

**THE ROLE OF CITY TWINNING IN FOSTERING
DIPLOMACY: A CASE OF CITY OF HARARE AND CITY OF
MUNICH TWINNING ARRANGEMENT (2000 -2015)**

BY

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Abbreviations

EU	European Union
MDC	Movement for Demo
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US(A)	United States of America

Dedication

To my family for the unwavering support, encouragement in my studies and all they have done to make me intellectually active.

You are shining stars.

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Abstract

City twinning arrangements have been viewed by quite a number of scholars as a way to go in the 21st Century in fostering diplomacy of the states. As such the study sought to unearth the role that city twinning arrangements played in fostering Zimbabwe's diplomacy through a critical study of the twinning arrangements entered between City of Harare and City of Munich. The study at hand was critical in that at state bilateral level Zimbabwe and Germany were not in cordial terms at least from an international relations point of view. By virtue of Germany being a strategic and critical member of the European Union, she was obliged to honour the economic sanctions and a whole sale package of restrictive measures the 28-member bloc had slapped on Zimbabwe with the turning of the new millennium, on allegations of Zimbabwe's blatant abuse of human rights especially at the height of its land reform programme of the post millennium. Confronted with a research problem on how the levels of demonisation and denigration at state level between Zimbabwe and any other European Union member state such as Germany could fair diplomatic manoeuvres, the researcher sought to assess the extent at which the Harare-Munich twinning arrangement managed to navigate and thaw the hostile relations that prevailed at the same time. Through the qualitative research approach, the researcher used documentary search and guided questionnaire research methodology to assess the extent at which twinning arrangements could foster diplomacy between Zimbabwe and Germany. Using a theoretical framework anchored on interdependency theory and the concept of soft power, it was realised that indeed city twinning could help in fostering diplomatic relations. Whereas states have remained and retained the sole legitimate role of being the primary actors of international relations, it was recommended that cities could still play a pivotal role in fostering diplomacy through complementing and not necessarily supplementing states in their diplomatic endeavours. As such the researcher highly recommended the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to strongly incorporate the Ministry of Local Government in harnessing diplomacy through riding on the crest of twinning arrangements entered by cities.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.0. Introduction

This research was centred much on the need to assess the role of city twinning in fostering diplomacy with special focus on City of Harare-City of Munich twinning arrangement and further to examine the extent at which city diplomacy may be used to override hostile relationships at state level. There are quite a number of advantages that can be derived from the existence of twinning arrangements though at times the rewards can well be overridden by the challenges in the twinings. This research therefore seeks to understand the role that city twinning relations play in fostering diplomacy of states. The rationale behind this chapter is to outline and clearly clarify the background of the research, statement of purpose, research objectives and questions, assumptions, the importance of the study and the delimitations that is associated with the research.

1.1. Background to the problem

Diplomacy has been described as the best means by civilization for preventing international relation from being governed by force alone. According to Adegbulu (2011: 171) “The field in which it (diplomacy) operates lies somewhere between power politics and civilised usage, and its methods have varied with the political convention of each age.” In other words diplomacy has been understood as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states. Formal contact between nations in the global Community takes place through the medium of diplomacy and the interaction of diplomats.

Diplomats are emissaries or representatives of their governments in other countries and are the direct contact between different governments. According to van der Pluijm and Melissen (2007: 5) “it is often asserted that modern diplomacy, characterised by the establishment of permanent missions that are resident in the capital of a foreign country, finds its origin in the Peace of Westphalia.” However the foundations of diplomacy as such were established long before 1648, in times when states as they are known now did not yet exist and cities pioneered as foreign policy entities, (Ibid: 5).

After the Treaties of Westphalia cities like Venice were not able to prolong their monopoly over foreign policy and diplomacy became the domain of the newly established European states. Moreover, the standardisation of diplomacy after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the co-evolvement of diplomacy and states in the time thereafter further intensified state-centeredness in both theory and practice of international relations in general and diplomacy more specifically, (Ibid: 5).

Whilst foreign policy in general and diplomacy in particular have largely remained the preserve of states largely through respective ministries of Foreign Affairs, it is also important to point at this critical juncture that prevailing events and circumstances have since complemented and competed with states for the facilitation of diplomatic relations. In addition van der Pluijm and Melissen (2007: 5) further observe that “the state is no longer the only actor on the diplomatic stage. Associations of states, NGOs and multinational corporations, for example, increasingly play a role in diplomacy.” However whilst this is so, academic discussions and literature have focused less on the increasing role of another equally important actor in diplomacy, namely the city.

The role of the city in fostering diplomatic relations in the 21st century demands scholarly attention because as van der Pluijm and Melissen (2007: 5) note,

For the first time in human history more people will live in urban than in rural areas. In addition, on a global scale, over 100 000 people a day move to cities. It is therefore clear that cities now matter more in the world than ever, making some even term cities as the one socio-political unit that is growing in power in the era of globalisation.

The emergence of the city as a crucial territorial actor in international relations entails that the state modelled in the Westphalian thrust has lost monopoly over social, economic and political activity that asserted it as the unitary actor in the international system. Pettersen (2013: 57) argues that cities have thus developed from policy takers to active players. It is against the above explored information that there is a need to cultivate into the role that cities play in fostering diplomatic relations casting a central focus on city twinning arrangements in general and the City of Harare and City of Munich twinning arrangement in particular.

According to de Villers et al (2007: 17) “twinning can be broadly defined as a long-term strategic alliance between communities in different cities or towns, in which their municipalities are key actors.” A community can be understood as the citizens, local government administration, civil society groups and business organisations, which together

form a sub-national geographic entity, (Ibid: 17). Although Harare is thousands of kilometres and oceans away from City of Munich in Germany, the diplomatic relationship between the two cities have continued to blossom albeit under the very same context that Zimbabwe is under imposed economic sanctions by the European Union at which Germany is a key player, and at a time Zimbabwe- EU frost relations have not showed any signs of thawing in the foreseeable future. Such a unique relationship between Harare and Munich has been made possible through twinning arrangements by the two cities.

Historically the international twinning of cities and towns can be traced back to 1920. In the aftermath of World War II, three UK cities twinned with German counterparts in an attempt to reach out to war-ravaged German cities.

In 1956 US President Eisenhower initiated an organised twinning programme as an outgrowth of his People-to-People programme, which later evolved into Sister Cities International (SCI). These initiatives in both Europe and America focused on interaction between local citizens and communities across international borders, (Ibid: 17).

It is estimated that between 15 000 and 20 000 towns and cities globally are at present twinned through various forms of partnering agreements. Furthermore de Villiers et al (2007: 17) note that “The twinning of cities has evolved from an international instrument of friendship and cultural exchange to what is being acclaimed as a powerful tool for capacity-building and economic development.” From its simple beginning as a programme of outreach, citizen exchange and friendships ties, twinning is now widely used as an instrument to build regional unity, to learn from others, and to help accomplish development goals.

Hechenberger (2011: 43) notes that:

The Munich- Harare twinning scheme has existed since 1996 and in the City of Munich it is based on three pillars. The official contacts and projects are coordinated by the Office of the Third Mayor. Secondly the Munich for Harare association, which was founded by Munich city councillors, supports a non-profit initiative in Harare by collecting donations. Finally, links between citizens are supported by the Harare-Munich Partnership Team, a working group of volunteers based with the Munich North South-Forum Association.

In the same vein Harare News (2008:1) reports that “City of Harare received a donation of medical supplies worth over 500 000 pounds from their European counterparts (City of Munich).”

The origins of City of Harare and City of Munich Twinning in 1996, is premised in cordial relations that prevailed between Zimbabwe (the state) and many states in Europe and the United States of America (USA). Zimbabwe 2000 enjoyed cordial international relations with states in Europe. Its former colonial master viewed Zimbabwe as its second home.

The beauty of Zimbabwe attracted many tourists World over to visit this wonder of the world “Victoria Falls” and other tourist attractions such as the Eastern Highlands, Chinhoyi Caves, Gonarezhou, Hwange National Park, Mana Pools and many such beautiful sites.

Zimbabwe as a nation endowed with natural resources, main minerals, ivory and agricultural produce kept its magnetic link with many states in the World and European states in particular.

Before the “land invasions of 2000” that broke bilateral relations between London and Harare. Harare still enjoyed credit lines and foreign direct investments especially from European states. The multilateral relations helped in the capacity building of Zimbabwe in general and cities such as Harare in particular. These cordial and friendly relations in the conduct of Zimbabwe’s business did in turn ensure economic development.

Cities like Harare were able to enter into twinning relations with developed municipalities such as the City of Munich in the areas of Health, ICT and staff development.

The 2000 farm invasions or land redistribution programme brought with it frost relations. Britain, USA and Europe resorted to soft and hard power diplomacy, in which economic sanctions, travel bans and the drastic shrinking of trade become the resultant status quo. The Harare Administration dug in, claiming it was acting as a sovereign state, redistributing its land resources. On the other hand, the Administration of London and Washington felt its Keith and keen, the White farmers had been ill-treated. Relations subsequently soured.

The 1999 no vote, which was funded and sponsored especially by Nordic states proved that the die was cast. The formation of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) as formidable political opposition party with Anglo-Saxon Links and European backing was the last straw that broke camel’s back. Such tense relations considered with the tightening of screws by the Harare administration. For instance the Minister of Local Government Ignatius Chiminya Chombo expelled the democratically elected Harare Council, replacing it with handpicked commissions. Hence the withdraw of aid and frosting of relations between the City of Munich and City of Harare between 2002 and 2008.

It therefore remains a paradox that at a time Zimbabwe has had a hostile relationship with Europe especially strategic states in the EU at which German remains economically the strongest member, at a city-to-city cooperation Munich and Harare has continued to enjoy diplomatic mutual understanding that has flourished over the years. As such it is therefore very critical to devote attention to a study that focuses on the role of city twinning in fostering diplomatic relations taking the Harare-Munich twinning arrangement under spotlight.

1.2. Statement of the problem

At official state level, there has been evidence of continued mudslinging between Zimbabwe and members of the EU states but paradoxically from the twinning arrangement made between Munich and Harare it seems relations continue to flourish. Zimbabwe has suffered a lot due to a 'militant' diplomatic approach it has chosen to pursue towards the West especially after the land reform programme in 2000. If twinning arrangements typical of the Munich-Harare case are brought at the centre of gravity of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its diplomatic endeavours in particular then the country is likely to sail through the turbulent international landscape where state survival and pursuit of self interests is at the core of a state's activities. The USA's sanctions legitimised through the Zimbabwe Democracy Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 2001 have continued to isolate Zimbabwe from attaining lines of credit from financial institutions the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Given the successes of twinning at city level, the adverse effects of sanctions may slightly be busted through pragmatic realisation that diplomatic standoff between two states might not necessarily mean the diplomatic standoff of cities hence the need to focus on the role of city twinning in fostering diplomatic relations with a major focus on the case of City of Harare-City of Munich twinning arrangement.

1.3. Hypothesis

The Zimbabwean Government has failed to appreciate the role city twinning can play in fostering diplomatic relations especially from states whose relationships have been hostile with Zimbabwe, precisely members of the EU as well as the USA.

1.4. Objectives of the study

The objectives of this research are to:

1.4.1. Assess the role of city twinning in fostering diplomacy with special focus on City of Harare-City of Munich twinning arrangement,

1.4.2. Examine the extent at which city diplomacy may be used to override hostile relationships at state level,

1.4.3. Identify strategies that may be harnessed by Zimbabwe to curtail the negative effects of sanctions from EU and USA through twinning arrangements with cities of states from the EU and USA and,

1.4.4. Make recommendations to Zimbabwe's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on how best it can liaise with local authorities through the responsible ministry to harness diplomatic relations through city twinning arrangements.

1.5. Research Questions

1.5.1. In what ways can twinning arrangements be used in fostering diplomacy of States?

1.5.2. Can cities successfully overtake states in foreign policies issues in the post Westphalian international system?

1.5.3. What are the limitations of city twinning in harnessing diplomacy of states?

1.5.4. Can policy makers seriously consider local authorities in crafting foreign policy and with what effects?

1.5.5. What are the practical strategies that may be adopted by Zimbabwe to make twinning part of the country's diplomatic strategy at the height of economic sanctions?

1.6. Justification of the study

The study is very critical from an international relations point of view because it brings a unique and rather pertinent perspective of trying to establish the role city twinning can play in fostering diplomatic relations. Zimbabwe has been at loss for almost a decade and half due to economic sanctions and continued escalation of hostile diplomatic relations with the EU member states as well as the USA. Whilst at national level relations have remained frost, at city to city level relations of Harare and many cities in the above mentioned continue to blossom. This becomes very important and must be brought under academic spotlight because the study will be a modest attempt in trying to come out with remedies on how best

Zimbabwe can pull everything at its disposal to limit the dilapidating effects of sanctions. Policy makers in government and local authorities may also get an appreciation on how crucial city twinning is of essence in international relations capacity building and economic development.

1.7. Delimitation/ Scope of the study

The scope of the study resides mainly in the period between years 2000 up to 2015. The period is critical in that it heralded the changing landscape of Zimbabwe's foreign policy, domestic policy and overall diplomacy. At a foreign policy scale, Zimbabwe's relations with Britain, the USA and the rest of the Western states following the parties' disagreements on the modalities at which the Government of Zimbabwe was supposed to take in the initiation and implementation of its land reform, which was aimed at redressing the colonial imbalances on land ownership, control and settlement. At a domestic policy scale, the complexion of politics changed with the formation of the MDC which romped into electoral victory in all urban cities and towns dotted in the country. This is the same time twinning arrangements were put in place by municipalities in general and Harare City Council in particular as a way of harnessing relations to capitulate development.

1.8. Limitations

There were some limitations encountered in the research. In Zimbabwe the concept of city twinning is still lagging behind in terms of its literature development to the extent that finding literature that has got Municipal appreciation became a hazardous task. In the same vein the research without option restricted itself to few elites and academics with a full appreciation of the twinning arrangements in general and that of Harare and Munich in particular and became exclusive of ordinary people whose views probably would have been critical. That being the case, the researcher however used all efforts at his disposal to make the research a success. It needs to be mentioned that the researcher is himself a Councillor for Ward 43 in Harare, who has been part of a delegation that visited Munich in 2010 to harness the twinning arrangement. Whilst in Munich, the researcher made professional and personal contacts that may be very helpful in the study despite the distance existing. Moreover German Embassy in Harare has a cordial relationship with City of Harare to the extent that soliciting relevant information may still be attainable.

1.9. Dissertation Outline

The dissertation outline shall be presented as follows:

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Background

Chapter 2 – Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

Chapter 4 – Major Findings, Presentation and Analysis

Chapter 5 – Summary of Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the background of the study, the purpose, and significance of the study, research objectives and questions, and the limitations of the study. This chapter focuses on the related literature on the topic. This section deals with the review of related literature which will help the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the research problem, and or re-defining the problem behind the research study.

2.1. Understanding Diplomacy

Diplomacy is closely related to foreign policy. Diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy in fact it is part of foreign policy. Where force tends to fail, diplomacy is likely to succeed, and like foreign policy diplomacy is a critical aspect of state craft.

2.2 Evolution of diplomacy

The term diplomacy was coined by Edmund Burke in 1796. It was commonly known as negotiation by Cardinal Richelieu. It arose from the word ‘diploma’ which means a folded paper or letter of recommendation, hence the contents of an official document. Sir Robert Peel defines diplomacy as the great engine used by civilised society for the purpose of maintaining peace. Diplomacy is an instrument used in maintaining peace and security in international relations as pointed in the Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations 1961. Berridge (2012) notes that diplomacy, “is an important means by which states pursue their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda or, law. It includes gathering information (intelligence), clarifying intentions and engendering goodwill.”

Sir Ernest Sadow defines diplomacy, “as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes to their relations with dependent territories, and between governments and international institutions or more briefly, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means.” From the above definitions we can therefore see that diplomacy is the conduct of international relations for the promotion of the national interest using peaceful means. Diplomatic relations are governed by:-

(i) The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961

(ii) Vienna Convention on Consular Mission 1964

(iii) Vienna Convention on Special Missions

2.3 Public diplomacy

The term public diplomacy was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. There has largely been a difficult task of trying to separate public diplomacy and propaganda. Given a Government's direct involvement in both aspects, it has remained difficult for scholars trying to distinguish between public diplomacy and propaganda. We may suggest that public diplomacy is propaganda at the international fora. Joseph Nye, one of the proponents of the power theory of international relations devoted on a study that revealed how soft power plays a critical role to a States power dynamics in the international system.

Public diplomacy is an instrument of soft power where governments invest huge sums of money in trying to build, manage and sustain a positive image to the outside world. The media has thus been the key instrument of soft power and thus a vehicle for public diplomacy. Public diplomacy aims at justifications of a State's pursuit of its interests in the international system, even if the actions are condemned on the basis of morality and legality by other states. The advent of public of public diplomacy as a critical tool of soft power has been identified mainly following the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks. In line with the Bush Doctrine, all United States of America media pitched stories and images on how justified the US was in its fight on terrorism and on how necessary it was for the world to declare Global War on Terror (GWOt).

2.4. Cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy has also been identified as the linchpin of Public Diplomacy, for a nation's ideas are mostly exhibited to the outside world through culture. The popularised idea of carnivals, cultural exchange programmes, World Olympic Games among many other culturally-related world events have a strong element of cultural diplomacy. Put in simple terms, cultural diplomacy is the excessive use of culture to broaden a country's diplomatic endeavours. Whilst at face value a regional dance convention may appear as only an exhibition of dance by regional member States, such occasions often start with the dance

groups, Ministers of Art and Culture and may even end with Heads of State and Government meetings. Behind the scenes, efforts of integration, co-operation and unity will be brokered due to a cultural activity.

2.5. Defining City Twinning and its evolving nature

According to Van Der Pluijm (2007) City Diplomacy could be defined as ‘the institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another.’

Cities have an important role to play in consolidating democratic processes, projecting it to national and, eventually, international level. The city movement against Apartheid in Netherlands and the establishment of hundreds of city links with townships organisations in South Africa contributed to the process of democratic change in post-conflict South Africa (Ibid: 15).

City twinning is often called city diplomacy in some literature circles, is often associated with the aftermath of Second World War after nations which had been ravaged by devastating effects of war sought ways of harnessing peace, University of Utrecht (2007: 15). According to Joenniemi and Sergunin (2011: 120), regionalisation has recently become a wide-spread phenomenon not only within the EU but also elsewhere in Europe, including former socialist countries. Twinning is viewed by many European municipalities as an efficient instrument for both solving local problems and ensuring their sustainable development, (Ibid: 120). Indeed, border-related resources can be utilised more effectively with cooperation extended beyond state borders, although the efficiency and scale of twinning projects varies across Europe to a considerable degree.

City-to-city partnership is a concept whereby towns or cities in geographically and politically distinct areas are paired, with the goal of fostering human contact and cultural links. Different terms are used to describe city-to-city relationships such as sister cities, twin cities, municipal international cooperation (MIC), city-to-city cooperation (C2C), decentralized cooperation and many others. The concept marks a paradigm shift from the classical “donor-recipient” model to a more collaborative and mutually beneficial type of partnership where both parties join their resources to achieve common benefits. Kripperndoff (1980) states that City-to-city partnership normally starts by a joint decision taken by two local governments to work together and encourage exchanges between their respective constituencies, and in the majority of cases, NGOs, CSOs, educational institutions, syndicates or private sector

organisations (among others) from both sides undertake social, economic, cultural and environmental projects under this umbrella.

The nature of city-to city partnerships can also be defined in terms of its geographic orientation:

(i) **North-North linkages** comprise most of the city-to-city partnership in the world. They mainly focus on socio-cultural issues and exchanges of people, and increasingly include technical/professional cooperation activities and economic development components.

(ii) **North-South linkages** are often aimed at development cooperation. Although rapidly increasing, their number is still relatively small compared to North-North linkages.

(iii) **South-South linkages** have been also strongly promoted in recent years. The idea behind these linkages is that communities from Southern areas are dealing with the same types of problems, and therefore can learn from solutions developed by one another.

Joenniemi and Sergunin (2011: 121) further identify what they term the bright side of twinning which can be listed below:

2.5.1. Bolstering economic and business development.

2.5.2. Improving service delivery and business development.

2.5.3. Improving transport infrastructure.

2.5.4. Promoting freedom of movement, goods, services and capital.

2.5.5. Accessing EU and other financial institutions in search for funding.

2.5.6. Promoting community well-being.

2.5.7. Promoting stronger community partnerships

2.5.8. Increasing global and European awareness.

2.5.9. Yielding more intense local government staff development and training.

2.5.10. Providing resources for developing education and culture.

2.5.11. Promoting tolerance and increasing understanding.

2.5.12. Enhancing youth activities.

2.6. City Diplomacy in the pre-Westphalia era

International relations generally concur in acknowledging that the peace treaty of Westphalia is a major demarcation of the current and the pre-Westphalia eras. One such city is Jerusalem which at one point was more popular than the entire Israelite State. According to Johnson (2005: 256) today, the status of Jerusalem remains one of the core issues in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The diplomatic influence of such cities as Nazareth, Bethlehem and Babylon is still vivid as evidenced by the Christian Biblical narrative. No other city has contributed more to the civilization of mankind than Athens. It is the place where Socrates was born, Plato, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and many others. It is the place that humanism and democracy were born, (Ibid: 257).

The intellectual light that Athens created will always be alive. What this shows is the priority a city is given ahead of the State showing how critical cities have been in the understanding of international relations and politics. Sens (2011) hints that the role that the city of Vienna played in fostering 20th Century diplomacy cannot be under-estimated. Following the diplomatic brilliance exhibited at Vienna, it was through the City of Vienna that today the world has the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations as well as the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Immunity.

2.6.1. The Treaty of Westphalia

According to Griffiths and O’Callaghan (2002) the Treaty of Westphalia was an accord entered to the political settlement that saw the end of the Thirty Years War (1618-48). Prior to that treaty Central Europe had gone through a period of religious turmoil, particularly in Germany, where the Lutherans, Calvinists and Zwinglians challenged the right of the Roman Empire (then under the control of the Hapsburgs of Austria) to determine their religious fate. The war began when the Archbishop of Prague destroyed a number of Protestant churches. In response, and after appeals to the Holy Roman Emperor had failed to settle the issue, Bohemian Protestants stormed the Emperor’s palace, threw two of his ministers through the window, deposed the Catholic King, and installed Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, in power, Ibid.

Such religious misunderstandings that often courted the ire of political power were finally brought to an end with the Peace of Westphalia that was signed on October 24 1648 in Munster and Osnabruck. The treaty recognised the sovereignty of the German states, the

Swiss Confederation, and the Netherlands. The French and the Swedes also emerged beneficiaries since they made significant territorial gains. It is important to also note that the treaty heralded the rise of France as Europe's dominant power until such hegemony was challenged by Bismarck following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The Treaty is often credited with establishing the legal basis of the present day State system. Griffiths and O'Callaghan (2002) further state that the Treaty established two core principles:

The first was *rex est imperator in regno suo*. Literally it means that the King is sovereign within his own domain and not subject to the political will of anyone else. The settlement recognised the absolute power of rulers and linked this personal or dynastic rule to a specific territory. The second principle was *cuius region, eius religio*, which conferred upon the King the power to determine which religion would be practised in his realm. It was a principle that prohibited interference into the internal affairs of other States on religious grounds, and it remains important today in providing the basis of international law.

2.6.2 The re-emergence of the City as a crucial actor in 21st century international system

Whilst Westphalia as noted above, asserted the primacy of the state as the unitary actor of international relations in the international system, scholars state that of late, particularly in the 21st century, the city has once again re-emerged to reclaim its role as an influential actor of international relations. It has indeed become popular for states' governments and or diplomacy to be recognised or identified through their cities in preference of their state status. Thus phrases like 'The Harare Government' 'The Washington Consensus' 'The Brussels-based EU' 'The Beijing Declaration' 'The Government of Moscow' among several others. It is against this backdrop that an illustration can be made that shows the critical role of city diplomacy in the operation of a state. This can be highlighted in Figure 1 below:

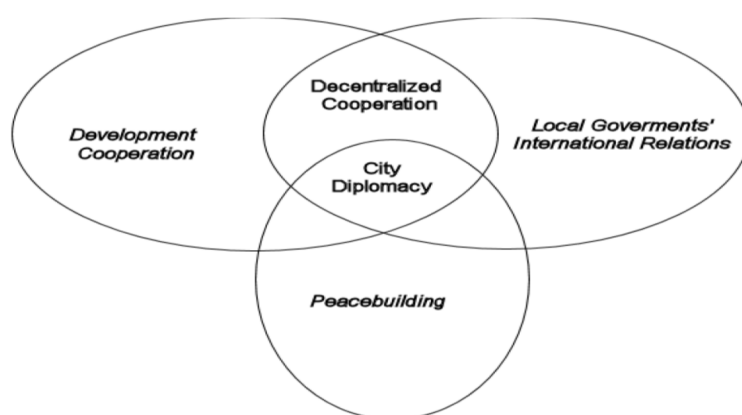


Figure 1 depicting the centrality of city diplomacy in the functioning of a State

Adapted from the University of Utrecht (2007)

From the diagram above it can be shown that city diplomacy has re-emerged typical of a nucleus of a living organism. According to Van Der Pluijm (2007) it's not the city that initiates sustainable relationships within other countries, it is its representatives. On the first place representatives of the cities are the mayors, given that they have the most responsibility for the city's international relations. Also the alderman, councillors, municipal servants and municipal advisors. As such in the development cooperation sector, the City of Harare – City of Munich case study can be brought to the fore. Since 2008 there has been increased development cooperation between the two cities resulting in City of Harare's owned hospitals and clinics receiving state-of-the-art equipment, industrial power voltage generators, among many other accessories.

In the peace building sphere, there has been evident thawing of hostile relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union of which Germany is a key player of that bloc. In the decentralised cooperation realm, there has been evident delegation of state responsibility to cities (Waltz K. 1979). It has since been evident that the state is not the only central actor in the international body-polity. Lastly the Local Governments' International Relations sphere. Whilst the state is busy brokering international treaties and deals, municipal governments are also doing the same to the extent that states and cities are now complementing each other. This has led to what scholars have termed the rediscovery of the city in international relations.

2.6.3. City of Harare-City of Munich twinning arrangement

The German Association of Cities (2011: 43) notes that the Munich- Harare twinning scheme started in 1996 and was framed on three pillars with the official contacts and projects being coordinated by the Office of the Third Mayor. In addition the Munich for Harare's association founded by Munich city councillors supported a non-profit initiative in Harare by collecting donations. Links between citizens are supported by Harare-Munich Partnership Team, a working group of volunteers base with the Munich North-South Forum Association. The German Association of Cities (2011: 43) identifies three phases that characterised the Munich – Harare Twinning arrangement which can be identified below:

2.6.3.1. The first 'ice age' (1999-2002)

The German Association of Cities (2011: 43) states that the first phase was unfortunately interrupted by political instability in Zimbabwe which made projects, cultural and citizens'

encounters to be discontinued. The first interruption was forced to take place in 1999, when the Zimbabwean government had the city council and the mayor of Harare suspended and replaced by a government commission. The municipal by-elections were then delayed for years, in order to prevent the emerging political opposition in the capital from taking the reins of power, Ibid: 43. This led to the City of Munich to freeze all formal contacts with the City of Harare administration. During this period of frosty relations the partnership then shifted very much on to the level of cooperation between citizens. The Harare – Munich Partnership Team struck up links with human rights initiatives and citizens’ organisations, the most important of which the Combined Harare Residents Association (CHRA).

2.6.3.2. A brief glimmer of hope

The German Association of Cities (2011: 43) notes that when the new, democratically legitimated government of Harare took up office – the residents of Harare had voted the opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) into the city council with a large majority – formal contacts between Munich and Harare could be resumed.

It was clear that the only way to cope with the political pressure from the government, and the social and economic challenges, was for all democratic elements to join forces and pull in the same direction. Nonetheless, relations between the CHRA and the mayor of Harare were strained at the beginning. This was due to different expectations and ways of thinking on citizen participation and the executive, (Ibid: 43-44).

The German Association of Cities (2011: 44) further notes that in view of the extremely difficult overall conditions, mayor Mudzuri and his city council then performed considerable work, as a result of which the elected officials became duly popular among the citizens of Harare.

2.6.3.3. The second ‘ice age’ (2003-2008)

Even before the cooperation projects between the city administrations of Munich and Harare could get underway, Mudzuri was overtaken by the same fate as his predecessor after he was suspended by Minister of Local Government for disobedience, the German Association of Cities (2011: 44). During this period the city of Munich had kept in touch with the deposed mayor, who was forced to spend periods living abroad because his life was under threat in Zimbabwe. During this period the economic crises in Zimbabwe reached a crescendo following its attainment of a 10-digit inflationary rate with unemployment rate that reached well over 90 percent, the German Association of Cities (2011: 44).

The period also coincided with a Government orchestrated exercise dubbed '*Operation Murambatsvina*' or Operation Restore Order, an exercise that saw all slums in Zimbabwe's major cities demolished during the winter season of 2005. This action was widely condemned at an international level to the extent that the United Nations had to send a delegation to assess the situation. The exercise was widely condemned as it had displaced human population rendering over a million people homeless.

At the same time, though, 'normal' project activities also took place during this period of frosty relations. Cultural projects run jointly with private partners in Harare were implemented; artists from Harare were offered grants to come and stay for a time in Munich. Students from organisations came to Munich to receive training. The Catholic youth organisation resumed the youth exchange programme, which had been discontinued in 2000 due to political unrest, (Ibid: 44).

2.6.3.4 Zimbabwe's inclusive government and the Munich – Harare Cooperation

The year 2009 was a turning point of diplomatic relations between Munich and Harare following the inauguration of the inclusive government. Prior to the inclusive government, harmonised elections had been conducted in Zimbabwe that saw the MDC walloping the ruling party mainly in local urban authorities, House of Assembly and Senate.

At presidential level, the elections did not produce a winner, triggering a run off which the opposition leader later pulled out citing violence and persecution of his supporters as well electoral irregularities. This motivated Africa Union and Southern Africa Development Community to call for power sharing talks that led to the formation of an inclusive government. The five-year inclusive government ushered a ray of hope to the Munich – Harare twinning arrangement following the resumptions of the two cities relations at an official and administrative level. Then Deputy Mayor for City of Harare Emmanuel Chiroto and one Councillor Masiye Kapare visited Munich for the first time in 2010. In 2011, four councillors and one official from Harare City went for an exchange programme that lasted for a month.

Their stay in Munich resulted in the brokering of arrangements that later facilitated the donation of drugs, industrial high voltage generators, medical equipment and refurbishment of water treatment plants and Harare Municipal Maternity clinic new state of the art labour equipment and the Munich as well as the installation of City of Harare's information

communication technology system. In the period prior to the election in 2013, a high powered Council delegation comprised of technocrats from Munich in April 2013. The purpose of the visit was to assess the areas of need of the City of Harare. The delegation comprised of two medical doctors who brought in new medical assortment and had keen interests in the Edith Opperman, Maternity home in Mbare. In 2014 the newly sworn in Deputy Mayor Councillor Muzuva as well as one Councillor also made another visit to Munich in continuation of the relationship already at a stronger level. To this day the Munich – Harare relations are still blossoming, indicating how critical city twinning is in fostering diplomatic relations.

2.7. City of Harare and City of Munich twinning arrangement – a presentation by Dr Tendai Mahachi (Town Clerk City of Harare)

There is now a new form of diplomacy that is being championed by local authorities and with the growing level of this paradigm, called, 'decentralised cooperation' by the other cities and 'Twinning Agreements/Arrangements' by others, is ushering in a new dispensation both for states and local authorities. As much as the local authorities are waiting for a 'cast your nets wider' in terms of development both economic and otherwise, there is a tendency by the central government to thwart the efforts, and the reasons for such are quite varied. However, it should be noted that cities have a protracted way that is more narrow and focused and given the manifestation of diplomatic calls than the state at large. Recently, there was a conference in Palestine dubbed 'International Conference of Local Authorities at the Heart of Palestine'. The conference sought to unite local authorities for the Palestinian cause. This shows that the direction at which things are unfolding means that states are being overtaken by local authorities. Quite a number of twinning arrangements were recorded at the conference with the City of Harare endeavouring to twin with Ramallah, EAST Jerusalem and Bethlehem. But looking at the relation between Zimbabwe and Palestine, it's just a significant relationship.

The twinning between the City of Harare (COH) and the City of Munich (COM) was first signed in 1996 and since then quite a number of mutual benefits have accumulated. The staff and councillors exchanges that form part of the agreement have necessitated information exchanges and sharing of best practices in urban local governance and also the politics of the land. Not only the information exchange but also material benefits have been exchanged. However, on the exchange, there is a tendency or rather a bias in which the other part is a

‘receiver’ whilst the other part is the ‘giver’. Most 3rd world cities have little to offer to the 1st world cities as such the twinning arrangements tend to be a bit manipulative.

First (1st) World City and Thirdly World City Relations they manipulative political arrangements.

An assessment of the twinning arrangement between City of Harare and City of Munich is indicative of a one way relationship between the giver and the receiver. It is materially clear that City of Harare is the receiver in the twinning arrangements. City of Harare has gained immensely in the ICT as well as in the area of Health. ICT Hardware and medical equipment has been given to the 3rd world city and nothing materially has gone to Munich. Does this relationship then apply to the notion of soft power theory. In which powerful states into submission have resorted to the use of soft power in which they arm twist weaker states through their cities into diplomatic submission.

It is simply a case of wealth powerful nations rekindling their relations with their poor weaker counter parts. Or it is a case, of powerful rich nations dumping their accessess into the 3rd World market. To what value is goods not wanted in the in the 1st World of value to desperate situations and circumstances in the 3rd World. Maybe this arrangement between the two cities can alleviate the hard hit 3rd World City that is desperately failing to copy with basic service delivery needs. For instance the refuse truck that are beyond their life span in Munich can be useful to the City of Harare that is ceased with refuse and garbage beyond its capacity and control.

If the maternity labour equipment that was donated to Harare City’s Edith Opherman is useful to woman in labour pain, then the twinning arrangement between the two city cities is not that of a horse and a rider. If the two ICT experts that were sent by the City of Munich to up-grade Harare City ICT systems is anything to go by, then the relationship between the City conforms to the dictates of idealist theorist like Emmanuel Kant who postulated that co-operation, peace and one global village would in turn promote trade and improve standards of living and make the world a better place to live. The above assertion is contrary to the view by realists theorists who believes in hard power, in which war is a means to the ends.

2.8. Government role in twinning arrangements

The Central government, through its arms, the Ministry of Local Government, National Housing and Public Works, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have the following roles:

2.8.2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Recommend best cities depending on the relations that exist between Zimbabwe and the country of that City.
- As such can refute cities that are vibrant and willing to help COH.
- The greatest problem with MOFA is the delay in approving the twinning issue. One can see that a twinning sent for approval in 1992 just faltered along the way

2.8.3. Ministry of Local Government

As the parent Ministry to the colt, it has the sole mandate to provide direction and focus to the COH. The Ministry is also supposed to provide/facilitate cabinet Authority Applications approval for council officials to travel to other cities for twinning issues. Deliberate moves by the parent ministry of local government to refuse officials, especially MDC elected Councillors is in itself retrogressive. The view that foreign policy should be pragmatic is at play by Western states, as we find a French delegation visit in Harare for business in January 2015. In February a British businesses delegation also visited Harare in search of business opportunities this is inspite of frost relations between the London administration and the Harare government. A shrewd crafter of good foreign policy is one who is not trapped in the past hatreds, but one whose foreign policy is pragmatic and quickly changes to suit prevailing circumstances. Simply put, the rigidity and scepticism that the parent ministry treats these twinning arrangements does not save any good. However, the Ministry is a block since most Cabinet Authority applications do not pass at Ministry level. As such the twinning arrangements falters. The recent denial by the Ministry to grant authority to the COH to travel to Addis Ababa for the signing of the agreement highlights. Quite a number of Cabinet Authority Applications have been turned down as a way of hawking the cost efforts to brand itself outside the borders of Zimbabwe.

2.9. The political mileage in the country

The politics of the country determines and define the foreign policy of the country. As much as the COH would want to pursue twinning arrangements with European and American countries, too much political interference hence biased approval.

2.10 Timeline of the City of Harare and City of Munich ICT evolution arrangement

In roads into the twinning arrangements ICT, Harare as a 3rd World City is still lagging in the area of ICT. This in turn has affected its ability to deliver services with speed in the modern day and time of technology. The City of Munich has tried to assist this sister city to establish interactivity, city wide connectivity, self services applications. City of Munich sent for free

PRESENCE 2012	INTERACTION 2013	TRANSACTION 2014	TRANSACTION 2015	TRANSACTION 2016
Internet/Website	Search capabilities	Empowering the public towards e-services	Build self-service applications	Redefining the delivery of information and services
No interactivity	Host forms to download	Complete entire tasks online	Public to access online services and build personal profiles	Customer relationship management (CRM) tools
City – wide connectivity	Linkages with relevant sites			Wireless access devices
	Public access required information online (personal and general)			Re-shape the relationships

two ICT expertise to Harare and they come up with the following programme of action.

2.11. City of Harare twinning arrangements with other cities and their statuses.

The City of Harare has a number of twinning arrangements with various cities. Some of the twinning arrangements have been long standing and have remained unsigned. The signing of the twinning arrangements with the cities of Addis Ababa and Cheonan is pending in the

CITY	COUNTRY	STATUS	COMMENTS/RECOMMENDATIONS
Cincinnati	USA	active	Active enough and exchange taking place
Nottingham	UK	active	There is also limited communication between the cities and there is need to revive the twinning
Munich	Germany	active	Active enough and exchanges taking place
Chelonia	South Korea	active	Active enough and exchanges taking place. The arrangement however is not yet signed. To be signed first quarter 2015.
Guangzhou	China	pending	Needs to be pursued and signed
Winnipeg	Canada	dormant	Signed in 1987 but there has been no communication. Needs to be revived
Cairo	Egypt	dormant	Communication died in 1995. There is need to revisit the twinning since it was not signed.
Columbus	USA	dormant	Signed in 1981 and since 1982 there has been no communication. This one needs to be cancelled
Sacramento	USA	dormant	Signed in 1996. Needs revival
Addis Ababa	Ethiopia	awaiting signing	The agreement was supposed to have been signed in June 2014. To be signed first quarter 2015.
Islamabad	Pakistan	pending	Communication died in 1996 and the twinning was not signed. This one needs to be cancelled
Lusaka	Zambia	awaiting signing	Last communication in 1987 and since then no communication. Needs revival
Kiev	Ukraine	incomplete	No communication from Kiev since 2007. There is need to pursue it.
Moscow	Russia	incomplete	No information
Dakar	Senegal	incomplete	Correspondence died in 1992. There is need for follow up

The Hague	Netherlands	incomplete	Limited information. This needs to be cancelled.
Amsterdam	Netherlands	incomplete	The twinning was not signed as the Government in Holland wanted the cities
Havana	Cuba	incomplete	Needs to be revised
Vienna	Australia	incomplete	Needs to be revised
Lilongwe	Malawi	inactive	No communication needs to be revisited
Windhoek	Namibia	expired	It was a fixed arrangement with a 5 year fixed time period from 2000 – 2005.
Beijing	China	incomplete	No communication from Beijing. There is need to pursue it.
Bandung	Indonesia	incomplete	Communication challenges. This needs to be cancelled
Managua	Nicaragua	incomplete	Changes in Government in Nicaragua stalled progress. This needs to be cancelled
Birmingham	UK	incomplete	Communication challenges. Needs to be pursued
Madrid	Spain	incomplete	The negotiations died because of political changes in Madrid in 1988. Need to pursue it
Lisbon	Portugal	expired	It was a technical cooperation
Johannesburg	South Africa	incomplete	No information is available. Needs to be revisited
Kazan	Russia	incomplete	No information is available. This needs to be cancelled

midst of exchanges between the cities.

Source: Harare City Council Archives (2014)

Harare City twinning arrangements with other cities and their statutory shows that much is not being done to pursue, revisit or simply cancel those that seen dead to resuscitate, as shown in the table above.

2.12. Theoretical Framework

The two theories under consideration in this study are the interdependency theory as well as the concept of Soft Power as propounded by Joseph Nye.

2.12.1 The interdependency theory

According to Sens (2011) interdependency may be defined as the mutual connectedness and dependency of states and non-state actors. It is a key component of Political liberalism (Idealism) which is a crucial component of International Relations. It is also rapped in yet another important notion of globalisation. It postulates that an interdependent world will be a peaceful and more prosperous world.

2.12.1.1 Tenets of Interdependency theory

States are **NOT** the only actors in the international system. There are a number of different actors in the Global System as equally important as states for example Multi National Corporations, Non Governmental Organisations and International Institutions such as the EU, UN and AU. All these actors are interconnected through a variety of channels such as trade, finance flows, travel, communications and twinning arrangements. The international system is thus characterised by a web of interconnected relationships of actors through a complex emerging network of state and non-state actors through trade, finance, travel and communications. The result is that state borders are increasingly becoming permeable to all of these methods of interconnections. The relationships however are not exclusively symmetrical or equal, as there are some actors vulnerable to others. Some state and non-state actors are more dependent to others and more vulnerable to the breaking of the network. However, the bottom line is that this interconnection has been steadily growing and the whole idea of interdependency is that it is a force of positive change in the international system. The development of all these non-state actors and the ways they are connected with each other and with states means that states and other actors in the international system are benefitting from closer ties. This is promoting more international cooperation and this means the world will be more peaceful and prosperous.

2.12.1.2 Limitations of Interdependency theory

Realists state that it is not an interdependent world at all, but a world of sovereign states living in an international anarchy in which states are distrustful of each other making co-operation impossible. Marxists and dependency theorists state that interdependency is not about mutual co-operation but all about dominance and exploitation, that Liberals are

mistaking the way the world runs for some sort of mutually co-operative environment where in fact it is really characterised by control and dominance of few powerful elites and states.

Despite criticisms level against it, interdependency theory is still an important concept that tries to map the way the world can relate harmoniously within the international system, through cooperation, trade, communications, financial flows and travel.

2.12.2 The Soft Power Theory

Power can be understood to mean a core element of human existence. Every sphere of life in humanity has power in its sense. From the political dichotomy to the economic sphere and religious frontiers, there is the mode of power. Power therefore has a variety of manifestations depending on the level and degree of inclination one is taking. Thus in the general sense of things power can be seen to manifest in variety. According to a number of scholars, power is in two dimensions, forced (hard) and mutual power (soft).

A well known soft power supporter is Professor Joseph Nye. He argues: “.....sometimes you can get the outcomes you want without tangible threats of payoffs (Smith A. 1996)... The indirect way to get what you want has sometimes been called the second face of power”.

A country by virtue of its wisdom in terms of crafting its policies can win the hearts of man and this can lead to other countries to copy from it. As such this creates a syndrome in other states of wanting to follow the leader. Hence power has been obtained through other means. Not a matter of coercion or else. That is soft power in short. Co-opt people rather than coerce them. In sum, soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others, without the use of force, coercion or violence. This form of power manifests itself in different contexts and with different degrees of intensity, and evidence

The issue of legitimising and its values falls under soft power. Nye (1989) argues: “if a people or a nation believes American objectives to be legitimate, (we) are more likely to persuade them to follow (our) lead without using threats and bribes”. Moreover, soft power opposition to - and the cost of - using hard power when the situation demands increases legitimacy

There are at least some elements of soft power that are central but without understanding them it is impossible to understand the nature of power. First of all, soft power as developed by Professor Nye is neither an evolution nor involution according to some commentators) nor

a substitute for hard power. Soft power is simply another form of power. Raising awareness and understanding the potentialities of soft power means increasing power capacity and not relinquishing power as a “means to success in world politics” (Antonsich, M. 2010),. Some people find difficult to understand the meaning of soft power; the risk is to let people argue that soft power is a vague concept, without substance and that, ultimately, it is not a form of power. Moreover, others might be forced to think that soft power is a cultural concept - soft power as a pre-political or non political concept, related to the social sphere. This is not the case, at all. Prof. Joseph Nye helps to clarify this second key feature of soft power: “soft power is more than cultural, although the appeal of Hollywood and American products can play a role in inspiring the dreams and desires of others”

2.13 Legal Frameworks for the formation of Twinning arrangements and fostering diplomacy of states

Under this discourse, only two main legislative guidelines are briefly explained for they have huge bearing unto the operations of twinning arrangements.

2.12.1 EC Decision No 1905/2006

Under EC Decision No 1905/2006 establishing a financing instrument for development cooperation (DCI), Article 25(1j) stipulates that Community funding may be made available for twinning programmes between public institutions, **local authorities**, national public bodies or private law entities entrusted with public service tasks of a Member State and those of a partner country or region.

2.12.2 Urban Councils Act

The Urban Councils Act which is the major governing legal instruments for urban local authorities does provide for the Zimbabwean cities to enter into partnership agreements with foreign cities for the local economic development. Though the legislation has got quite a number of silent issues on the subject matter, it is ushering a new dispensation into how urban local authorities are governed.

2.13. Conclusion

This chapter was more focused on reviewing related literature on the topic of twinning relationships in fostering the diplomacy of states. The chapter therefore examined at the definition of related critical terms, theoretical underpinnings, global and local context of twinning relationships. The next chapter was specifically outlining the research methods employed in this research.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

It is important at this juncture to unveil research techniques that were effectively made use of during the conduct of this research. Merriam and Simpson (1984) describe a research design as a systematic procedure for collection and handling data in order to solve a research problem. Given that the research area under spotlight is the “role of city twinning in fostering diplomacy: A case study of City of Harare and City of Munich twinning arrangement”, which in essence attracts interest and debate, key informant interviews and documentary search were effectively made use of to gather data.

3.1. Study population

The study population according to Barbie (1986) is that aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected. Barbie reveals that as a practical matter, the research is seldom in a position to guarantee that every element meeting the theoretical definitions laid down actually has a chance of being selected in the sample. The population that was understudy constituted an adult and well informed people because of the nature of the research requires some comprehensive understanding of the political developments of the country and civic functions of the two cities. These were drawn from Local Government experts, Councillors in Harare and Munich, Academics and Social Commentators.

3.2. Sampling procedure

Robins Walker (1985) defines sampling as a process of selecting a representative subject of a population under study, for the purpose of making references about the nature of the population itself. The research made use of simple random sampling and systematic random sampling (key informant interviews). This is a form of non-judgmental sampling which allows the researcher to pick the sample which will deliver the best information in order to satisfy the stated research objectives. The sample selected was a total of seven informants for the interviews. These were found suitable for the diversity and wide range of sentiments pertaining the Harare – Munich Twinning arrangement.

3.3. Data Collection Techniques

From the sources identified hereby, it is quite reasonable to note that the main data collection instruments to be used are: the key informant interviews and documentary search. This was found reasonable because the research at hand required a great deal of craft literacy and craft competency in as much as twinning arrangements are concerned. The researcher was found with no other option apart from key informant interviews as well as documentary search on the agreements and related documents made towards the Harare – Munich twinning arrangement.

3.3.1. Documentary Search

According to Scott (1990:28) documentary search is the use of outside sources to support the viewpoint of an academic work. Payne and Payne (2004:60) states that documentary search is a technique used to find information from personal papers, commercial records, government publications or legislation to categorise and investigate a social phenomenon. The process involves studying suitable external sources and collating relevant evidence to the topic. Scott (1990:30) notes that the use of documentary evidence needs to be conducted with special considerations on authenticity, credibility, meaning, and representativeness. Authenticity has to do with whether the evidence is genuine and of reliable and dependable origin. Credibility deals with whether the evidence is free from error and distortion.

Representativeness denotes the chance for a document to be survivor of its own kind while meaning is concerned with whether the material is clear and comprehensible. Therefore Scott notes that the ultimate purpose of examining documents is of arriving at an understanding of a meaning and significance of what the document contains. Documentary search was suitable for this study in that as once highlighted twinning arrangements involved a lot of memorandum of understandings, agreements as well as official pronouncements and speeches made towards arriving at the agreement. Moreover the research could have been impractical without documentary search, because each twinning arrangement has got its own unique set of i-deas, goals and aspirations and thus only until the researcher locates documents can the research be feasible.

3.3.2. Key Informant Interviews

Payne and Payne (2004:134) state that key informants are those people whose special positions in a research setting give them special knowledge, who are therefore particularly valuable sources of information to the researcher for they know a great deal about the subject

of the research. It is these people who are the selected to be respondents in such an encounter where the researcher asks questions pertaining to the subject under study. According to Margolis and Salafsky (1998:134), key informant interviews are useful when one want to quickly gain some insight into a particular subject, or collecting data on a highly complex subject matter and there are particularly knowledgeable respondents whom one can interview. However, the analysis and comparison of data needs to be strict because a typical key informant interview produces respondent specific data. These were drawn from Local Government experts, Councillors in Harare and Munich, Academics and Social Commentators.

3.4. Data Analysis

In the analysis of data, the researcher ensured that: Data cleaning is done, data inspection is done, and transformation and modelling of data is done.

3.4.1. Content analysis

Content analysis was also found to be appropriate because the focus was more on content than simply words and on semantic rather than just presence. Krippendorff (1980) defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context.

3.4.2. Advantages of content analysis

In making use of content analysis the researcher had the ultimate control of the environment in which the study was being carried out. It also enabled the researcher to answer many questions as it according to Greenberg (1968), is the largest single category of research enquiry. Content analysis also provided an effective way to investigate content specifically of the newspaper stories.

3.4.5. Disadvantages of content analysis

At times results of content analysis especially of newspapers that were used in this research may be misleading as stories may at times be subject to opinion of journalists and written in line with the media houses' editorial policies. At times journalists tend to write on things they themselves do not understand and at the end interpret them wrongly and set a wrong agenda altogether. Mostly content analysis is heavily undermined in an environment of heavy polarization and where deceptive propaganda is the order of the day. To ensure that all the data collected would be reliable and valid, the researcher ensured that the data collection

instruments were easy to understand and not vague. The researcher has got a control mechanism in which for every response given, it should fall within a category of expected responses. When the respondent gives a response which doesn't fit into the category, then the researcher would be alerted that either the respondent failed to understand the question or the question needs to be rephrased.

To avoid such challenges, all the research instruments were pilot tested before the actual data collection was done. Just a few people were selected using the sampling techniques to be used and data was collected. After the data from the pilot study, the researcher sat then down to revisit the data collection instruments so that they could be revised. Those questions which respondents had difficulties answering, the researcher adjusted so that they have a clear meaning.

The study itself evaluates the data collection instruments as well as the sampling techniques to see the extent to which they are effective for their purposes. An instrument is said to be valid when it measures what it claims to measure.

3.5. Conclusion

Research methodology used in this study generally followed and obeyed parameters and norms of social science research. Attempts to get close to credibility and accuracy are largely influenced by the deliberate selection of key interviewees, who have a gross appreciation of the topic under study. Selection of key informants like the Town Clerk of the City of Harare, Dr Tendayi Mahachi, former Mayor of the same city, Mr Muchadeyi Masunda and officials from the Germany foreign affairs office, were also deliberately arrived at in an attempt to produce an accurate social science inquiry.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAJOR FINDINGS, PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation of findings from the questionnaires and the interviews conducted, interpretation and analysis of the data that is, deriving the meaning and link with previous studies.

4.1. In what ways can twinning arrangements be used in fostering diplomacy of states?

All interviewees noted that twinning arrangements which the city of Harare entered into with the City of Munich in the mid 1990s have actually gone a long way towards strengthening the ties between Zimbabwe and the Federal Republic of Germany which is an indicator of how useful twinning arrangements can be in fostering diplomacy of states. One interviewee noted that “The German Ambassadors to Zimbabwe have played a facilitative role with regard to cultural exchange programmes between Harare and Munich. The citizens of Harare and Munich have formed their own organisation known as HAMUPA – the acronym for Harare Munich Partnership. HAMUPA works very closely with the Zimbabwe German society in fostering cultural ties between Harare and Munich.”

The other interviewee concurred but proffered a different dimension stating that cities form the basis of nations: “Hence the twinning of the cities binds nations. In a number of ways that include exchange of activities cultural; sport and reciprocal assistance in times of disaster for example City of Munich assisted Harare with medical supplies,” noted the interviewee.

4.2. Can cities successfully overtake states in foreign policy issues in the current international system?

Interviewees could not agree citing different views. One noted that “In the ordinary course of events, cities are not expected to overtake states in the formulation of foreign policy issues. The latter issues have from time immemorial, always been the sole and exclusive preserve of sovereign states. However, cities have always been at liberty to contribute towards the formulation of foreign policy positions by the central government.” The other one stated that: “It depends on the support that the cities receive from states. In Zimbabwe, it’s possible but there are some challenges because of central government, thwarting motives which do not allow cities, to partake in foreign policy formulation and brandy outside.” The other

interviewee noted that, “The fact that cities are sort of ‘hands on’ on foreign issues and on manageable basis makes their foreign relations more vibrant. However the broad spectrum at ‘national’ level makes concentration less. Cities are focused on few cities with concentrated efforts than the central government.” Another interviewee maintained that cities had a prominent role to play in diplomacy stating that: “In a way they can if they are given adequate space to interact with the outside world for example Harare enjoyed cordial bilateral relations with City of Munich when the state was not able to enjoy the same because of the restrictive travel and economic measures.”

4.3. What are the limitations of city twinning in harnessing diplomacy of states?

The interviewees concurred but albeit through different views. The other one noted that “Twin cities have historically taken the form of a pact whose main objective would be to promote cultural and commercial ties especially trade and tourism. Twin cities are not expected to exchange diplomats with each other as that would be an unnecessary duplication of effort as that is done at a national level.” However the other one noted that, “Besides, the cost of doing so would be unaffordable and unsustainably high. However, there would be no harm in twin cities developing their own foreign economic policies on trade tourism and cultural exchange programmes. Such initiatives would certainly enhance each twin city’s competitiveness and, thus, attract foreign talent which it would not otherwise be able to do. Nowadays, the twinning of cities is used to form strategic international business links between member cities.” One interviewee noted that limitations of twinning were largely hampered by what he termed ‘overzealousness of the modern city’: “Sometimes cities become too overzealous with the state ‘clip’, cities wings. In addition they may be extreme of ‘cold blood’ between central government and local authorities as well as problems of dividing boundaries between cities and states. Some cities in which we have relations with do not wish to support the state at large but rather cities even if there is a national need. Cities have got certain specific areas of concentration which might contrast with state needs. National laws also require city officials to seek government permission to travel.”

Cities are limited in foreign policy dominance over states, due to the fact that the former is limited by its micro-civic activities and needs of a particular population which is that of a city. On the contrary the state is ceased with the macro-function of a general scope that is usually shaped by its desire to attain self-interest and survive in the international body politic.

4.4. Can policy makers seriously consider local authorities in crafting foreign policy and with what effect?

One interviewee noted that “Policy makers at central government level cannot afford to ignore the input from local authorities in crafting foreign policy for the simple reason that cities are the way of the future. Recent polls in the USA indicate that the level of public trust in Congress is around 12% whilst the trust in Mayors is between 60% and 65%. During the 19th century, one in thirty people lived in cities in Europe. Now almost four people in five are urban dwellers in Europe. Mayors running mega – cities like Istanbul or Sao Paulo have budgets far in excess of many countries. They have a whole range of problems from methods to traffic jams – that need sorting out here and now.” The other one differed stating that the issue was heavily reliant on who was in charge of policy making and policy implementation. “It’s an issue of who constitute the policy making body. It’s sufficient enough for policy makers to consult local authorities. The effects then would be increased decentralisation of cooperation, a common vision and goals, centralisation of efforts etc. It would be prudent enough if local authorities are considered in crafting foreign policy. However the political terrain is not level to allow such. Sometimes the policy makers would ‘want to’ but the politics will, in the case of Harare will stop them. The approval of twinning for local authorities is subject to Zimbabwe foreign relations but no consultation is done seriously. If policy makers would craft together with local authorities, Zimbabwe would have been a better place.”

The other interviewee was more specific, stating that it was prudent for policy makers to put into consideration input of local authorities in the making, articulation and pursuance of a country’s diplomatic endeavours. “Yes they should. The example of assistance that Harare received from City of Munich is ample evidence that local authorities should be part of state diplomacy. Local authorities engage much easily than states.”

4.5. What are the practical strategies that may be adopted by Zimbabwe to make twinning part of the country’s diplomatic strategy at the height of economic sanctions?

Again the interviewees proffered divergent views which were largely characterised by their backgrounds and ideological orientations. One interviewee noted that “The main practical strategy would simply be less ideological posturing and more problem solving. In other words Harare should take a leaf out of Munich’s book by addressing the immediate needs of the citizens concerning housing, health education, transport, electricity as well as sewage and

sanitation in 2008, following the restoration of a democratic dispensation at Town House in Harare, the City of Munich gave the City of Harare a grant of \$500 00 and Help Germany weighed in with \$100 000. The total sum of \$600 000 was spent on the procurement of drugs and medical accessories for the 14 polyclinics 2 hospitals and 32 primary health care centres which are run by the City Health Department.” The government should make it compulsory for twinning arrangements to be done. Another interviewee rather preferred to suggest some practical strategies which the Government of Zimbabwe ought to put in place for the effective use of twinning arrangement to foster diplomacy suggesting that:

- Proper structures that work on such a cause should be put in place.
- Improve on the relations between local governments from its current state.
- The central government should co-opt local authorities in the making of foreign policy.
- Government should not delay the approval of twinning with ‘fast cities’
- Government should create an open door policy which facilitates twinning arrangements
- I think it should be compulsory for all local authorities to have at least 5 twinning arrangements with vibrant cities outside.
- Allow local authorities to engage free without state oversight/approval.

4.6. How has Harare and Munich benefitted from the twinning arrangement?

All interviewees concurred that indeed Harare has benefitted. “Harare benefitted in that Munich despatched 2 ICT experts from Germany to help the City Treasurer’s Department to revamp its billing systems. Munich also selected its water sanitation engineers to mentor Harare Water’s young and fledging engineers. The experts who were seconded by Munich to Harare get a glorious opportunity to broaden their horizons professionally and culturally.” The other interviewee noted that, “four went to Munich on an exchange programme from which they learnt quite a lot about how a modern metropolis is run. The Deputy Mayor of Munich, accompanied by his team and functionaries undertook eye opening trip to Harare. Many business delegations have visited Harare to explore investment opportunities.” Another interviewee stated that, “One of the business houses donated a 300 H.P. generator to Beatrice Road Infectious disease hospital which is an integral part of the city, whilst Councillors and staff have benefitted through exchange programmes. There have been excessive donations to

the City of Harare which has enhanced viability to the resource constrained city whilst also benefitting through sharing of best practices and knowledge exchange.”

The other interviewee noted that “As much as the relationship is not purely mutual the two cities benefitted from the arrangement. In terms of ‘material things’ Harare has benefitted more than Munich. Staff and countries exchanges which fostered cross-pollination of ideas and best practices were put in place. Overallly the arrangement ushered in a new dispensation in terms of diplomacy.”

4.7. Any other remarks

One interviewee reiterated that, “the City of Harare has a mission statement and a vision for the year 2025. That it should attain World Class Status in order to achieve these goals clear parameters and a definition of all the disparate workflows need to be defined. This culminated in the instigating of the B.P.M. The City of Munich partnered the City of Harare in establishing a framework for the definition of documentation of Business process. The City of Munich having had prior experience in this area guided the city in planning and gathering of B.P.M. It is a worthwhile venture in that a consolidated and well defined B.P.M. is useful in fine tuning the E.R.P. which in turn leads to greater efficiency in using modern day technology for administration and decision making processes.” The other interviewee in her additional remarks noted:

Munich City initially identified quick wins. Three areas were identified

- (i) Automation of records management
- (ii) A forecourt system to computerise the fuel depot and contact automatic dispensing.
- (iii) Munich City spearheaded the development of the C.O.H. website.

Munich has highlighted to the management the need for a wide area network. It is prepared to assist in providing network gadgets and training If the wide area network is put in place. By comparing the ICT structures of both City of Harare and the City of Munich, the twinning arrangement created a platform where Munich City had a direct input in setting up of the C.O.H. ICT structure to conform to modern day trend and also create peer to peer ICT staff exchanges and development. Munich City helped draw up a roadmap for the City of Harare ICT. Refer to the attachment.”

4.8. Conclusion

Due to the nature of the research that was more inclined towards a qualitative methodology, the research was much guided by interpretation and analysis of research findings. Interpretation was done in order to simplify the presentation method use. Data was analysed in order to critic and make sense out of the data gathered.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

This Chapter is about the key findings and recommendations derived from data analysis and presentation.

- The findings dovetail into the questions presented in chapter one:
 - In what ways can twinning arrangements be used in fostering diplomacy of states.
 - Can cities successfully overtake states in foreign policy issues in the current international systems?
 - What are the limitations of City twinning in harnessing diplomacy of states?
 - Can policy makers seriously consider local authorities (cities) in crafting foreign policy and with what effect
 - What are the practical strategies that may be adopted by Zimbabwe to make twinning part of the Country's diplomatic strategy at the height of economic and political sanctions?
 - How has Harare and Munich benefited from the twinning arrangements?

5.1. Findings

The first finding is that indeed twinning arrangements have gone a long way in strengthening the ties between Zimbabwe and the Federal Republic of Germany. The twinning arrangements are useful in fostering diplomacy of states. If cities form the core of a nation state, it therefore follows that cities bind nations. This is various ways that include exchange of cultural activities, sport and reciprocal assistance in times of disaster for instance the aid that City of Harare got in form of medical supplies.

Cities are not expected to supersede nation states in foreign policy issues. The finding is that the city deals with policy issues at a specific micro level as opposed to the nation state that wholly deals with foreign policy issued at a much lower macro-level. Foreign policy is from time immemorial been the sole responsibility of sovereign states. This critique to these findings, assert that cities can overtake states in foreign policy issues if their parent states grant them space to interact with the outside world.

The City twinning arrangements are mainly confined to trade and tourism but do not go the political and economic decisions such as the exchange of diplomats with each other. Such an exchange of diplomats is the preserve of the states and for the city to do the same would be tantamount to duplication of roles. It is also noted that the cost of doing so would be unaffordable and unsustainably high. There would however be no harm in cities going that extra mile. Democratic regimes especially in the developed countries usually take a *laissez faire* approach as opposed to their totalitarian counterparts in the third world, where all functions are authorised by the central government.

In instances where there is political diversity like in Zimbabwe, most cities are controlled by the opposition parties. This has made central government put up laws that requires that cities seek permission from the former to enter into twinning arrangements and seek government permission on all travel abroad.

Policy formulation on an issue is a sum total of all research findings in a state. Policy makers cannot afford to ignore the input of Local Authorities in their endeavour to make sound policies. This dissertation has noted the central role of the capital city of a state as a humble key to central activities such as trade, tourism, industry, market etc. It is therefore wise for central policy makers to be cognisant of such pivotal functions of a city in policy formulation.

The rate of rural to urban migration is evidence of the fact that cities have re-emerged as yolk of nation states. Central government regardless of the political powers bestowed in them should incorporate local authorities in foreign policy formulation. Foreign policy formulation and transactions should be inclusive of various stakeholders. Local authorities should be part of state diplomacy for they engage much more easily than states.

The question is on whether Zimbabwe should make twinning part of the country's diplomatic strategy at the height of economic and political sanctions. The main finding is that they should be less ideological posturing but more of problem solving. Twinning arrangements between North and South States benefits more states from the later and it prudent to take twinning of cities as a key component of diplomatic tactic ad foreign policy strategy. One interviewee proposed that the government of Zimbabwe should, improve its relations there between its local authorities and some cities elsewhere and also that proper structure should be put in place. All bureaucratic hurdles that impedes twinning arrangements should be eradicated.

There is clear evidence to prove that City of Harare has benefited from its twinning arrangement with Munich. Donations of medical equipment, ICT reconfiguration and GSI installations are there for everyone to see. Exchange programmes of both elected and appointed officials have brought in the sharing of best practices and knowledge exchange. Some areas have received little or no attention, like on the agreement that the City of Munich would release its old refuse equipment to the City of Harare and that more aid would come in the area of housing co-operatives.

5.3. Recommendations

- Much effort needs to put in City twinning arrangements. For it is clear that the twinning are fruitful and do foster diplomacy of states. The fruition of the Munich – Harare twinning agreement is a clear testimony of such given that at state level German and Zimbabwe are not in desirable cooperating terms given that the former is a key player in the EU who still maintains sanctions and embargo on the latter. Cities are not expected to overtake states in foreign policy issues but should instead complement states. A lot of cooperation and sharing strategy between the two respective ministries of Local Government and Foreign Policy can make this possible.
- Cities operate at a lower level and are subordinate to inter-governmental arrangements cities are also driven by lower ties of engagements. Hence their efforts to venture into meaningful diplomacy can be limited because they do not supplant but complement states.
- With the magnitude of rural to urban migration, the population shift will create larger number in the cities thereby creating a greater demand of need for services. Policy makers should therefore consider local authorities in crafting policy; make the initiation of twinning a key performance target for each head of Zimbabwe mission abroad, through assigning diplomats and skilled negotiators top posts in the Ministry of Local Government.
- There should be less politicizing on issues that enhance development, effort should be on problem solving.
- City of Harare should join a number of national international bodies that promote diplomacy of states

- City of Harare should abandon long standing unsigned twinning arrangements and work towards negotiating new ones and branding the City outside.

5.5 Areas of further research

The researcher noted that the following are areas of concern when it comes to twinning agreements:

- Cross pollination of ideas: developed cities versus developing cities
- Politics and the emerging power of twinning agreements between cities
- Are developing cities dumping grounds for developed cities in the wake of twinning agreements

5.4. Conclusion

The research was motivated by a realisation of the continued diplomatic standoff between Zimbabwe and members of the EU states but at the very same time the twinning arrangement was made between Munich and Harare was fruitfully made. If twinning arrangements typical of the Munich-Harare case are brought at the centre of gravity of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its diplomatic endeavours in particular then the country is likely to sail through the turbulent international landscape where state survival and pursuit of self interests is at the core of a state's activities. Against this brief background to the problem, the objectives of the research sought to assess the role of city twinning in fostering diplomacy with special focus on City of Harare-City of Munich twinning arrangement; examine the extent at which city diplomacy may be used to override hostile relationships at state level; identify strategies that may be harnessed by Zimbabwe to curtail the negative effects of sanctions from EU and USA through twinning arrangements with cities of states from the EU and USA as well as making recommendations to Zimbabwe's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on how best it can liaise with local authorities through the responsible ministry to harness diplomatic relations through city twinning arrangements.

Zimbabwe's foreign policy crafters should not be rigid but pragmatic. They can take a leaf from the sudden U-turn on policy by the Republic of Iran on its relations with the West and learn from the recent shift of relations between USA and Cuba. Ideological posturing is not the only variable that constitutes a good foreign policy. Soft power approach to international relations is much fruitful as opposed to hard power politics. Municipalities should relate with developed counter cities for the good of development and services delivery.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

- 1. In what ways can twinning arrangements be used in fostering diplomacy of states?**
- 2. Can cities successfully overtake states in foreign policy issues in the current international system?**
- 3. What are the limitations of city twinning in harnessing diplomacy of states?**
- 4. Can policy makers seriously consider local authorities in crafting foreign policy and with what effect?**
- 5. Can policy makers seriously consider local authorities in crafting foreign policy and with what effect?**
- 6. How has Harare and Munich benefitted from the twinning arrangement?**