....

8. In what areas of local government do you cooperate with your municipal partner? (Financial administration, housing, spatial planning, public health, education, infrastructure, etc.)

Municipal partnership 1:

.....
.....
.....

Municipal partnership 2:

.....
.....
.....

9. How long does this municipal partnership exist as endorsed by formal agreement or memorandum of understanding? Please also indicate if the partnership is inactive or terminated.

Municipal partnership 1: (local authority) for(years)
Municipal partnership 2: (local authority) for(years)

10. Besides local government, who is involved in this partnership? Think of private sector, civil society movements, schools, private persons, hospitals, etc.

.....
.....
.....

Part 3 Possibility of future municipal partnerships

In **part 1** reference was made to existing municipal partnerships. In this part we want to focus on possibilities for future municipal partnerships.

11. Are there any contacts with local governments in Botswana or abroad that you consider could be of use for strengthening your local government?

- No
- Yes (please fill out below)

Option 1: (local authority) in (country)
Option 2: (local authority) in (country)

Part 4 Position of BALA

BALA is genuinely interested in your opinion about the services provided, especially when they consider services for municipal partnership(s).

12. Does BALA properly support your local authority in your municipal partnerships?

- No
- Yes (please elaborate on your viewpoint)

.....
.....
.....

13. How could BALA improve their services for municipal partnerships? Please elaborate below.

.....
.....
.....

Part 5 Position of Ministry of Local Government

14. Does the Ministry of Local Government properly support your local authority in your municipal partnerships?

- No
- Yes (please elaborate on your viewpoint below)

.....
.....
.....

15. How could the Ministry of Local Government improve their services for municipal partnerships? Please elaborate below.

.....
.....
.....

Appendix 4 Interview schedule

Introduction

This interview framework and these interview questions is developed in the light of the research for BALA and my MSc research on municipal partnerships in Botswana.

The first part is used to clarify answers from the questionnaire, the second part aimed to get more numerical information and measure participation within the local government body and within the community. The third part focuses on the relevance of the partnership enquiring about selection of the partner and the areas of cooperation. The fourth part deals with the effectiveness of the partnership posing questions about results, monitoring and evaluation. Efficiency of the partnership is discussed in part five focusing on quality of results and time planning. The learning and capacity building variable is discussed in part six enquiring about how the participants learn and what knowledge is gained. The last part of the interview is about best practices asking participants to reflect on the partnership explaining why it (does not) work.

Interviewees

In this research the local authorities (LA's) in Botswana are central. The majority of the interviews took place at local authorities. Sometimes this meant only one interview with one person, in other cases there were numerous interviews with different people. A lot depended on the size of the partnership. In Francistown for instance, a meeting with the political branch of the Twinning Committee took place besides interviews with the partnership liaison, two extension officers and someone from a Ward Development Committee.

Since this research is carried out by BALA with the full support of the MLG, involved officers from BALA and MLG will be included. And, where possible, Northern partners are interviewed. A list of interviewees is provided in appendix 5.

Structure

Every interview starts with a personal introduction from my side and the interviewee.

Part 1: questions/unclarities regarding the questionnaire

- Specific questions for each LA

Part 2: Characteristics of LA/MP:

Amount of inhabitants

- History of the partnership
- Activeness of the partnership
- Provision of financial support for the project
- Number of visits

Questions could include:

How many administrative employees are/were involved?

How many of those remain/are still working here?

How long do people - on average - work in this district/town?

Was there one administrative person responsible for the MP/project?

How many councilors are/were involved?

How strong do you consider the political support for this MP/project?

Was there one political person responsible?

- Civil Society (CSO) involvement

- Private sector involvement
- Citizen participation in the partnership (or partnership projects)

Part 3: relevance of partnership

- Why this partner
- Preparations for partnership
- Cooperation areas: why these areas?

What are the major issues threatening the development of your district/town?

Where these issues addressed in the MP?

How where these issues addressed in the MP?

Do you have possibilities to benchmark progress regarding these issues?

What are the results?

Part 4: effectiveness of partnership

- Results
- Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) tools
- Accountability

Part 5: efficiency of partnership

- Quality of results
- Is there M&E tool?
- Who is in the led in M&E?

Part 6: learning characteristics of partnership

Learning/capacity building:

-> in a terminated partnership: what is left of the project?

Can it stand on its own?

Considering the people that were involved in the MP/project, have they learned from the project?

In what way have they learned? Formal/informal? Intentional/unintentional?

Part 7: Best practices

Do you consider this MP (or projects) (un)successful?

Why (un)successful?

What do you consider a key element contributing to success in the MP?

Appendix 5 Interviewee list

BALA:

Mr. (Kethlomilwe) Moletsane, Executive Secretary
Ms. (Ludo) Mathsameko, Project Manager

Ministry of Local Government:

Mr. Rammidi, Assistant Minister of Local Government
Ms. Makgosa, Deputy Director Local Government Development Planning
Mr. (Tlanelo) Dibotelo, Senior Development Officer

Local authorities

Gaborone City Council:

Ms. Seragi, Town Clerk
Ms. Lekgaba, Senior Public Relations Officer

Kgatleng District Council:

Mr. (Valentine) Neo, Senior Economic Planner
Ms. (Wada) Monyika, Primary Economic Planner
Ms. (Thato) Chwaane, Senior Public Relations Officer

Jwaneng Town Council:

Ms. (Dinah) Bogale, Assistant to the Mayor
Mr. Mabayila, Deputy Town Clerk Technical Services

Southeast District Council (SEDC):

Mr. (Nonofo) E. Leteane, Senior Health and Education Officer (until April 1st, 2011)
Ms. (Ellen) Rannoba, Liaison Officer at SEDC
Mr. Masarwa, Economic Planner (never materialised)
Mr. (Kitso) Masi, SEDYEL coordinator

Lobatse Town Council:

Ms. Kushata Phindela, Senior PRO¹²

Francistown case study

Francistown Town Council:

Ms. (Mogomotsi) N. Seemule, Youth Development Officer
Ms. (Naomi) Bitsang, Principal Community Development Officer
Ms. (Amogelang) Gondo, Extension Officer
Mr. (Geoffrey) Gare, Deputy Town Clerk

Group consultation:

Mr. (Shadek) Nyeku, Mayor
Mr. (Ephraim) Maiketso, Deputy Mayor
Ms. (Joyce) Ndove, Town Chairperson
Mr. (Raoboy) Mpuowong, Deputy Town Chairperson
Mr. (Biki) Mbulawa, Councillor
Mr. (Stephen) Michael, Councillor

¹² A scheduled interview never materialised but in during a few meetings the majority of the questions were posed and answered.

Ward Development Committee:

Ms. (Emma) Moatswi

ICLD:

Ms. (Marie) Wiktorsson

Ms. (Maria) Larsson

Municipal partners:

Municipality of Genk, Belgium:

Mr. (Wim) Govaerts

Municipality of Vänersborg:

Mr. (Anders) Fridén

Municipality of Forshaga:

Mr. (Jan) Johanson

Appendix 6 Agenda mini-workshop



Agenda Mini-workshop Municipal Partnerships

Monday June 13th

Gaborone, University of Botswana, Centre for Continuing Education, Room 4

Contact: Iris Breeman 76383191 or Pamela Molebatsi 72234712

8.30 – 9.00	Registration	Iris/BALA staff
9.00 – 9.15	Opening and welcome	Mr. Kethlomilwe Moletsane
9.15 – 10.00	Introduction: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants - Purpose of mini-workshop - Expectations & suggestions 	Ms. Iris Breeman
10.00 – 10.45	Introduction to Municipal Partnerships: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - History - Contemporary - Outcomes research in Botswana 	Ms. Iris Breeman
10.45 – 11.30	Tea Break	
11.30 – 13.00	Status of Municipal Partnerships in Botswana. For this part of the schedule the participants will be split in four groups, according to their experience with Municipal Partnerships. The groups will receive questions to discuss amongst each other and will be asked to report back. Group 1: no Municipal Partnership Group 2: dormant Municipal Partnership Group 3: active Municipal Partnership Group 4: new Municipal Partnership	All
13.00 – 14.00	Lunch	
14.00 – 15.00	Report back in plenary on Status of Municipal Partnerships in Botswana	All 4 groups
15.00 – 16.00	Future for Municipal Partnerships in Botswana. Discuss best practices and challenges in plenary discussion based on “Status of Municipal Partnerships in Botswana” and beyond.	All, discussion led by Ms. Iris Breeman
16.00 – 17.00	Vote of thanks and closing	Mr. Kethlomilwe Moletsane