

Chapter 1

Introduction

Focus of the study

Since early 2000 many Friendship Agreements have been established between Australian and Timorese communities. These agreements began when the Timorese Consular General in Australia, Senor Abel Guterres¹, was approached by three Melbourne councils (Darebin, Moreland and Port Phillip City) in late 1999 to see if they could establish some sort of relationship with towns in The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste² (Perry, 2002). Senor Abel Guterres wanted the relationships to be different to the ‘Sister-Cities relationships’ established by many local government associations. He wanted an emphasis on ‘friendship’ (Perry, 2002; Spence & Ninnes, 2007). The 45 Friendship Agreements that were implemented between 2000 and 2006 are mainly community-to-community programmes that have various degrees of support from Australian local governments. Each Friendship Agreement is meant to be unique and reflect the capacity, needs and interests of both communities (Perry, 2002).

These agreements have resulted in a diverse range of community-to-community partnerships that are growing in popularity. Besides varying in the sort of activities that are undertaken,

¹ In Timor-Leste, men are referred to as ‘Senor’ and women as ‘Senora’. However, there are a number of different ways that these words are spelt (e.g. ‘Senor’, ‘Señor’, ‘Señór’ and ‘Senhor’ and ‘Senora’, ‘Señora’, ‘Señóra’ and ‘Senhora’). Senor and Senora will be the spelling used throughout this thesis.

² The official name of the country is The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. However it is also often known as East Timor (English), Timor-Leste (Portuguese), Timor Lorosae (Tetum) and Timor Timur (Indonesian). As a Portuguese colony it was usually referred to as ‘Portuguese Timor’. The general population often just say ‘Timor’. Since I was asked by some Timorese people that I met as a result of this study to refer to the country as Timor-Leste, from hereon in, when referring to the country I will use ‘Timor-Leste’ and, when referring to the people, I will use the term ‘Timorese’.

the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements³ also vary in their degree of Australian municipal (local government) involvement (i.e. some of the agreements have been established between an Australian community group and a Timorese community while others have strong Australian municipal support and involvement). Agreements also range from those that have been formalised to informal understandings.

The term 'Friendship Agreement' has been used to describe a variety of accords such as national-level treaties⁴, provincial-level accords⁵, institutional agreements⁶ and international municipal links⁷. The international-municipal-link type of Friendship Agreement has become a global phenomenon with agreements signed between local governments from a wide range of countries (Jerneck, 1998; Sharp, 2008; Viken, et al., 2008; C. Wellman, 1998). The

³ Friendship Agreements are known in Timor-Leste under a variety of names including: Sidade Amiga (Friend City), Sidade Amizade, (Friendship City) Akordu Amizade (Friendship Agreement) and in a few instances Maun-alin (Older brother-younger sibling) or Belun 'placename' (Friend of 'placename'). I use the term 'Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement' rather than 'Timorese/Australian Friendship Agreements' since agreements are only established when an Australian community indicates their willingness to establish a relationship with a Timorese community. They are then matched up with a particular Timorese community.

⁴ Examples of Friendship Agreements that were signed at a national-level with national-level consequences are the treaties that were signed between France and Syria in 1936/37 (Zisser, 1995: 894), the treaty that was signed between Turkey and Pakistan in 1954 (Blake, 2009: 101), the treaties that were signed between various neighbouring Eastern European countries after 1992 (Bechev, 2009: 215) and the treaty that was signed between Russia and the Ukraine in 1997 (Puglisi, 2003: 835).

⁵ Examples of provincial-level Friendship Agreements are the accords that have been signed between the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Québec and Ontario with various foreign countries, states or provinces. These accords particularly encourage linkages and exchanges between higher education institutions (Tillman, 1991: 391).

⁶ An example of an institutional-type of Friendship Agreement is the agreement that was signed between the University of Wyoming in the USA and the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. One of the main aims of these types of agreements is to broaden research possibilities for the staff members of the linked institutions (Hubbell, 2003: 199).

⁷ Just a few examples of Friendship Agreements that are types of international municipal links are the agreements signed between Plymouth in England and Gdynia in Poland (Sharp, 2008: 637), Sør-Varanger in Norway and Pechenga in Russia (Viken, Granås, & Nyseth, 2008: 30) and Malmö in Sweden and Tangshan in China (Jerneck, 1998: 91; C. Wellman, 1998). The main focus of these sorts of Friendship Agreements tends to vary depending on the interests of the linked communities (Viken, et al., 2008).

Friendship Agreements referred to in this study are related to the international-municipal-link type of agreement.

This thesis explores Timorese perceptions of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. This is done by analysing Timorese perceptions of the Friendship Agreements (gathered by way of focus group interviews⁸, individual interviews⁹, participant observation at a conference and document analysis) through conceptual lenses derived from three relevant bodies of literature – friendship theories, studies of international municipal links, and the theory and practice of partnerships for development.

For a full list of research questions see Appendix 3.

Location of the study

This research was conducted in the 13 districts of Timor-Leste (see map on page V). Timor-Leste is a small, mountainous country in South-East Asia approximately 480 kilometres northwest of Darwin, Australia (UNDP, 2006). Timor-Leste, which is the poorest nation in Asia (UNDP, 2006), was colonised by Portugal from the early sixteenth century until August 1975 (although the Japanese took over for a few years during World War II). It became an independent country for a brief time between August and November 1975. However, Indonesia invaded Timor-Leste in early December 1975 and ruled over the country until September 1999. Timor-Leste finally re-established its independence in May 2002 (see for instance Cottrill, 1999; Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a, 2000b; Nicol, 2002). The

⁸ See Appendix 1 for a list of focus group questions.

⁹ See Appendix 2 for a list of interview questions for individual interviews.

geographical, historical, social, economic and political contexts of Timor-Leste are discussed in detail in chapter two.

Importance of the study

This research is important for a number of reasons. It is the first major research project to focus on Timorese perspectives of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. With Friendship Agreements growing in popularity, it is important to explore Timorese perspectives of the agreements so that the views of the apparent beneficiaries can be heard.

Another area of significance is this study's contribution to the theories of friendship. Most research treats friendship as an informal, personal, voluntary relationship between two individuals. Analysing friendship as it relates to Friendship Agreements differs from other friendship research because (1) Friendship Agreements appear to establish a friendship between groups of people rather than just between two individuals; (2) Many Friendship Agreements become formalised with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding; (3) An offer to establish a Friendship Agreement might be made without people from the two groups having met first; (4) Friendship Agreements are established between groups that do not live close to each other; (5) Friendship Agreement group membership is not static; (6) Friendship Agreements may involve infrequent face-to-face meetings between counterparts; and (7) Groups involved in the Friendship Agreements may not speak the same language.

No research has been done yet to try and understand how the Timorese conceptualise friendship and whether it differs from the concept of friendship put forward in the

‘Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements’ written agreements. Understanding the meaning that Timorese attach to ‘friendship’ could have important implications for the long-term success of the agreements. For example, what are the possible implications if certain aspects of friendship, that are considered important to the Timorese, are not mentioned in a written Friendship Agreement?

Although municipal links have been flourishing since World War II, there is very little written about North-South municipal links from a Southern perspective (however, examples include Hewitt, 1996b; Monteiro, 2003; Shuman, 1994). There is also very little academic literature written about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements (apart from Kehi, [2005]; Spence & Ninnes, 2007). Kehi ([2005]) discusses the role that Friendship Agreements can play in improving participatory democracy within Timorese communities and Spence & Ninnes (2007) compare the Friendship Agreements to North-South municipal links from an Australian perspective. My research differs from these previous studies and will contribute to the literature on municipal links by comparing the Friendship Agreements to North-South municipal links from a Timorese perspective. With more and more North-South international municipal links being established, it is important that the perspectives of Southern participants are heard and taken seriously, particularly since many of the activities conducted as a result of these links are aimed at improving outcomes within the Southern community.

This research will also contribute to the growing body of knowledge about North-South partnerships for development. No research has been done yet to see how the

Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements compare to other North-South partnerships. It is important to ascertain whether the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements incorporate North-South partnership practices that are likely to lead to successful outcomes or if they ignore 'good practices' that have been identified in the literature.

Terminology used

(a) 'North-South' Divide

Recent literature often defines particular countries as being either from the 'North' or from the 'South'. However, these geographical terms are not generally used to define the geographical positioning of a country but have become a euphemism for dividing the world into 'developed'/'developing' or 'industrialised'/'non-industrialised' countries. Dividing the world into 'Northern countries' and 'Southern countries' (or 'North' and 'South') not only oversimplifies a complex situation but can have political consequences as well. The industrialisation of the 'North' is often extolled as a role model that the 'South' should imitate. Industrial development is the main category that is used to decide whether a country is part of the 'North' or the 'South'. The 'North-South' dichotomy is also state-centric. The reduction of global politics into inter-state relations is a convention that is used to minimise complexity (Eckl & Weber, 2007). States are taken as homogenous and monolithic entities that belong either to the 'North' or the 'South'. The 'South' within the 'North' becomes invisible, as does the 'North' within the 'South' (Eckl & Weber, 2007). For example, the people living in poverty within the 'North' become invisible, as do the wealthy elites within the 'South'. In relation to the Timorese Friendship Agreements there is a further problem in using the 'North' and 'South' terminology since under the 'North-South' divide Timor-Leste

would be part of the ‘South’ and Australia would be part of the ‘North’ despite the fact that Timor-Leste is geographically north of Australia.

Although I would prefer not to use the ‘North-South’ terminology, it is extremely difficult to avoid using it, particularly in the literature reviews, as it is one of the most commonly used terminologies in the ‘international municipal link’ and ‘partnership’ bodies of literature. In order to distinguish this terminology from a geographical north and south, ‘North’ and ‘South’ will be capitalised and, henceforth, the inverted commas will be omitted.

(b) Discourse

Drawing on Foucault (1972: 27-28), discourse can be thought of as the complete set of statements (written, spoken and symbolically depicted) that is used in relation to a particular subject. Examining a discourse means not only analysing what was said but analysing the context in which it was said, understanding the conditions under which that particular discourse emerged, establishing its connections with statements that appear to be related to it and disclosing what forms of statements it excludes. The concept of discourse will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

Limitations of the study

Although this research aims to provide some understanding on Timorese perspectives about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements I need to acknowledge that I am not Timorese. I do not speak the lingua franca (Tetum) well and I have a limited capacity in understanding the language. This means that a translator was used and most of the data was

subjected to being processed through two people (the interpreter and I) before being written into English. Getting written responses from the focus groups (in whichever language they were comfortable in writing) and recording the individual interviews helped to limit the extent that the data was distorted as it was possible to re-examine responses. I realise, however, that there was a tension between my desire to make the voices of the Timorese heard and my desire to reveal what I think of the Friendship Agreements.

Focus group participants were mainly members of Friendship Agreement commissions. Since the Friendship Agreement commissions in Timor-Leste are dominated by literate men, interviewing only the people from the commissions meant that many voices from the community were not heard, in particular the voices of women, youth and the illiterate.

This study is also limited in terms of its scope. For example, this study does not look at whether Timorese attitudes towards their agreement and the sort of activities that arose out of their agreement change over time. Also, this study is unable to ascertain the extent to which the views expressed by a Timorese Friendship Agreement committee¹⁰ reflect the views of their whole community. Although this study includes some reference to the different forms of communication that are utilised between the linked communities, the effects of using the different forms of communication on Timorese perspectives were not explored.

¹⁰ It must be noted here that, although some committees that were interviewed included only members of their elected committee, some committees included community members that had no prior knowledge about their Friendship Agreement. However, these community members tended to be literate men.

Structure of the thesis

The following chapter provides a detailed discussion of the geographical, historical, social, economic and political contexts in which this research was conducted, while chapters three, four and five review the relevant bodies of literature pertaining to this thesis. Chapter three reviews the relevant literature on friendship and develops specific research questions for the Friendship Agreements that are addressed in chapter seven. A number of aspects of the friendship literature were identified as being applicable to this study: the meaning of friendship and how the meaning of friendship has changed over time, different cultural understandings of friendship, influences on friendships, and the impacts of friendship.

Chapter four reviews the relevant literature on North-South international municipal links and develops specific research questions that are addressed in chapters eight and nine. A number of aspects of the international municipal link literature were identified as being pertinent to this study: the history of municipal links, and the North-South international municipal link rationale discourses, contribution discourses, sustainability discourses, success discourses and challenge discourses.

Chapter five reviews the relevant literature on partnerships for development and develops specific research questions that are addressed in chapter ten. A number of aspects of the partnership literature were identified as being relevant to this study: the history of partnerships in development, partnership discourses (including partnership agendas, the meaning of partnerships, and the desire for partnerships), models of North-South partnerships, and partnership challenges.

The methodology employed in this study is described in chapter six, while the results of the study are presented in chapters seven to ten. Chapter seven presents and analyses Timorese responses to issues relating to friendship and discusses how these issues are pertinent to the Friendship Agreements. Chapters eight and nine present and analyse documents and Timorese responses to issues relating to international municipal links and discuss how these issues are relevant to the Friendship Agreements. Possible implications of using particular municipal link discourses in Friendship Agreements are considered. Chapter ten presents and analyses documents and Timorese speeches and responses to issues relating to partnerships and discusses possible implications of the partnership discourses for the Friendship Agreements.

Chapter eleven summarises the focus and major findings of the study, discusses the implications for friendship, international municipal link and partnership theories, examines implications for policy and practice and concludes by considering areas of possible further research.

Chapter 2

Placing the research in context

This chapter summarises the geographical, historical, social, economic and political contexts in which this research was conducted and outlines the effects that each of these contexts had on conducting this research and the possible effects of these contexts on the Friendship Agreements.

Geographical context

Timor-Leste is a recently independent country situated in South-East Asia approximately 480 kilometres northwest of Darwin, Australia¹¹. It consists of the eastern half of the eastern most island in the Nusatenggara group plus the enclave of Oecusse in the western part of Timor island, and Atauro and Jaco islands. It is bordered in the west by the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, in the south by the Timor Sea and in the north by the Wetar Strait. Estimates of the total land area of Timor-Leste vary between 14,600 sq km and 19,000 sq km¹² (Carey & Bentley, 1995; Dunn, 2003; Engel, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; UNDP, 2006; US Dept of State, 2006; Wheeler, 2004; Wray, 1987).

Despite being a small country Timor-Leste has three distinct ecological zones - the rugged central mountains, the northern semi-arid coastal plains and the southern lush, tropical

¹¹ Resources about Timor-Leste are written in a variety of languages with the main languages being Portuguese, English, and Indonesian with a small number in Tetum. Since I do not speak, read or write Portuguese or Indonesian and my Tetum is limited, my main source of information about Timor-Leste comes from resources written in English.

¹² I have yet to find two sources that quote the same total land area for Timor-Leste. Figures given include 14,600 sq km, 14,919 sq km, 15,007 sq km, 18,900 sq km, 18,989 sq km and 19,000 sq km.

coastal plains (Carey, 1995; Dunn, 2003; Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003). The topography of the landscape and the climate are relevant to this study for two main reasons. First, the rugged, mountainous and monsoonal conditions impacted on actually doing the research (i.e. travelling around the country was slow, exhausting, expensive and unpredictable). Second, the mountainous conditions, combined with a lack of infrastructure, make communication difficult. The people involved in the Friendship Agreements (both the Timorese and the Australians) are also affected by these difficulties.

Historical context

Prior to Portuguese colonisation Timor-Leste was divided into a number of kingdoms or *rais* and ruled by petty kings or *liurai*. There were constant clashes between rival groups and head hunting was often practiced. The Portuguese, who first landed in what was to become Timor-Leste in the early sixteenth century, gradually increased their authority over the country by creating strategic alliances with the *liurai*. The presence of the Portuguese did not really have a direct impact on the general population until the twentieth century (Dunn, 2003; Ministério da Administração Estatal; Wheeler, 2004; Wray, 1987).

In December 1941 Australia violated Portugal's neutrality in WWII by sending a company of Australian commandos to Timor-Leste (which was then known as Portuguese Timor) to try and prevent the Japanese establishing a base close to Australia {, 2000 #187}. Prior to this, the Japanese had left Portuguese Timor alone, allegedly because it was part of a neutral government's territory. Some authors suggest that the Japanese invasion of Portuguese Timor in February 1942 was due, in large part, to the Australian presence (Cottrill, 1999;

Kingsbury, 2000a). The Australian commandos fled into the mountains ahead of the initial 6000-strong Japanese contingent. With constant support from the Timorese, the small number of Australian commandos were able to tie down up to 22,000 Japanese for a year. They were able to inflict large numbers of casualties. Despite the fact that the Japanese put a price of eight pounds on the head of any Australian soldier (dead or alive) no Timorese person ever betrayed an Australian (Levy, 1998). However, the Japanese force was so large that early in 1943 most Australians were evacuated. In reprisal for their support of the Australians the Japanese killed an estimated 40,000 Timorese. At the end of the war the Australians dropped hundreds of pamphlets (that read “Your friends will never forget you”) over the villages of Portuguese Timor (Aubrey, 1998; Kingsbury, 2000a; Levy, 1998; The Hobart East Timor Committee, 1998; Wray, 1987).

After the war Timor-Leste returned to Portuguese colonial rule. By 1965 Portugal had become the poorest nation in Western Europe. Since Portuguese Timor was Portugal’s most remote colony it continued to be largely neglected. In April 1974 the Portuguese fascist Salazarist dictatorship of Marcell Caetano was overthrown by a coup. The revolutionary council that took over wanted to get rid of all Portuguese colonies as quickly as possible (Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Martin, 2001; US Dept of State, 2006; Wheeler, 2004). Portugal’s move away from a military dictatorship towards a more democratic state gave rise to the prospects of independence for Portuguese Timor. Three main Timorese political parties formed in May 1974. The Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) hoped to continue links with Portugal, the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT) wanted total independence and the Timorese Popular Democratic Association (APODETI) wanted

integration with Indonesia (Philpot, 2006; Taylor, 1995). ASDT later changed its name to Fretilin (The Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor-Leste). A few other minor parties formed later but they accounted for less than 10 percent of the popular support (Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Nicol, 2002). In response to rumours that Fretilin would take over the country, UDT staged a coup on the 11th August 1975. The Portuguese administration fled to Atauro island and civil war broke out between the followers of UDT and Fretilin. Fretilin prevailed and the supporters of UDT and APODETI fled across the border to West Timor. Fretilin declared independence of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste on November 28th 1975 and set up an interim government (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001; Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Martin, 2001; Nicol, 2002; Wheeler, 2004).

After several cross-border raids into Timor-Leste, the Indonesians officially invaded on the 7th December 1975 and a brutal 24-year military occupation of Timor-Leste ensued. An estimated 200,000 Timorese (about one-third of the population) died due to war, famine, disease and extrajudicial killings during the occupation (Burchill, 2000; CIIR, 2001; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001; Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Martin, 2001; Nevins, 2007b; Nicol, 2002; Philpot, 2006; Wheeler, 2004). Australia was the only country to internationally recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over Timor-Leste. For more than two decades Australian governments ignored the human rights abuses in Timor-Leste and forged closer and closer ties with Indonesia (Burchill, 2000; Harrington, 2007; Stott Despoja, 1998). The Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, which was captured on film and broadcast around the world, was a turning point in global awareness about Timor-Leste (R. Anderson, 1998; CIIR, 2001; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001; Gorjao, 2001;

Kingsbury, 2000a; Martin, 2001). However, it was the fall of Indonesia's dictatorial President Suharto in 1998 and the succession to the presidency of the more progressive Vice President B.J. Habibie that provided a window of opportunity to solve the long-running Timorese issue (Cottrill, 1999; Dunn, 2003; Gorjao, 2001; Martin, 2001).

President Habibie announced in January 1999 that the Timorese must choose between becoming an autonomous province of Indonesia and independence. Despite violent intimidation by many Indonesian-backed militia prior to the vote (Dunn, 2003; Hirst & Varney, 2005) more than 98 percent of registered Timorese voters turned out to vote on 30th August 1999. Twenty-one point five percent voted for autonomy and 78.5 percent voted for independence (Chopra, 2000, 2003; CIIR, 2001; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001; Dunn, 2003; Kingsbury, 2000a; Martin, 2001; Niner, 2000). Three weeks of violence, sponsored by the Indonesian military, ensued (Chopra, 2000, 2003; CIIR, 2001; Dunn, 2003; Hirst & Varney, 2005). Hundreds, possibly thousands, of Timorese were killed. More than three quarters of the population of 890,000 were displaced and 70 percent of the physical infrastructure around the country was laid to waste (Chopra, 2000, 2003; CIIR, 2001; Hirst & Varney, 2005). Although many high level Indonesians refute the idea that the Indonesian military were involved in violence in Timor-Leste, it is widely accepted as fact, due to countless testimonies and eyewitness accounts. The Australian-led International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) began their deployment on September 20th and the United Nations (UN) Security Council approved the mandate for a UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) on Oct 25th, the same day that Australia's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over Timor-Leste ceased (Chopra, 2000, 2003; Department of Foreign Affairs

and Trade, 2001; Philpot, 2006). The UN administered Timor-Leste until the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste regained its independence on 20th May 2002.

After independence, although there were signs of malfunction prior to the civil unrest of April 2006 (particularly in relation to governance issues and the security sector) (Cotton, 2007; Simonsen, 2006), many international observers were hopeful that Timor-Leste had successfully made the transition from conflict to peace (M. A. Brown, 2009; Nevins, 2007a). However, by October 2006 Timor-Leste was being described as a failed state (Nevins, 2007a; Scambray, 2009). In February 2006, 591 soldiers from the Metanaro barracks east of Dili went on strike to complain that their grievances were being ignored. A petition was signed by 159 soldiers and presented to the President and other government leaders. The Prime Minister (Senor Mari Alkitiri), the defense minister and the commander of the troops ordered the soldiers to return to their barracks. When they refused, they were sacked. The President (Senor Xanana Gusmão) exacerbated the situation by stating publically that it was a bad decision (Devant, 2008; Kingsbury, 2008; Kingsbury & Leach, 2007; Mearns, 2008; United Nations, 2006). The state security system (made up of a police force and the military) essentially disintegrated into different factions. This led to violence being initiated by these two armed groups as well as gangs of disaffected youths and some civilian groups that had been armed by members of parliament (Grenfell, 2008).

On May 3, 2006 Major Alfredo Reinado (who was to become a thorn in the government's side until his death on February 11 2008) abandoned his role as commander of the F-FDTL Military Police, taking weapons, some other military police and some PNTL officers with

him. Armed conflict between Major Reinado's group and F-FDTL soldiers on May 23 led to the deaths of five people (Scambary, 2009; United Nations, 2006). Over the next few days many more were killed including nine unarmed PNTL officers (being escorted by UN officials to safety) who were gunned down by disaffected F-FDTL soldiers (McWilliam & Bexley, 2008; Scambary, 2009; United Nations, 2006).

By mid-2006 tens of thousands of people were living in internally displaced refugee camps, many houses had been destroyed and international military and police personnel were brought in to stabilise the situation (Grenfell, 2008). The United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL) mandate, which had been due to expire on May 20 2006, was extended – initially for a month and later until August 25. The United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) was established in August 2006 (Sahin, 2007).

The 2007 elections led to a change in the political landscape of Timor-Leste. Senor Ramos-Horta, who had become the interim Prime Minister in 2006 after Prime Minister Alkitiri resigned, was elected President and the ex-President, (Senor Xanana Gusmão), who was able to form a coalition of non-Fretilin parties, became the Prime Minister (Cotton, 2007; Kingsbury, 2008). However, the new government still faced the problem of Major Reinado and his rebel forces. Major Reinado broke the deadlock between the government and the rebels when his gang attacked President Ramos-Horta's house and Prime Minister Gusmão's convoy on February 11 2008. These attacks led to the near fatal shooting of the President and the death of Major Reinado (Kingsbury, 2008, 2009).

There are three main reasons that the abovementioned aspects of the history of Timor-Leste are relevant to this study. First, Timor-Leste has only recently begun emerging from a long period of feudalism, colonialism, occupation, conflict and isolation. Their history has been one of constant violence and oppression, which makes building trust between people an important but often difficult outcome. Second, the internal conflict that began in 2006 impacted on actually doing this research. This was because the 17 focus group meetings were held during April and May of 2006 – the time when the conflict erupted. Since the security situation remained fragile for several years, as stated in chapter one, the conflict also prevented me from returning to the communities to have the data that I had collected ratified by the participants prior to writing the thesis. Third, Australia's ties to Timor-Leste are not just related to the two countries being in the same part of the world. Their historical links, which have been both positive and negative, include the close relationship Australians forged with the Timorese during WWII; Australia's role in allowing and condoning the Indonesian annexation of Timor-Leste; Australia being the only country in the world to internationally recognise Indonesian sovereignty over Timor-Leste; a strong sense of guilt and shame among many Australians over Australia's abandonment of Timor-Leste from 1975 to 1999; the Australian government's active encouragement in 1999 of Indonesia's President Habibie to allow the Timorese an act of self-determination; the participation of many Australians in the observer delegation to the popular consultation that was held in August 1999; Australia's leading role in the peacekeeping forces of 1999 and 2006; and the long drawn out negotiations between Australia and Timor-Leste about the oil and gas reserves in the Timor Sea that culminated in the Timor Gap Treaty. Although Australia's relationship with Timor-Leste is generally viewed as positive there is a certain amount of scepticism on the part of

some Timorese, as to the motives of Australians wanting to assist Timor-Leste now, due to Australia's previous abandonment of Timor-Leste, their close military and economic ties with Indonesia and their manoeuvring over the Timor Gap Treaty (Philpot, 2006).

Social and Economic Context

Timor-Leste is the poorest nation in Asia with a per capita income of about US\$370 per year (UNDP, 2006). Approximately 40 percent of the population live below the poverty line on less than US\$0.55 per person per day. The population in 2005 was estimated to be 1,011,000 with an annual growth rate of about 4 percent. Over half the population is under 15 and more than two-thirds of the population is under 25 (UNDP, 2006; US Dept of State, 2006). Twenty four percent of the population is urban (mainly in Dili and Baucau). However, the vast majority of the population live in small isolated hamlets comprising a few houses and survive by way of subsistence farming or fishing (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; Timor Leste Census Data, 2004c; UNDP, 2006). Despite the fact that employment in export industries (such as coffee and petroleum) is minimal it is likely to provide the majority of government revenue in the medium term (particularly petroleum). The other main employment opportunity (with less than 11 percent of the workforce) is in the service sector which is concentrated in Dili (both government and private). The overall numbers of public servants has been capped at 17,200 (of which 6,000 are teachers) (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; Timor Leste Census Data, 2004c; UNDP, 2006).

Timor-Leste has two national languages – Portuguese (which, according to the 2004 census data, was spoken by about 15 percent of the population) and Tetum (the lingua franca which

was spoken by about 82 percent of the population)¹³. Tetum, which was a lingua franca during the Portuguese and Indonesian periods, was mainly an oral language that is gradually becoming more accepted as a written language. Timor-Leste also has 4 working languages – Tetum, Portuguese, Indonesian and English. At the time of this study Indonesian was spoken by about 44 percent of the population (mainly those educated between 1975 and 1999) and English was spoken by about 7 percent of the population (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; Ministry of Justice; Timor Leste Census Data, 2004a, 2004b; US Dept of State, 2006). On top of the national and working languages there are 18 indigenous languages (X. Gusmão, 2000).

Generally the standards of education and health are low. At the time of this study, the adult literacy rate was 50.6 percent (56.3 percent for males and 43.9 percent for females) (UNDP, 2006). However, the literacy rate of the population over 50 years of age was only 19 percent. Life expectancy was 55.5 years (54.0 years for males and 56.6 years for females) (UNDP, 2006). Half the population did not have access to safe drinking water and 60 percent lived without adequate sanitation (UNDP, 2006).

Timor-Leste is a patriarchal and hierarchical society. Despite the fact that the constitution stipulates gender equality, most women in Timor-Leste have a lower status than men (UNDP, 2006). Women and girls suffer significant discrimination at home, in the workplace and in the community (Bere, 2005; UNDP, 2006). Girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys (UNDP, 2006). Domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence are

¹³ There are two different forms of Tetum. Tetum Praça, also known as Tetum Dili, and Tetum Terik. Tetum Dili has been more influenced by Portuguese and is gradually becoming more accepted as the lingua franca and more widely known. All future references to Tetum relate to Tetum Dili.

common and very few perpetrators are ever brought to justice (Cristalis & Scott, 2005; UNDP, 2006). Although women currently occupy 29 percent of the seats in the national parliament, this sort of representation has not been replicated at the District, Sub-District, Suco (village) or Aldeia (hamlet) levels (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2010).

The aspects of the social and economic context mentioned above are relevant to the Friendship Agreements for a number of reasons. The huge disparity in economic prosperity between Australia and Timor-Leste impacts on Australian and Timorese expectations of the Friendship Agreements and the sort of programmes undertaken. Language differences, added to the lack of communication infrastructure mentioned earlier, make communication difficult. Protocol expectations and the level of participation of women in the Australian and Timorese groups differ due to the differences in the ways in which hierarchy and patriarchy are manifest in the two countries.

Political context

The Timorese constitution stipulates that Timor-Leste will have two tiers of government (the national government and local municipal governments) but until recently the power remained mainly centralised in the capital Dili. Soon after independence, the national government established administrative structures at the national, district and sub-district levels. However the ministries in Dili controlled the budgets and made key decisions. Local officials were meant to report regularly to their respective ministries in Dili (UNDP, 2006). In 2002 the national government organised an inter-ministerial committee to investigate possible municipal government structures and recommend the most appropriate option(s). By

August 2003 the committee had identified six alternatives and in January 2004 they recommended two options for government consideration. The two options were (1) municipalities based on sub-districts; and (2) municipalities based on the districts (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; UNDP, 2006). The District option was finally chosen as the best option because of the low level of human resources and experience at the local level (de Carvalho, 2008). Thus, Timor-Leste is undergoing a gradual change from the centrally-administered system of 13 Districts, 65 sub-districts, 442 sucos (villages) and about 2500 aldeias (hamlets) to a more decentralised local government system which will be made up of 13 municipalities (with the same number of sucos and aldeias). Although the District and sub-district administrative units will be merged, most of the sub-district offices outside each District capital will be kept open as service delivery centres (de Carvalho, 2008; Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2003; República Democrática de Timor Leste Ministério da Administração Estatal E Ordenamento do Territória, 2008; UNDP, 2006).

Since decentralisation will gradually increase the extent to which each municipality can spend money and make decisions that affect their local communities without the need for central approval, the new local government structure will affect the Friendship Agreements by changing the balance power within Timor-Leste. Decentralisation will also affect the written Friendship Agreements. Once the new municipalities have been legally established existing written agreements will need to be re-written to reflect the new political reality and signed by all participating parties. However, at the time the data for this study was collected the system was still highly centralised.

Summary

The geographical, historical, social, economic and political contexts of Timor-Leste are relevant to this research because of the way they impacted on, and continue to impact, on the way that the agreements are conducted. The next three chapters review the relevant bodies of literature pertaining to this thesis and develop specific research questions for the Friendship Agreements that are addressed in chapters seven to ten.

Chapter 3

Understanding friendship

Introduction

Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements could be considered to be a type of municipal link (see chapter four) or they could be considered to be a type of partnership for development (see chapter five), and yet they have all been named ‘Friendship’ Agreements¹⁴. The instigators of the Friendship Agreement programme wanted an emphasis on friendship. They wanted these agreements to be different to other types of municipal links such as Sister Cities (Kehi, [2005]; Perry, 2002; Spence & Ninnes, 2007). Since friendship is a central concept in these agreements, it is important to explore how friendship is conceptualised¹⁵. Theorising and research in friendship occurs in and across a number of fields including philosophy, sociology, anthropology, politics and communication¹⁶. This literature review will draw on material from all these fields and concentrate particularly on the meaning of friendship, different cultural understandings of friendship, influences on friendship, and the impacts of friendship, since these aspects of friendship appear to be particularly relevant to

¹⁴ “Friendship Agreement” in English, Sidade Amiga or “Belun [place name]” (e.g. Belun Ermera) in Tetum and “Cidade Amiga” or “Cidade Amijade” in Portuguese.

¹⁵ Although Friendship Agreements could also be analysed using social network theories (see for instance, Anklam, 2007; Carrington, Scott, & Wasserman, 2005; Feld, 1981; Granovetter, 1973, 1983; Haythornthwaite, 1996), I have chosen to analyse them using friendship theories because of this strong emphasis on ‘friendship’.

¹⁶ Most of the academic literature about friendship seems to concentrate on friendship from a **philosophical** viewpoint with particular concentration on the ‘ideal’ friend (see for example, Annas, 1977; Badhwar, 1993b; Cicero; Cocking & Kennett, 1998; Jeske, 1997; Lewis, 1993; Pakaluk, 1991b; L. Thomas, 1993; Webb, 2003; Richard White, 1999b). However, in the last few decades, there has been a surge of interest in the topic of friendship. Besides studying friendship from a philosophical perspective, academics have also begun analysing friendship from a **sociological** perspective (such as Allan, 1989, 1998; Eve, 2002; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Silver, 1990; Spencer & Pahl, 2006), an **anthropological** perspective (see for instance Allan, 2001; Bell & Coleman, 1999b; Kudo & Simkin, 2003; Kutcher, 2000), a **political** perspective (for example, Derrida, 1988; Farrands, 2001; Schwarzenbach, 1996; Shklar, 1993; C. H. Wellman, 2001) and a **communicative** perspective (such as, Chen, 2006; Collier, 1996; Collier & Bornman, 1999; Gareis, 1999a; A. J. Johnson, 2001; Urry, 2003; Wulff, 1997).

the Friendship Agreements as they are played out within Timor-Leste.¹⁷ Within the friendship literature there are a few terms that are regularly used. ‘Modern’ appears to refer to recent times (such as the last 20 -100 years), although authors who use this term tend not to give a time period and assume that the reader will understand what they mean. ‘Western’ appears to cover countries such as the U.S., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, Canada and countries within Western Europe, although again, authors tend not to specify what they mean by Western. The friendship literature does not use ‘Northern’ or ‘Southern’-types of friendships, so within this chapter, I will use Western and modern in the way I have just described. It is important to note that the majority of academic literature about friendship (written in English) is written from a Western perspective.

What is Friendship?

Although friendships are a global phenomenon, it is impossible to come up with one, all-encompassing definition. Friendships are such subjective, dynamic relationships that there has been, and still is, little agreement on the definition of friend or friendship (see for instance, Chambers, 2006; De Vries, Blieszner, & Adams, 2004; Firth, 1999; Konstan, 1997; Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Stafford, 2004; Webb, 2003). Fehr (1996: 5) sums it up well when she claims that “everyone knows what friendship is – until asked to define it. Then, it seems, no one knows.” Allan (1989) points out that it is possible to clearly define categories such as cousin, work colleague or neighbour because they indicate a particular social position or proximity that people have with one another. For instance, “you can be on good, bad or indifferent terms with a neighbour. That person remains a neighbour simply as a

¹⁷ This review is limited to literature written or translated into English.

consequence of residential propinquity” (Allan, 1989: 16). However, defining the meaning of friend is difficult because it does not relate to a person’s social position or proximity but implies certain qualities and characteristics of the relationship. Although Adams, Blieszner & De Vries (2000: 117) argue that “it has become a cliché to begin articles on friendship with a discussion on how its definition varies”, this seems unavoidable when friendship is a central theme of the research.

Despite the lack of agreement on a definition of friend or friendship most recent academic literature portrays Western friendship as an informal, personal, non-hierarchical, voluntary relationship between two individuals (see for example, Allan, 1989; Badhwar, 1993b; Lynch, 2005; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Silver, 1989, 1990). One of the most stressed words in the literature about Western friendships is ‘choice’ (see for instance, Allan, 1989; Chambers, 2006; Lynch, 2005; Richard White, 1999b). Even though many authors emphasise that friendships (particularly modern Western friendships) are relationships of choice, the extent of choice within friendships continues to be debated. For example, Jeske (1997) claims that people often form friendships before they really know the other person’s character well. Since getting to know people is a time consuming, difficult and complex process, people are likely to form friendships before they know a lot about the other people and discovering later that they are completely incompatible will cause a breakdown in the friendship. Doyle and Smith (2002) point out that class, gender, age, ethnicity and geography also influence our friendships, making the question about free choice difficult to answer. Spencer & Pahl (2006) argue that friendships are not *simply*¹⁸ a matter of individual choice, feelings or

¹⁸ My emphasis

commitment but are influenced by the circumstances under which they have been created. For instance, coal miners' friendships are likely to differ from computer programmers' friendships and grandparents' friendships are likely to differ from teenagers' friendships. Furthermore, Allan (1989) maintains that, although a relationship that is imposed on someone is not likely to be thought of as friendship, the voluntariness of friendship is not always clear-cut. Sometimes friendships are continued because the friends find it easier to maintain the relationship rather than to bring it to an end. This discussion about the meaning of friendship raises a number of questions in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, such as: *Who chooses to make these friendships? How are they implemented? Do the Friendship Agreements vary from each other? If so, how? What are some of the influences that could impact on the amount of choice within the Friendship Agreement friendships?*

Generally, friendships differ from the relationships that people have with work colleagues, sporting associates and interest groups, although it is possible to develop strong and lasting friendships with particular members of these groups. Friendship is not assured just because people are members of the same organisation or interest group. Although people may choose to interact with work colleagues or members of their interest group, this is different to caring for them as individuals (Lynch, 2005).

The expectations and obligations associated with structured or formal relationships provide a framework for interaction. Of course, we are free to ignore expectations or to flout obligations entailed in our formal ties with others. But this possibility only serves to emphasise the nature of the choice we make in friendship. (Lynch, 2005: 115)

Even within one culture or language group, there tend to be differences in people's understanding of what makes a person a friend (Allan, 1989; Bruckner & Knaup, 1993; Konstan, 1997). Take, for example, the English term 'friend'. It could be argued that part of the confusion lies with the broad definition of 'friend' used by most English speakers – a definition that ranges from close friend to acquaintance – and part with the fact that there are no firm rules and socially accepted criteria about what makes a person a friend (Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Stafford, 2004; Wierzbicka, 1997; Wulff, 1997). So, how do we know that two people, when discussing friendship, have a similar understanding of the topic?

Liking, affection, love, intimacy, freedom, choice, utility, pleasure, goodness, equality, reciprocity and mutuality, shared activity, goodwill, trust, care and concern, loyalty, steadfastness, similarity, difference, vulnerability and fragility have all been addressed as features associated with understandings of friendship. (Lynch, 2005: 20)

Despite this, not all friendships will display all of these features. Friendships can, and do, take many forms because the combination of characteristics and the intensity will vary from friendship to friendship (Lynch, 2005; Webb, 2003). Rather than a clearly defined concept, friendship can be described as a 'prototype concept' (Fehr, 1996)¹⁹. A prototype concept does not have a clear-cut set of features but has a 'fuzzy' set of attributes that are typical of the concept. Hence, within the prototype concept of friendship there is a network of similar and dissimilar features, such that the concept can be contained within a broad category but

¹⁹ Although other authors do not use the terminology of 'prototype concept' to describe friendship the same idea has been expressed in different ways. For instance, Lynch (2005: 21) uses the term 'family resemblance' concept. Allan (1989: 18-19) states that "there is no one typical form of friendship, but rather a range of relationships that combine in different ways the various elements that are entailed in the general notion of friendship" and Gratz, Meier & Pelican (2004: 9) argue that friendship is a "cluster of social practices" involving emotions, functions and a varying degree of intimacy.

no single definition can be given that will cover all variations²⁰ (Allan, 1989; Bruckner & Knaup, 1993; Fehr, 1996; Lynch, 2005; Webb, 2003).

Spence and Ninnes (2007) point out that the meaning of friendship varies greatly between the different Australian groups that participate in the Australian/Timorese Friendship agreements.

The meaning that the Australian groups place on the term Friendship differs from group to group and is informed by their perspective on what it is they are trying to achieve. Although all recognise that Friendship is necessarily a two way process, those groups that concentrated on material assistance are extremely unclear about what they as Australians could learn from the Timorese. They viewed their friendship as an act of giving material assistance to people who had less access to resources or skills. The act of giving constituted Friendship. They expected little back as they measured the relationship in terms of what they could give. Those that needed to give as an act of friendship and placed emphasis on the logistics of getting material assistance to Timor, concentrated less on the more intangible relationship building side and were often frustrated by the lack of progress in the development of their agreement. Their actions could be interpreted as paternalistic, mirroring the *assisted development* model²¹. However, groups with a large number of community development practitioners in their membership were aware of the need for clear and continuous consultation with their Timorese counterparts in order to establish and sustain the relationship. This practice had been informed by their community development experience where they had learnt about the negative aspects of paternalistic modes of development assistance.

Groups that had firmly established relationships and were situated in Local Government offices were quite clear about what Friendship meant. Being friends meant building a relationship based on respect, mutuality, exchange and compassion.

²⁰ If various definitions of friendship are combined then a friendship prototype could include, but not be limited to, attributes such as: equality, similarity, reciprocity, mutuality, intimacy, loyalty, sharing, liking, love, regard, utility, pleasure, goodness, honesty, authenticity, voluntary, freedom, choice, trust, justice, steadfastness, affection, commitment, vulnerability, personal, emotional, shared activities, self-disclosure, support (both receiving and giving), “being there”, built over time, care, concern, goodwill, respect (of both self and other) and an ability to deal with conflict or differences (Badhwar, 1993a; Fehr, 1996; Friedman, 1993; Lynch, 2005; Perreault, 2005; Richard White, 1999a).

²¹ This is one of the four models of international municipal links that is covered in detail in chapter four. The four models are: *peaceful relations* (links that emphasise friendship, peace, cultural understanding, exchange and people-to-people contact); *political activism* (links that emphasise solidarity, human rights and environmental issues); *economic benefits* (North-North links that emphasise trade, commercial ventures and economic opportunities); and *assisted development* (North-South links that emphasise capacity building, transfer of knowledge and skills, and improvement in infrastructure).

The relationship was seen as very complex with no set rules and groups recognised that their particular friendship would be influenced by the activities that were pursued. Friendship was interpreted as a network of links between Australian individuals and their community and the Timorese individuals and their community ... This would suggest that these groups had returned to the early concept of *peaceful relations* as the key to successful links.
(Spence & Ninnes, 2007: 336)

In regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, accepting friendship as a prototype concept elicits the following questions: *What do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees mean by friendship? What do the National Timorese government officials involved in the Friendship Agreements mean by friendship? Do the meanings differ?*

Since friendships are so difficult to define, and relationships known as friendships are so varied, researchers often concentrate on the *ideal friend* (sometimes referred to as ‘a true friend’, ‘a loyal friend’, ‘a close friend’, ‘a best friend’, ‘a perfect friend’ or ‘an intimate friend’), or friendship as an *ideal* (see for example, Allan, 1989; Badhwar, 1993a, 1993b; Danching & Wenhong, 2001; Eve, 2002; Stafford, 2004; Webb, 2003). Despite this, there seems to be a consensus in the literature that most of us will have very few friends in our lifetime that could be classified as ‘*an ideal friend*’ (Abrahams, 1999; Allan, 1989; Doyle & Smith, 2002; Gareis, 1999b; Paine, 1999; Schwarzenbach, 1996; Stafford, 2004). Although it is often easier to idealise friendships this ignores the actual experience of the many relationships people call friendships (Adams, et al., 2000; Jeske, 1997). Misunderstandings, disagreements and unmet expectations are not uncommon among friends and yet these aspects of friendship tend to be ignored by most authors. (Lynch, 2005) What does this say about the vast number of friendships that people build during a lifetime? Can they be discounted as being meaningless? Why, if 999 out of every 1000 friendships are less than

ideal, do people concentrate on the 1 case in 1000²²? Could the other 999 friendships possibly reveal more about the reality of friendships? This research is not going to evaluate the Friendship Agreements using some 'ideal' about friendship but will explore issues that arise from establishing these types of relationships.

Changes in the meaning of friendship

People's perceptions about, and expectation of, friendships have varied over time. There are the friendships of the 'free men' of ancient times, the Christian friendships of 'love for one another', friendships built on 'codes of honour' with expectation of rewards for loyalty, and the modern Western informal, personal, voluntary friendships, to name just a few (Silver, 1990; Richard White, 1999a, 1999b). Yet, judging by the number of times that Aristotle's ideas about friendship are mentioned, discussed and quoted in the academic literature, Aristotle appears to have had more of a profound effect on the Western understanding of friendship than any other philosopher. The modern concept of the 'ideal' friend may have originated from Aristotle's friendships that were built on good character. Aristotle defined three different categories of friendships: those built on pleasure (they are fun to be with); those built around advantage or usefulness (I can get certain things out of this relationship) and those built on good character (Annas, 1977; Aristotle, 1998; Doyle & Smith, 2002; Konstan, 1997; Pakaluk, 1991a, 1991b; Schwarzenbach, 1996; L. Thomas, 1993). Although a fundamental aspect of each type of friendship, according to Aristotle, was a reciprocal wishing-the-other-well-for-the-other's-sake, since a person who uses another person purely for their own pleasure or advantage is not a friend at all (Aristotle, 1998; Schwarzenbach,

²² These figures are not based on any research but are being given merely as an example.

1996). Aristotle also argued that mutuality is essential to friendship. To be friends, it must be mutually recognised that each party feels goodwill for the other. Someone feeling affection towards another person (such as a film star) can be said to feel goodwill towards that person but friendship requires mutual acknowledgement of the affection. We cannot be someone's friend if they have never met us and they are unaware of our feelings of goodwill. Wanting to be a friend with someone doesn't automatically make people friends just as wanting to be healthy doesn't automatically make people healthy. Aristotle pointed out that a person can 'like' an inanimate object (such as wine) but the term friendship is not used in this instance because mutuality does not exist (Annas, 1977).

Even though Aristotle wrote about friendship thousands of years ago from the point of view of 'free men' (in a time when women were considered inferior to men and slavery was accepted), his ideas still appear to influence much of the Western debate about friendship today. For instance, Doyle & Smith (2002) suggest that modern Western friendships appear to fit into the pleasure category because many people are uncomfortable about the idea that a friend could be considered useful and the idea that people become friends because of a shared inner goodness. Lynch (2005: xi) maintains that a

commitment to the Aristotelian maxim that friends of the best kind like and care for one another as persons in themselves presents modern friends with a dilemma. The maxim prohibits motivation on the basis of self-interest or an ulterior purpose. But ... it is vague in terms of what it is to like and care for others in themselves, or what kind of behaviour treating friends as ends in themselves might require friends to exhibit.

During the middle ages, in feudal England, friends were more like relatives, advisors or people of high status "from whom one might expect patronage" (Pahl, 2000: 53). However, the meaning of friendship changed dramatically under capitalism, according to Adam Smith,

a prominent philosopher from the 18th century. He claimed that capitalism helped make more of a distinction between public relationships built around exchange and private relationships built around sympathy. Smith argued that prior to the development of impersonal markets, “all friendships tended to be based on necessity ... inevitably tangled up with financial and welfare needs” (Chambers, 2006: 17) and, after the development of impersonal markets, friendships could be based more on personal affection rather than exchange or utility (Chambers, 2006; Silver, 1990).

Besides comparing philosopher’s thoughts about friendship, it is also possible to track some of the changes in the meaning of friend or friendship by looking at the definitions given in various dictionaries. The definitions reflect the cultural understanding of the terms at the time the dictionary was written. For example, Silver (1990: 1487) points out that in the early 18th century one dictionary defined a friend as “a distant or close relation, a patron or a client, an individual to whom one was tied by mutual sponsorship, or someone attached by warm affection”. By the mid-18th century a different dictionary gave the meaning of friend as “one who supports you and comforts you while others do not” (Silver, 1990: 1487) and a late-20th century dictionary defined a friend as “a person loving or attached to another; a close or intimate acquaintance; a favourer, well-wisher or supporter” (Schwarz, 1993: 666).

Although only a few philosopher’s views about friendship and a few meanings from dictionaries have been discussed here, it is clear from these examples that the concepts of friend and friendship do not represent constant or universally-understood-in-the-same-way

concepts (Hallinan, 1999; Konstan, 1997; Pahl, 2000, 2002; Rawlins, 1992; Silver, 1990; Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1997; Yager, 1998).

If we see clearly the changes which the meaning ... has undergone, we will be less likely to absolutize the contemporary Anglo concept of 'friend' and to treat it as some kind of natural yardstick for assessing and comparing human relations in general. (Wierzbicka, 1997: 39)

Silver (1990: 1499) argues that “we must consider the historical and intellectual situation in which each paradigm develops, the values and goals each seek to advance, and the historical realities each addresses”. This means that in order to understand the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement friendships it is important to investigate the historical and intellectual situation within which the friendships developed, the values and goals that these friendships seek to advance, and the reality within which they are placed.

The historical and intellectual background of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements is complicated and multi-layered. Timor-Leste has only recently begun emerging from a long period of feudalism, colonialism, occupation, conflict and isolation. Their history has been one of constant violence and oppression (see chapter two), which makes building trust between people an important but often difficult outcome. As stated in chapter two, Australian/Timorese friendships began during the Second World War. The Japanese killed about 40,000 Timorese in reprisal for their support of the Australian commandos (Wray, 1987). So, the initial friendship from the Timorese was built on loyalty, generosity and sacrifice. Although the Australians dropped leaflets after the war saying, “Your friends will never forget you”, the actions of the Australian governments, for the next five decades, did not reflect this attitude (Kingsbury, 2000a). As shown in chapter two, historically positive aspects of the Australian/Timorese relationship include: the close

relationships that were forged between Australians and Timorese during WWII; the Australian government's active encouragement in 1999 of Indonesia's President Habibie to allow the Timorese an act of self-determination; the participation of many Australians as observers during the popular consultation that was held in August 1999; and the leading role that Australia took in the peacekeeping forces of 1999 and 2006. However, historically negative aspects of the Australian/Timorese relationship include: Australia allowing and condoning the Indonesian annexation of Timor-Leste; Australia being the only country in the world to internationally recognise Indonesian sovereignty over Timor-Leste; and the long drawn out negotiations between Australia and Timor-Leste about the oil and gas reserves in the Timor Sea that culminated in the Timor Gap Treaty. The stark contrasts between the positives and the negatives have led to a certain amount of scepticism on the part of some Timorese, as to the motives of Australians wanting to assist Timor-Leste now.

Different cultural understandings of friendship

Since no clear definition of friendship exists it is difficult to know how much differences in friendship are due to the differences in people's understanding of the concept (Bruckner & Knaup, 1993). Affected by the difficulty in defining friendships, academics have generally found it easier to describe regular, long-term patterns of social organisations (such as kin) because, although they often observe the importance of emotional bonds outside the structured kin groups, the irregularity and the unclear, and sometimes even secret, feature of friendships make understanding them difficult (Bell & Coleman, 1999a). Rawlins (1992) maintains that friendship is a culturally understood ideal, where ideas about friendship are culturally transmitted and people are socialised into an understanding of the 'ideal friend'

and what is acceptable within the practices of friendships. He claims that these idealised forms of friendship are developed in the public domain at particular historical moments in particular cultures.

In a study of friendships conducted in 1986, with men and women from the United States, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Hungary, it was discovered that friendships varied more between countries than they did between genders. For example, while American men and women tended to report a higher average number of friends than people from the other countries, men and women from Hungary tended to have quite small friendship networks (Bruckner & Knaup, 1993).

Furthermore, some societies do not tolerate the freedom and flexibility that friendships in Western societies seem to have. In these societies, a form of personal relationship, equivalent to a Western friendship, would not be recognised. Their relationships are designated through kinship and locality. Other societies recognise ties of friendship but only under explicit rules and social control. These forms of friendship are often recognised through the use of public ceremonies and rituals, which mark the relationship as being special, and in some cases, formalise and specify appropriate behaviour (Allan, 1989; Bell & Coleman, 1999b). An example of the latter type of friendship could be seen, in many parts of PNG, in the early 20th century where boys born on the same day were made friends by their fathers. These friendships entailed certain obligations. They would have been expected to lend each other things such as fishing nets, garden produce and wives, “entertain” one another, celebrate

successful hunts, wail for the other person when they died and dig their grave (Parsons, 1915).

Many cultures also linguistically differentiate types of friendships. For instance, Russians use *drug* (which roughly translates to close friend), *podruga* (girl or women's girlfriend), *prijatel'/prejatel'nica* (friend), *znakomyj/znakomaja* (close acquaintance), and *tovarisc* (mate/fellow – as in classmate, workmate or fellow prisoner). The expectations of these different types of friends vary greatly. And yet, if a Russian dialogue about friendship were translated into English, each of these terms would be translated into the English term 'friend', thereby losing important information about the sorts of relationships being discussed (Wierzbicka, 1997).

Bell & Coleman (1999a) argue against trying to set up a globally applicable definition of friendship. They claim that establishing rigid rules about friendship would only set up boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and probably fuel a heated debate on the topic.

Rather, we suggest that a focus on the notion of friendship encourages us to look at old data in new ways, to challenge some academic and lay stereotypes about the constitution of social relationships and to be ready to observe the construction of new types of sociality in a globalizing but complex and contradictory world whose cultural and social boundaries are constantly being transformed. (Bell & Coleman, 1999a: 16)

Kudo and Simkin (2003: 110) suggest that good, open communication may be essential for intercultural friendship formation since people from different cultures share fewer common norms and values about how to interact. Also, since friendships are specific to particular times, cultures and contexts, intercultural friendships are likely to benefit from a deeper

understanding of what friendship means to individuals from each culture at the time of contact (Pahl, 2000; Vorauer & Sakamoto, 2006; Wilson, 1993).

Neither Timor-Leste nor Australia could be considered mono-cultural. Not only does Timor-Leste have two national languages (Portuguese and Tetum) and four working languages (Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English) but there are 18 other indigenous languages spoken around the country (X. Gusmão, 2000). There is also the divide between the urban and the rural populations. Australia also varies greatly from community to community (e.g. urban to rural communities, large urban to regional urban communities and coastal rural to inland rural communities). Thinking about the historical background between Australia and Timor-Leste and different cultural understandings of friendships raises the following questions for the Friendship Agreements: *How has the historical background between Australia and Timor-Leste affected the Friendship Agreements? What are the Timorese expectations and values of the Friendship Agreements?*

Influences on friendships

Despite an increasing awareness, within the friendship literature, that context matters; friendships are often portrayed as non-hierarchical, status-free, reciprocal relationships between equals. Yet hierarchy is usually hidden because friendships tend to be created amongst people of similar status, power and privilege (Allan, 1998; Chambers, 2006). Since friendships are influenced by external factors it is impossible to say that they are 'natural' or 'pure' relationships that are based solely on choice, feeling or commitment (Allan, 1998: 689). However, while it is apparent that many external factors affect friendships,

understanding which factors are affecting particular friendships, and to what extent, is a complex and difficult task (Adams & Allan, 1998; Allan, 1989, 1998; Chambers, 2006).

Regardless of how much choice is involved in a friendship, social and economic factors need to be taken into account. Although friendships are inherently social relationships that are constructed by the actions of individuals, they are influenced by the social conventions (including power structures, class, gender and ethnic identification) and economic reality of the time and place in which they are located (Adams & Allan, 1998; Allan, 1989, 1998; Chambers, 2006). As Allan (1989: 153) states

the friendships an individual is involved in are not ... independent of other facets of his or her life. On the contrary, they need to be understood against the background of opportunities and constraints for sociability built into that person's daily routines.

There are a variety of recent studies that show how altered social and economic conditions have influenced patterns of friendships. Silver (1990) looked at the emergence, in commercial societies, of friendships built on compatibility rather than self-interest. In pre-commercial societies, the boundary between the economic and the personal spheres was more blurred and so friendships could not always be separated from self-interest. Olicker (1998 cited in Allan, 1998) studied how industrialisation changed middle-class, North American, married women's friendships. The separation of the industrial economy from the domestic economy largely limited women's social and economic position to the domestic sphere. This meant that they tended to make friends with other women in similar situations and used these friendships as an avenue of disclosure and validation. Marks (1998 cited in Allan, 1998) investigated the lives of working-class women in Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s. These women developed friendship bonds that lasted lifetimes but did not include

self-disclosure. Since the socio-economic environment in which these women lived and worked did not encourage a private sense of self, group cohesion was more important than individuality. Sheets & Lugar (2005) compared the sources of conflict between friends in America and friends in Russia. Their study found that Russians tend to place more emphasis on material exchange and less emphasis on self-disclosure. The importance placed on material exchange may be a result of their unpredictable environment and their tendency to engage in less self-disclosure may be a result of the years of totalitarian rule, during which, personal disclosure was risky. And finally, Wellman (1988, 1990 cited in Allan, 1998) examined the impact that increased travel has had on friendships. Networks of friends now are often widely dispersed rather than being concentrated in a particular place. This change is thought to be bringing about a privatisation of friendship in which the communal solidarities are being superseded by ties that are more individual.

Although globally the spread of new technology is unevenly distributed, friendships are increasingly being influenced by changes in technology, such as faster forms of transport (e.g. motorised canoes, speedboats, motorbikes, cars, buses, trains, ferries and planes, etc) and communication (e.g. landline and mobile telephones, email, internet chatrooms and computerised social utilities such as facebook and myspace, etc). As more and more people are able to travel it is more common for long-distance friendships to be created (Chambers, 2006; Stafford, 2004; Urry, 2003). Although, some people might argue that faster forms of communication open up the possibility of maintaining long-distance friendships more easily than in the past, this feeds into the debate about whether face-to-face meetings are important for the maintenance of friendships (Cocking & Matthews, 2001; Stafford, 2004; Urry, 2003).

Some authors argue that regular, even if infrequent, face-to-face meetings are important to maintain the social connection between friends, particularly long-distance friends, since communication content can be affected by the communication context (e.g. face-to-face meetings, emails, internet chatroom conversations, telephone conversations, meetings, private dinners, etc). They claim that when friends spend time together much of their communication is carried out through non-verbal means (e.g. facial expressions, fidgeting, silences, hesitations, eye contact and excitement levels) so, face-to-face meetings enable body language to be interpreted and provides an opportunity for an immediate emotional reading of the situation (Cocking & Matthews, 2001; Urry, 2003).

[In] face-to-face conversations ... misunderstandings can be quickly corrected; commitment and sincerity can be directly assessed. Trust between people is thus something that gets worked at involving a joint performance by those in such conversations. Such conversations are made up of not only words, but indexical expressions, facial gestures, body language, status, voice intonation, pregnant silences, past histories, anticipated conversations and actions, turn-taking practices and so on. (Urry, 2003: 164-165)

However, Urry appears to have overlooked the possibility that non-verbal communications can sometimes be misinterpreted. Body language will always be interpreted but there is no guarantee that an interpretation will coincide with what was actually meant or not meant (regardless of whether the speaker is conscious or unconscious of the signals being emitted). For example, some people may interpret maintaining eye contact during a conversation as an indication of the speaker's honesty and reliability and other people may interpret, maintaining eye contact throughout a conversation as a lack of respect and a desire to dominate. A person coming from a culture where eye contact is considered important and polite may unintentionally cause offence when communicating with a person coming from a culture where eye contact is considered rude and vice versa.

Stafford (2004), on the other hand, argues that frequent face-to-face meetings between adult friends are not vital to the continuation of a close friendship. In studies of college students Stafford found that there were no differences in the perceptions of closeness between proximal and long-distance friends but proximal friends engaged in more activities together and shared more social contacts than long-distance friends. Long-distance friends relied on various forms of communication (such as cards, letters and phone calls) to maintain the relationship. People also appeared to have different expectations from their long-distance friends to their proximal friends.

However, although Stafford stipulates that her study is about 'close friendships', she fails to indicate whether the friendships she investigated began as proximal friendships and then became long-distance friendships, if they had always been long-distance friendships or if there was a combination of these types. Are the friendships that have had very little proximal time together different in some way to friendships that began with a long period of proximal time and then became long-distance? Stafford also fails to indicate whether any of the long-distance friendships investigated were cross-cultural.

Since the Friendship Agreements have been established between countries and communities with vastly different histories, economies and social expectations, a question that should be asked is: *How have the economic and social backgrounds of the Timorese communities impacted on the Friendship Agreements?* Also, given that the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements have been established between groups of people that speak different languages and live apart from each other, it is difficult to ignore the importance of good

communication for the maintenance of the relationships. Since good communication appears to be an important ingredient in the maintenance of long-distance relationships, questions about communication and the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements arise, including: *Have good, open communication channels been established between Friendship Agreement participants? What are the difficulties faced in creating good, open communication channels? What are some of the strategies suggested and/or used by the Timorese to overcome these difficulties?*

The impacts of friendship

Many people perceive friendship as a private matter between two individuals. However, this ignores the social impact that friendships can have (Pahl, 2002). Regardless of the reason a friendship started there is a danger that people within a friendship group will become indifferent or deaf to the views of the wider community. Since friendships often instil a great sense of loyalty they can disrupt the social order and change community attitudes and behaviour (Friedman, 1993; Lewis, 1993; Pahl, 2000, 2002; Parsons, 1915; Pettigrew, 1998).

Long established social structures, such as class and hierarchy, can be put under pressure by the egalitarianism of friendships. For instance, if people were able to make friends across class boundaries then it would undermine the supposed inevitability of the class structure. Consequently, many societies have strict rules about how certain classes of people can mix (e.g. India with its caste system and England with its aristocracy) to discourage the formation of friendships across the classes (Pahl, 2000). Also, despite Confucian respect for friendships, many writers throughout Chinese history have indicated the need to be wary of

friendships. Under Confucianism there were five socially sanctioned relationships – father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friends. Of these five relationships the first four were hierarchical and obligatory. The friendship relationship, which was non-hierarchical and voluntary, was the only relationship that lay outside the bonds of family and state. Kutcher (2000: 1615-1616) puts forward three arguments as to why many Chinese writers were wary of friendships. First, a well-chosen friend could help a person become a better son, thereby serving the interests of the family and the state, but a badly chosen friend could tempt a person into drinking and gambling, thereby undermining the interests of the family and the state. Second, friendships had the potential to create relationships that were not hierarchical. Since the whole of society was built around systems of hierarchy, non-hierarchical relationships could be potentially subversive. Finally, despite being seen as relationships of equality, friendships were also seen as fleeting relationships – a part of a life-stage. So although friendships could bring moments of contentment it was thought that they were potentially unstable and could threaten the more important relationships of the family and state.

According to Lewis (1993: 46)

every real friendship is a sort of secession, even a rebellion ... In each knot of friends there is a sectional “public opinion” which fortifies its members against the public opinion of the community in general. Each therefore is a pocket of potential resistance. Men (sic) who have real Friends are less easy to manage or “get at”; harder for good Authorities to correct or for bad Authorities to corrupt.

However, this does not mean that friendships necessarily cause social chaos. They may be a positive force for social change. Societies tend to deal with the disrupting power of friendships by either treating friendship as an individual and private matter or by trying to

incorporate a weaker form of friendship into their social institutions. However, whether friendships are considered private or partly public they have political implications. People in authority (particularly totalitarian regimes) tend to be suspicious and distrustful of friendships (Badhwar, 1993a; Friedman, 1993; Pahl, 2000, 2002). As Pahl (2000) points out, family members can be easily traced but friends are more invisible and are, therefore, more difficult to control. Relating these issues to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements creates the following questions: *Are the Friendship Agreements friendships private or partly public? What do the people in authority think of these friendships? How might they change community attitudes and behaviours?*

Friendship and Friendship Agreements

Analysing friendship as it relates to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements differs from other ‘friendship’ research because: (1) Friendship Agreements establish a friendship between groups of people rather than between two individuals; (2) Many Friendship Agreements become formalised with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding; (3) An offer to establish a Friendship Agreement can be made before people meet each other; (4) Friendship Agreements are established between groups that do not live close to each other; (5) Friendship Agreement group membership is not static; (6) Friendship Agreements may involve infrequent face-to-face meetings between counterparts; and (7) Groups involved in the Friendship Agreements may not speak the same language.

No research has been done yet to try and understand how the Timorese conceptualise friendship and whether it differs from the concept of friendship put forward in the

‘Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements’ written agreements. However, if these agreements continue to be built around friendship, examining the meaning of friendship from a Timorese perspective, exploring how the Timorese context impacts on the Friendship Agreement friendships, and considering the possible social impacts of these friendships, could have important implications for the long-term success of the agreements.

In summary, friendship could be considered a “universal feature of social life, embedded in cultural, economic, political and moral contexts, ... varying in its local practices and meanings” (Gratz, et al., 2004: 9). This chapter has reviewed the relevant literature on the meaning of friendship, the different cultural understandings of friendship, the influences on friendship and the impacts of friendship, and raised a number of questions regarding the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. The next chapter is a review of the international municipal link literature.

Chapter 4

International Municipal Links

Introduction

This chapter examines the historical and current context of municipal links between nations. Numerous terms have been, and continue to be, used to describe international municipal links. They are also known as twinning, town twinning, twinned towns, cooperation twinnings, international twinning, jumelage, friendship link, friendship city, partnerships for development, linking for development, decentralised cooperation, international municipal cooperation, city-to-city cooperation (C2C cooperation), joint local action, sister cities, city networks, city partnerships, and municipal partnerships (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006, 2009; Buis, 2009; Hewitt, 2001; UNDP, 2000). These links are generally long-term connections between communities in different countries that enable various people from within the different communities to engage in mutually determined matters of shared interest (UNDP, 2000).

A community is broadly defined as the citizens, local government administration, schools and other institutions, community based organisations and other groups which together comprise a sub-national geographic entity. This may be a city, town, borough or simply a neighbourhood within a city or town, and in rural areas either a district, cluster of villages or a single village. Thus a linking entity could be as large as an urban community of one million or more or as small as a cluster of villages with a population of 10,000 or even less ... These days, the link itself may be between the respective town halls, or between local institutions or local groups, or any combination thereof ... Often a community-based organisation will take the lead and manage the link, with the town council providing its good offices in support. Equally often, the council plays the lead role and draws community groups and institutions into the link. (UNDP, 2000: 9-10)

Since the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements create links between Australian and Timorese communities (supported by community members with, or without, the support of a

local government authority or vice versa), they can be considered to be a type of international municipal link. This review briefly examines the history of North-South²³ municipal links. It then examines the discourses around the rationales for linking, what the municipalities offer each other, and the sustainability, successes and challenges of North-South municipal links as these issues appear to be particularly relevant to understanding the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. It is also important to note that most of the literature found on this topic has been written from a Northern perspective which means that the literature, taken as a whole, does not provide a balanced perspective. This is likely to skew any coverage and interpretation more towards a Northern than a Southern perspective.

International municipal links

While about 70% of the world's municipalities (between 15,000 and 20,000), are involved in some form of international municipal link, most of these links are North-North links (UNDP, 2000; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009). However, despite the thousands of links worldwide, there has been, until recently, very little academic literature on the subject (Cremer, De Bruin, & Dupuis, 2001; Hewitt, 1996a, 1998; Schep, Angenent, Wismans, & Hillenius, 1995; Smith, 1990). While academic publications on the topic are still fairly limited, academic interest in international municipal links as a form of development cooperation has begun to evolve within a variety of disciplines including public administration, development geography, peace studies, development studies, business administration, sociology, educational sciences,

²³ The municipal links literature tends to divide the world into Northern and Southern countries (North and South). Despite the problems associated with this terminology (see chapter one), I will use North and South in this chapter, as it is the dominant terminology in the literature.

and political science (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2009). This literature review focuses particularly on the way communities from the North link to communities from the South.

History of Municipal Links

Although some literature on ‘sister cities’ give credit to President Dwight D. Eisenhower for the development of international municipal links (Brady, 2005; Cremer, et al., 2001; Pasley, 1987), Bontenbal and van Lindert (2006: 304) claim that the roots of these links can be traced back to the early 20th century. In 1913 the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) was established in the Netherlands in order to exchange information, provide mutual support between participating municipalities and promote democratic local governments (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009). However, there was a marked increase in international municipal links after World War II (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Otto-Zimmermann & Alebon, 2002; Pasley, 1987; Vion, 2002). Towards the end of the war, some British cities linked with some European cities. In 1944 Coventry and the Russian city of Stalingrad formed a link due to their shared experiences of bombings. In 1945 Oxford and the Dutch city of Leiden linked because they were both university cities. The first link between ex-enemies was between Bristol and the German city of Hanover in 1947 (Weyreter, 2003). Other early links included Reading-Zaandem, Reading-Dusseldorf and Oxford-Bonn (Brown, 1998; Cremer, et al., 2001). In 1956 President Dwight D. Eisenhower encouraged American cities to start creating links with cities from other countries (known as ‘sister cities’) as a way of building understanding (Pasley, 1987).

Recently, North-South links have become more widespread due to the support given to such relationships by the United Nations (UN-HABITAT, 2002, 2003). The World Association of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination (WACLAC) was formed in 1996 (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006). WACLAC is an alliance of local authorities that claim to be committed to effective local governments that support sustainable development. The WACLAC website states that “its mission is to represent the local government sector in the international arena and in particular with the United Nations” (UN-HABITAT, 2009: website). Various United Nations agencies have become supporters of North-South municipal links. For instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supports international municipal links as a way of introducing local development in the South and building bridges between communities (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; UNDP, 2000). In the early 2000s, more North-South links were created as a result of the UN-sponsored Millennium Campaign for Sustainable Development (Hoetjes, 2009). Under this campaign, municipalities that could show they were doing something for international solidarity and the environment could acquire the label of ‘Millennium municipality’ (Hoetjes, 2009: 159). The UN summit that reviewed the progress of the Millennium Development Goals in 2005 specifically recognised local authorities as development partners (Evans, 2009). This has led to continued interest in North-South municipal links. However, Buis (2009: 191) argues that, regardless of the rationale for establishing a link, “a constant feature is that developed countries determined the content of [the North-South municipal links]”.

Rationale discourses

There are a number of reasons (rationales) that are given for establishing international municipal links. I define these as rationale discourses. The earliest international municipal link rationale discourse was the promotion of cultural understanding and friendly and peaceful relations (Brown, 1998; Buis, 2009; Cremer, et al., 2001; Hewitt, 1999c; O'Toole, 2001; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994). According to the early discourses, international municipal links (which were mainly established between cities or towns with a similar name, similar industries, similar ethnic groups, similar geographical characteristics and/or cities that were a similar size (see for instance Grosspietsch, 2009; Hewitt, 2000; Pasley, 1987; Zelinsky, 1990)), would help prevent the outbreak of wars as “people of different nations got to know and understand each other on a personal level by meeting in their normal environments” (Weyreter, 2003).

However, the rationale discourses have changed gradually. During the 1970s and 1980s, although some mention was still made of cultural understanding, the emphasis shifted towards political activism. Rationales, during this period, tended to emphasise humanitarian aid, environmental issues, the promotion of human rights, links to old colonies/colonisers, solidarity and foreign relations. For instance, many of the links created during this time were said to have been created to express disapproval of national policies on issues such as apartheid, nuclear-free zones, Nicaragua and the former Soviet Union and put pressure on politicians to change government policies in order to bring about change. (Bilder, 1989; Cremer, et al., 2001; Hewitt, 1999c, 2000; Hobbs, 1994; Hoetjes, 2009; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; van der Pluim & Melissen, 2007; Zelinsky, 1990).

From the 1990s to the present the main international municipal link rationale discourse has been economic development. This has created a disparity between the North-North links and the North-South links. The main aim of the North-North links (numerically the largest category of municipal links) has become dominated by economic and business opportunities for both partners (see for instance Cremer, et al., 2001; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 2000; McLean, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2003; Vasallo, 1994; Zelinsky, 1990). An example of the push towards economic benefits can be seen in a recent article about a Sister City conference (Brady, 2005). Although Brady (2005: 13) states that municipal links between cities have three key objectives (economic development, educational exchange and cultural understanding and exchange) he emphasises economic development by stating that “a significant component of the conference will focus on economic development and how to leverage relationships to deliver real economic benefits”. This was emphasised not only by including this statement in the body of the text but also by printing this statement in extra large, bold font in the middle of the first page of the article.

On the other hand, the discourses about the rationales for the North-South links, from the 1990s to the present, have become dominated by the one-way development of the Southern municipality (Bontenbal, 2009a, 2009b; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c, 2000; Monteiro, 2003; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994). The major aim of these North-South development-type links (sometimes referred to as the ‘enabling model’), according to these discourses, is the transfer of information and technology from the North to the South (see for instance Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c, 2000; Hobbs, 1994; Schep, et al., 1995; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009; Vasallo, 1994; Zelinsky, 1990). Capacity building, local

empowerment, improvement in municipal infrastructure and services, and good governance within the Southern municipality appear to be emphasised within the North-South municipal links created recently (de Villiers, 2009; Demers, 2002; Devers-Kanoglu, 2009; Evans, 2009; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c; Nitschke, Held, & Wilhelmy, 2009). The transfer of technical information is seen as a way for the Southern municipalities to gain technical and administrative ‘expertise’ and is seen as a way for the Northern municipalities to secure economic opportunities and to provide professional development opportunities (in a cross-cultural setting) for the Northern municipal officers that participate (Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c; Hobbs, 1994; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; McLean, 2003). The emphasis within North-South links on particular development issues appears to have gone hand-in-hand with the changes in development thinking. For instance, it has been argued that the current emphasis on ‘good governance’ within the North-South links relates to the current general development focus on ‘good governance’ (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2008; Evans, 2009). However, in an evaluation of 38 Southern municipalities in regards to their North-South municipal links, using the four criteria of ownership, relevance, efficiency and effectiveness, it was found that ownership was generally weak (Buis, 2009: 192).

Despite the friendship and the vocabulary in [North-South municipal links] – *cooperation* – there is still a danger for lack of attention to ownership. Although this is hardly a unique thing – development cooperation as a whole regularly stands accused of making local ownership virtually impossible – this is a critical issue. (Buis, 2009: 191)

The different styles of municipal links have been described by Hoetjes (2009: 159) as different ‘waves’.

A wave of twinning initiative and activity presents itself, it takes root and leaves a sediment, a layer, which is then superseded, and sometimes pushed away, by a new wave etc. If one takes a snapshot at a specific moment in time, one will see the newest

wave, but also previous ones petering out, and different layers/sediments underneath. (Hoetjes, 2009: 159)

In a previous publication (Spence & Ninnes, 2007), we argued that the main ‘waves’ or ‘models’ that appear to have emerged since municipal links began are *peaceful relations* (1945-1960s), *political activism* (1970s and 1980s) and *economic benefits* or *assisted development* (1990s to the present). The dominant terms used in agreements emphasising *peaceful relations* are friendship, peace, relationship, partnership, cultural understanding and exchange. In agreements focusing on *political activism*, solidarity, human rights, political issues, environment, liberation and freedom are highlighted. When *economic benefits* predominate, strategic planning, benefits, objectives, motivation, professional development, economic opportunity, commercial, non-commercial, industry and employment opportunities are brought to the fore. Finally, in *assisted development*, the links were conceptualised in terms of enabling, expert, expertise, improvement, empowerment, transfer, information sharing, technical information, good governance, enhancement, strengthening, and capacity building. North-North and North-South municipal links appear to have been initially justified in terms of *peaceful relations* followed by *political activism*. However, from the 1990s to the present, the North-North links appear to have moved more towards *economic benefits*, while the North-South links have moved more towards *assisted development*. This discussion about international municipal link rationale discourses raises a number of questions in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, such as: *What rationale discourses are found in the signed Friendship Agreement Memoranda of Understanding? How do these discourses relate to the international municipal link*

discourses? What consequences (either intentional or unintentional) could result from the use of these discourses?

Contribution discourses

According to Schep et al (1995: 70) links established prior to 1990 tended to have more abstract objectives (e.g. friendship, peace, understanding, solidarity, etc). Links established after this time have tended to have more measurable objectives (e.g. training of personnel, humanitarian aid, construction of sewage plant, etc). This would explain why the earlier literature does not specify how Northern municipalities have contributed to Southern municipalities and vice versa. The later material (see for instance Bontenbal, 2009a; Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 2000, 2004; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006) identifies specific examples, of what Northern municipalities offer Southern municipalities, including: bringing Southern country personnel to the Northern country for training; developing material such as publications, web sites and newsletters; running workshops and conferences; implementing the computerisation of a finance department and the development of a more efficient billing system; developing waste management facilities and protocols; improving traffic flow; improving environmental management systems; relocating street vendors; improving water supply; implementing new computer systems (which includes training staff in how to use the computers); and the design and implementation of new purchasing and inventory control systems. However, Southern discourses about what Southern municipalities offer their Northern partners are noticeably absent in the literature.

The recent North-South international municipal link initiatives (exchanges of municipal staff, training of personnel, staff education, technical and managerial assistance) tend to be designed primarily for the benefit of the ‘receiving’ municipality (see for instance Bontenbal, 2009a; Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Nitschke, et al., 2009; Schep, et al., 1995; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009). Despite the fact that most North-South municipal link programmes are carried out within the Southern community, “the Northern partners’ knowledge of professional practice” is almost always more highly valued than the “Southern partners’ knowledge of context” (H. Johnson & Wilson, 2009: 212). It appears that the *assisted development* model of North-South municipal links sets up the binary of the ‘expert’ (Northern participants) versus the ‘non-expert’ (Southern participants). The experts are understood to have all the answers and the non-experts are seen as lacking in some way. In regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements: *What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the national Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about their contributions relate to the discourses about contributions in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?*

Sustainability discourses

It is difficult to make a blanket statement, about how sustainable international municipal links are, since a few linked communities have already celebrated their fiftieth anniversary while others collapsed within a few years of getting started (Brown, 1998; Hewitt, 2000).

An article by Cremer et al (2001) gives an interesting perspective about the sustainability of municipal links. The article looks at municipal links from a New Zealand perspective. It is important to understand that, of the 103 active 'sister-city' links studied, almost all were North-North links with 82 formed prior to 1990 and 21 formed after 1990. Cremer et al (2001) argue strongly that municipal links will not be successful unless economic objectives are an integral part of municipal links. However, they also state that:

Major findings from the research showed that while cities responding to a survey attached a high importance to culture, international understandings and educational objectives, they were sharply divided over the importance of economic objectives, with almost one in three placing low priority on economic objectives. This suggested to the researchers a low likelihood of a sustainable sister-city relationship in the long term ... The data also showed that the strongest motivation for pursuing sister-city relationships came from non-commercial areas. This is explained by the gains from such facets of the relationship as increased international understandings and cultural and educational exchanges being open to large numbers of people. (2001: 383-384)

This seems to contradict their assertions that, unless economic activity is given equal weight to the cultural, political and social aspects of the relationship, the relationship is not likely to survive.

Bontenbal (2009b) claims that there are particular Northern and Southern organisational factors that affect the sustainability of North-South links. She states that sustainability is likely to be enhanced by the Northern community if the link is politically embedded, adequate human and financial resources are allocated to the link, and, external funding is obtained (for example, funding is obtained from a state, provincial or national government association). On the other hand, Bontenbal (2009b) maintains that sustainability is likely to be enhanced if the Southern municipality has a development plan and establishes a municipal

department to coordinate “international aid and cooperation” (Bontenbal, 2009b: 103). This department would be in charge of organising the logistics of visits (from Northern personnel) and providing organisational support, while ensuring that cooperation was in line with existing municipal development policies and priorities. However, this separation of Northern and Southern factors would appear to entrench the inequalities present within the *assisted development* North-South links.

Alternatively, the following four factors (for both Northern and Southern participants) have been identified, by numerous authors, as being essential to the sustainability of North-South links (see for instance Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2009; Buis, 2009; Hoetjes, 2009; UNDP, 2000; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009). First, active community participation in, and good community awareness of, the link is seen as crucial. Hoetjes (2009) points out that if the link is invisible to the public then it can disappear easily without anybody noticing that it has gone. So it is likely to need the promotion of the link in the public media. Second, a strong commitment by all the people involved is considered vital. This commitment includes allocating sufficient time and adequate financial resources. Third, mutual understanding is deemed to be necessary (including agreed goals and mutually understood expectations). Fourth, reciprocity is critical. Prior to UNDP carrying out its research into North-South municipal links, the importance of reciprocity to the success of the links was unanticipated (UNDP, 2000). However, their research found that groups with successful links gave reciprocity a high priority, with each side showing that they had something to give and both sides benefiting from the relationship (UNDP, 2000). Tjandradewi and Marcotullio (2009), while agreeing that these four factors are essential for

sustainability and success, add to the list the need for positive outcomes (tangible results that can be seen in real examples). This means adopting objectives and programmes that are both realistic and attainable, and that properly take into account resource limitations at the municipal level (this may mean being the most restrained and unambitious in the countries that appear to need the greatest change) (Schep, et al., 1995).

Besides the five factors already discussed, Tjandradewi and Marcotullio (2009) specifically identify four additional factors that they consider to be important to the sustainability of North-South links within Asia. These include: political support from higher levels of government; consistent leadership; cost sharing and cost effectiveness; and a free flow of information. In Asia in particular, getting the support of the state, provincial or national governments for the creation of international municipal links is often vital. Asian governments are often structured in a way that means that municipal authorities require the approval of higher levels of government to conduct international interactions (Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009: 168).

Other commonly mentioned factors within the literature that are considered important for the sustainability of the links include: making a long-term commitment (in order to build up trust); having regular communication; conducting regular joint monitoring and evaluation; scheduling regular exchanges (both ways); signing a formal written agreement; ensuring that both linked communities have active committees supported by municipal officials; not relying on just a few key individuals; accepting that locally demanded reforms are more likely to succeed than reforms imposed by some overseas development agency holding the

purse strings; and working collaboratively and adapting lessons from both ‘sides’ (Buis, 2009; de Villiers, 2009; Hewitt, 2000; Monteiro, 2003; Plummer, 2000; Schep, et al., 1995; Tjandradewi, Marcotullio, & Kidokoro, 2006; van Lindert, 2009).

Finally, in order to be sustainable, municipal links need to change over time (Cremer, et al., 2001; Hoetjes, 2009; Schep, et al., 1995).

The waves and layers of twinnings show both continuity and change, birth, growth, decay and death. Old twinnings sometimes lose prominence, but hang on for a long time. In some cases, their existence was so weak and obscure, that our research, knocking the door (sic) of a municipality in search of an old twinning dug up from the archives, formed the final death blow. In other cases, old twinnings have become a vested interest (an office, with employees), sticking to their guns and avoiding and smothering discussions. In all cases, however, it seems that room for change and new directions, the ability and willingness to cooperate with other groups and to hand over the relay baton is crucial for survival and success. (Hoetjes, 2009: 164)

Although de Villiers (2009) points out that the sustainability factors cannot be isolated from each other as there is a strong relationship between them, the most commonly cited factors that support the sustainability of municipal links (discussed above)²⁴ appear to have one thing in common – and that is that they apply to both communities equally.

In the 1990s, Schep et al (1995: 140) argued that unequal partnerships were not likely to last and that municipal links may be moving more towards one of two models: partnerships that address global problems (urban security, environmental degradation, and social and ethnic conflicts, and so on); or networks of more than 2 linked partners – such as regional networks

²⁴ In summary, the most commonly cited factors that support the sustainability of municipal links include: active community participation in, and good community awareness of, the link; a strong commitment by all the people involved; mutual understanding; reciprocity; tangible results; a long-term commitment; regular communication; regular joint monitoring and evaluation; regular exchanges; signing a formal written agreement; having active committees; not relying on just a few key individuals; locally demanded reforms more likely to succeed; working collaboratively and adapting lessons from both ‘sides’; and change over time. Factors that appear to be particularly relevant in Asia include: political support from higher levels of government; consistent leadership; cost sharing and cost effectiveness; and a free flow of information.

(e.g. South-East Asia, Pacific, Baltic, etc) or issues-based networks (e.g. environmental initiatives, healthy city network, problems of big cities). However, the adoption of North-South municipal links by the United Nations as a good tool for delivering development aid (Bontenbal, 2009a; de Villiers, 2009) appears to have led not only to an increase in the numbers of North-South links but to the *assisted development* model becoming the dominant type of North-South link. In view of the fact that each link is unique (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006), it is not necessarily desirable to stipulate a list of rules that would, purportedly, guarantee the success and long-term viability of a link. However, having an understanding of the sustainability issues may improve the outcomes for all communities involved in North-South links.

Thinking about sustainability issues in regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements raises the following questions: *What recommendations do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committee members make about strengthening their Friendship Agreement relationship? How do these recommendations relate to the international municipal link sustainability discourses? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?*

Success discourses

Despite the changes over time in municipal links, the most commonly cited ‘success’ for the links is the people-to-people contacts. According to the literature, these contacts help to establish dialogue, provide solidarity, reduce isolation, counteract misinformation, promote human rights and can help at both the formal and informal level (see for instance Bontenbal,

2009b; Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Hewitt, 1999a; Hobbs, 1994; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; Smith, 1990; Tabe, 1998; UNDP, 2000; van Lindert, 2009). Besides the people-to-people contact, other successes that have been mentioned in the literature include: long-term evolving relationships between communities; cultural exchanges which can attract large number of people and promote understanding and friendships; public awareness raising; professional exchanges which work best if they are on a colleague-to-colleague basis; social development projects (e.g. workshops on gender issues); construction of infrastructure and provision of equipment; training of personnel; technical and managerial assistance; environmental improvement; and modest scale and bottom-up changes (Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Cremer, et al., 2001; Hewitt, 1999a; Hobbs, 1994; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994).

However, it is important to note that success appears to be defined by the 'Northern' initiating body (Demers, 2002). During the *peaceful relations* stage, apart from the people-to-people contacts, successes were seen in terms of: student exchange programmes; international festivals; art, music, dance and theatre delegations (Hobbs, 1994). During the *political activism* stage successes were couched in terms of the ability to change foreign policy, increase the political participation of citizens, and raise public awareness, as well as student exchanges, professional exchanges, international festivals and cross-cultural awareness (Hewitt, 1999b; Hobbs, 1994).

Very little is written about the successes of the *economic benefits* stage apart from vague references to 'trade enhancement' and 'trade opportunities'. From the little mentioned on the

subject, success is difficult to achieve if the main objective is setting up trade and business ties between the linked municipalities (Cremer, et al., 2001; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; Smith, 1990). Schep et al (1995) point out that municipalities can promote trade but they can't make it happen. Other factors, such as taxes, corruption, bureaucracy, accessibility, distance, modes of transport, laws and tariffs, have more influence over the successfulness of trade and business links.

Some of the following comments about successful North-South links, written from a Northern perspective, show the main emphasis of what is considered successful for Southern communities during the *assisted development* stage — the transfer of 'knowledge' from the Northern community to the Southern community (Devers-Kanoglu, 2009).

[North-South] linkages are typically oriented towards the direct transfer of information and technology from the wealthier and more experienced urban centres of the north to their less affluent counterparts of the rapidly urbanizing south. (Hewitt, 2002: 230)

In the North, activities in the framework of city-links are also meant to raise citizens' awareness and to deepen their understandings of patterns and processes that maintain global inequity. Thus, specific projects that directly benefit particular target groups in the Southern sister city are also a vehicle both for awareness raising and fund raising among the citizens of the Northern city. (van Lindert, 2009: 173)

These comments show a shift in the discourse about the successes of North-South municipal links to a concentration on (a) what is considered successful for the Southern municipalities and (b) what are considered to be the benefits for Northern communities and municipalities.

In the discussion about Northern successes during the *assisted development* stage,

there is the question of whether city-to-city cooperation should also deliver more tangible benefits to the partners in the North. While C2C²⁵ rhetoric implies mutuality of efforts and benefits ... in practice, persistent inequalities result in one-way flows from North to South of money, expertise and information. (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2008: 479)

These North-South inequalities can be seen in the way that the discussion about the benefits for the Northern municipalities differ markedly from the discussion about the benefits for the Southern municipalities. One of the most commonly cited benefits for the Northern (or donor) municipality is the professional development of their staff (see for instance Evans, 2009; Hewitt, 1999c; Tjandradewi, et al., 2006). However, since professional development is often seen by the community “as a personal gain with only intangible benefits for the local authority” (Evans, 2009: 146), Northern municipalities need to convince their local constituents that the professional development of their staff, through their involvement in a North-South municipal link programme, is of clear benefit to their local community. Other perceived benefits for the Northern municipality include: enhanced recognition of employee skills and expertise; an opportunity to apply professional knowledge; understanding of different models of local government by employees; increased understanding of local government structures and decision-making processes; greater self-confidence; satisfaction at having ‘made a difference’; enhanced morale and job satisfaction; satisfaction in making new friendships; greater cross-cultural awareness; the possibility of an increased capacity to train their own employees after running training programmes for other municipalities; greater community cohesion; and greater community participation (Evans, 2009; Hewitt, 1999c: 315-323).

²⁵ C2C here refers to City-2-City cooperation or another name for North-South municipal links.

Summarising the discussion about the successes and benefits during the *assisted development* stage, it must be stated that, while there is a potential for reciprocity of effort and benefits between the linked communities, in practice, the Southern communities (whose voices have rarely been heard) tend to receive financial aid, technical assistance and capacity building while the Northern communities gain in the professional development of their staff and increase their awareness of global issues while providing opportunities for members of the public to participate in development efforts (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006).

The successes' discourses raise the following questions in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements: *What are the main successes according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main successes according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the successes of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about successes in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?*

Challenge discourses

Although some North-South municipal links appear to function well, they are not all successful. Mistakes are made (UNDP, 2000). A bad link can cause harm to those that participate, although the group that tends to be the most affected by a bad link is the Southern community (UNDP, 2000). The literature appears to identify a number of major challenges to municipal links as well as a range of other challenges that should be addressed by all participating municipalities. Although Spence and Ninnes (2007) identified five major

challenges for North-South municipal links, four of the challenges were very commonly cited while the challenge of communication was, until recently, more rarely articulated. Thus the most commonly cited challenges appear to be: the creation of an unequal ‘partnership’; suffering from a lack of finances; gaining widespread support; and implementing workable and regular evaluations, while recent literature adds to this list the challenges of maintaining regular and clear communication and committing to a long-term interaction (see for instance Devers-Kanoglu, 2009; Hewitt, 1999c; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; Monteiro, 2003; Nitschke, et al., 2009).

Unequal ‘partnerships’²⁶ (which appear to be more common in the *assisted development* stage) are often paternalistic and can lead to resentment from all involved (Devers-Kanoglu, 2009; Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009; UNDP, 2000). As Bontenbal and van Lindert (2009: 132) point out “there is a continuous tension in viewing North-South [municipal links] as mechanisms of equal, horizontal exchange versus just another form of the traditional model of aid flowing from North to South”. However, links are more likely to fail if the Northern ‘partner’ is paternalistic and assumes that they have all the expertise. Northern participants, thinking of themselves as ‘experts’, going to a Southern municipality to ‘do some good’ or to ‘fix something’ tend not to work collaboratively, and can do more harm than good (UNDP, 2000). In unequal ‘partnerships’, one ‘partner’ may feel that they receive no benefits and do all the ‘giving’ and the other ‘partner’ may feel that they are seen as having nothing positive to contribute (Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994). Inequalities, particularly in

²⁶ For a more in-depth discussion about ‘partnerships’ see chapters five and ten.

relation to knowledge and resources, often affect North-South municipal links. There appears to be an “unequal recognition of different types of knowledge, in which implicit and tacit knowledge is perceived as less important than codified knowledge”²⁷ (van Ewijk & Baud, 2009: 220) leading to a perception among many participants that Northern knowledge is more valuable than Southern knowledge. While civil society connections (such as the connections between schools, youth organisations, neighbourhood committees, and local clubs) have the ability to be two-way, the connections between municipal officials appear to have become strongly one-way because of the concentration on the Southern communities’ development problems and the increasing ‘professionalisation’ of North-South links amongst Northern personnel (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2008; Shuman, 1994). This one-way flow of information and resources needs to be challenged so that the links can become a two-way relationship rather than a one-way ‘development’ tool (Bontenbal, 2009a). The key to a good linking relationship is that participants remain alert to imbalances and work consciously to build reciprocity (Shuman, 1994; Tjandradewi, et al., 2006).

Lack of finances from either partner has the capacity to sabotage links very quickly (see for instance Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Buis, 2009; Cremer, et al., 2001; de Villiers, 2009; Hewitt, 1999a, 2000; Monteiro, 2003; O’Toole, 2001; Schep, et al., 1995). For links to be successful financial, technical and human resources need to be available on both ‘sides’. A lack of material and financial resources reduce the capabilities of Southern participants to make changes in practice (Hewitt, 2000; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009). However, Monterio

²⁷ “Tacit knowledge is subconsciously understood and applied, difficult to articulate, developed from direct experience and action, and usually shared through highly interactive conversation, story-telling and shared experience” (Zack, 1999: 45). Codified knowledge, on the other hand, is knowledge that can be precisely and formally articulated (Zack, 1999: 45).

(2003) points out that there is a tension between the need for financial reforms (expenditure control) and institutional reforms (requiring investment in staff and equipment). Also, knowing what is happening when communities set up links is important but impossible unless information is kept in an orderly fashion. This means knowing which questions to ask, having the infrastructure to collect data (e.g. phones, faxes, roads, photocopiers etc) and allocating funds and personnel to do this task (Shuman, 1994).

Widespread support and formalising the link are essential if municipal links are to succeed (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Cremer, et al., 2001; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c, 2000; Hobbs, 1994; Hoetjes, 2009; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; Monteiro, 2003; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; UNDP, 2000). Support for the link needs to be widespread in both communities and, eventually, made formal. If the link is not made formal then participation can vary depending on the personal interest of the people in charge at each end. Without widespread support the linking relationship can become monopolised by a small number of local officials or individuals and, if this occurs, changes in personnel can lead to the link being damaged or terminated (Tjandradewi, et al., 2006).

Workable evaluation procedures need to be established (Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 2000; Monteiro, 2003; Nitschke, et al., 2009; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994). Evaluation needs to be more than personal feelings such as “I think they liked it” or “It seemed to go well”. Evaluation needs to be based on questions such as: What were the short- and long-term impacts of a link? Who benefited? Who lost? Was there genuine joint planning and consultation? Was there genuine human growth on both sides?

Does the link equip both communities to be more responsible participants in world affairs (Shuman, 1994: 72)? Linked communities should do the evaluation together. This will be another opportunity to listen and learn from each other (Shuman, 1994). However, when evaluating the 'success' of a project or programme it is more important to look at the impacts than the intended outputs (Monteiro, 2003; Nitschke, et al., 2009).

Although the need for **good communication** between the linked partners was mentioned by a few authors in the mid-nineties (Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994), the importance of good communication in maintaining municipal links was often overlooked by other authors. However, in recent literature, the importance of good communication has been mentioned several times (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; de Villiers, 2009; Spence & Ninnis, 2007; UNDP, 2000). Nevertheless, maintaining good communications between the communities can often be difficult. Communication breakdowns can be due to different levels of technical infrastructure and/or to the linked communities speaking different languages (Shuman, 1994).

Likewise, recent literature highlights the importance of links being maintained over the **long-term** (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; de Villiers, 2009; van Lindert, 2009). De Villiers (2009) argues that links are likely to fail if not enough time is spent building relationships between the two communities, establishing trust and understanding the other person's culture. The trust and respect that is built up when municipal officials from linked municipalities get to know each other over a long time opens the way for a more collegial atmosphere. Also, when relationships have been built up over a long time, people are able to

be more honest and critical about proposed programmes. Sometimes the ability to be critical is missing in short-term projects (van Lindert, 2009). However, in contrast to the views about the need for long-term relationships in North-South municipal links, Hoetjes (2009: 163) claims that, in order to make the links more flexible, many North-South links have moved away from long-term relationships to become more short-term projects.

A range of other challenges that are applicable to all North-South municipal links were also identified including: having clearly defined expectations and objectives (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994); having continuity in the personnel involved (Bontenbal, 2009b; Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009); having strong community support and participation (Cremer, et al., 2001; UNDP, 2000); having women included in the linking process (Shuman, 1994); and, having capacity development built on existing knowledge, existing resources and existing practices (Bontenbal, 2009b; Buis, 2009). This is not an exhaustive list of challenges but summarises the most commonly given challenges in the literature (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006, 2009; Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Cremer, et al., 2001; Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c, 2000; Hobbs, 1994; Monteiro, 2003; O'Toole, 2001; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; Spence & Ninnes, 2007; UNDP, 2000).

Besides the above-mentioned challenges, Northern municipalities involved in *assisted development*-type links experience several additional challenges (Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c, 2000; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006). The attitudes of local residents, about local government involvement in international development work, is one of the biggest obstacles facing Northern municipalities wanting to pursue North-South municipal links (Evans, 2009).

Northern municipalities sometimes receive criticism of a North-South link (especially criticism of the overseas travel by municipal officials and employees) by taxpayers who demand cost reduction without sacrifice to local essential services (Hewitt, 1999a; Hoetjes, 2009). Among the municipal officials, there can be envy and jealousy of the people that get to participate from the people that do not. This envy of participants, resentment by those left out, and constant criticism can lead to a lack of people willing to participate (Hewitt, 1999b). In addition, professional exchanges or training opportunities are sometimes not taken seriously as they may be seen as a ‘reward’ or taken as ‘a good opportunity for travelling’ (Schep, et al., 1995). Those sent to ‘train’ people may have very few cross-cultural communications skills and little understanding of local conditions in the ‘receiving’ municipality as well as little or no experience in how to train somebody else despite being knowledgeable in their field (Hewitt, 1999b, 2000; Schep, et al., 1995). This lack of cross-cultural skills was highlighted recently when, in a study conducted by Johnson and Wilson (2009), it was found that, for most Northern officials that participated, it was their “first experience of serious engagement with a developing country”.

How long will the *assisted development*-style of municipal link last? Are Northern municipalities prepared to give up being the ‘experts’ and work collaboratively? Despite the fact that Benest (1999) focuses more on how local municipalities can work with local NGOs and nonprofits to help build community, a few of his statements may be helpful in bringing more balance to North-South municipal links. He states that local governments need to move away from the model of ‘solving problems’ to working with the local community to allow the community to solve the problems. This means that local government leaders need

to modify their leadership styles, management systems, resource allocation priorities and vocabulary.

Just as the Northern municipalities face additional specific challenges, Southern municipalities, besides facing all the general challenges already listed, also face a number of their own challenges (Bontenbal, 2009b; Monteiro, 2003). In Southern municipalities there can be tensions between centralisation and decentralisation (Monteiro, 2003). Many Southern nations are former colonies. Despite the fact that colonial power was very centralised, Northern nations expect the Southern nations to move away from centralised power (Monteiro, 2003). There is also often a tension between the expected organisational model of local government and the traditional forms of societal organisation (based on informal rules and relations) and there is often a reluctance to let go of established traditions (Bontenbal, 2009b; Monteiro, 2003). While Northern municipalities often hold perceptions of Southern political instability and corruption, Southern municipalities also face a growing demand for services while struggling with a proportionally weaker capacity to deliver (Monteiro, 2003). Monteiro (2003: 9) argues that

developing countries have ... come under increased political pressure to introduce and apply new technologies (mainly within ICT, rather than in production). This pressure does not only come from the outside as the local elites often demand top of the line solutions without properly verifying whether the conditions for use and maintenance exist. It is often a question of principle that is decisive: accepting less advanced solutions can be interpreted as sustaining underdevelopment by maintaining a technology gap. On the other hand, donors have often opted for the simple import of technology inconsiderate of the context in which it had to be applied. Unstable energy supply, humidity and other external factors have frequently resulted in under use and short lifespan of equipment. Besides the wastage, these failed changes have a demotivating effect.”

In regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, the North-South municipal challenges' discourses raise the following questions: *What are the main challenges according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main challenges according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about the challenges in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?*

International municipal links as they relate to Friendship Agreements

Analysing international municipal links as they relate to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements is important due to the fact that Friendship Agreements fit well within the definition, given earlier, of an international municipal link as defined by UNDP. No research has been done yet to see how the discourses around the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements compare to the discourses around other North-South municipal links.

In summary, this chapter briefly outlined the history of North-South municipal links and reviewed the relevant literature on the discourses around the rationales for linking, as well as the contribution, sustainability, success and challenge discourses of North-South municipal links. The next chapter is a review of the literature surrounding partnerships for development.

Chapter 5

Partnerships for Development

Introduction

This chapter explores the varied, and often contested, nature of partnerships for development. Even though many of the Friendship Agreements could be considered to be a type of municipal link that emphasise friendship, in official Friendship Agreement Memoranda, they are often portrayed as a type of partnership for development. At the time of this study, thirteen of the seventeen evaluated Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements had been officially recognised with the signing of a formal Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)²⁸ between the relevant parties. All, except one of these signed MoUs, refer to the link between the communities as a partnership with most MoUs structured around the development of the Timorese community which it targets. Since partnerships appear to be central to the official Friendship Agreement MoUs, it is important to explore the concept of partnership. Although there is a growing body of development literature that looks at North-South partnerships²⁹ in relation to NGOs, there is no current literature that

²⁸ Although there are currently more than thirteen signed Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement memoranda, this research is limited to the seventeen Timorese groups that were interviewed, of which thirteen had signed formal memoranda. These memoranda were signed by Timorese District/Sub-District officials and Australian Council/Shire officials. Some Australian Council/Shire mayors signed their memorandum on behalf of the Council/Shire **and** their community. However, some Council/Shire mayors signed a memorandum **on behalf of** a community group. Although the memoranda are written and signed in both English and Portuguese (with a few also available in Tetum), this research is limited to the English versions of the memoranda. From hereon in a single Memorandum of Understanding will be referred to as an MoU while memoranda will be referred to as MoUs.

²⁹ Like the municipal links literature, much of the development and partnership literature divides the world into Northern and Southern countries (North and South). Again, despite the problems associated with this terminology (see chapter one), I will use North and South in this chapter, as it is the dominant terminology in the literature. I also use North-South partnerships (rather than South-North partnerships) since most

looks at how partnerships relate to Friendship Agreements. As it would be impossible within this study to cover every facet of the development literature, this literature review focuses mainly on the ‘North-South partnerships for development’ literature, concentrating particularly on partnership discourses, partnership models and the challenges of partnerships, as these seem particularly relevant to the Friendship Agreement MoUs.

The history of partnerships in development

Soon after World War II there was a huge push for the economic development of countries outside Europe and America. This push was heavily influenced by decolonisation and the cold war. Economic prosperity, a very top-down approach, was seen as the key to peace and security (Peet & Hartwick, 1999). Since then, the concept of development has undergone significant changes. There are a multitude of theories about development including: post-structural theories; feminist theories; Marxist and neo-Marxist theories; sociological theories; and economic theories to name just a few (Peet & Hartwick, 1999). Definitions of development have also undergone changes over time. A few recent definitions of development include: “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy” (Sen, 1999: 3); “people gain power to change – to pursue their own goals, not only to aspire but also to achieve” (Whaites, 2002a: 37); and “a process of growth towards self-reliance and contentment” (Remenyi, 2004: 25).

‘Development’ quickly became a huge industry (see for instance Carmen, 1996; Dichter, 2003; Escobar, 1995; Hilhorst, 2003; Rist, 2002; Sen, 1999; Whaites, 2002b). Gradually a

partnerships continue to be controlled by the Northern partner. All partnerships referred to herein pertain to North-South partnerships.

strong challenge to this paternalistic way of operating began emerging from the South and 'partnerships' emerged (Crawford, 2003; A. F. Fowler, 1998). Despite the fact that "partnership as a paradigm for development cooperation is widely accepted to mean a relationship based on the principles of equity and mutual benefit" (Ashman, 2001: 75), the importance of authentic relationship building in international co-operation is often overlooked (Edwards, 1999; Edwards & Sen, 2000; Lederach, 2000, 2005; Spence, 2001, 2004, 2005). Even though many organisations set out goals, objectives and mission statements outlining equal partnerships based on mutual respect, shared values and goals, mutual learning, self-reliance and people-centred processes, the reality reveals socially-constructed, unequal partnerships that are centred around money from the rich North being sent, with strings attached, to the poor South (Ashman, 2001; Drew, 2003; Engel, 2003; Nyamugasira, 2002; Sorj, 2005; Vincent & Byrne, 2006).

Fowler (2000a) suggests that, in the 1970s, partnerships were based around moral and political solidarity but in the 1990s the number of North-South partnerships mushroomed as *partnership* became one of development's buzzwords (see for instance, Caplan, 2003; Mohiddin, 1998; Van Huijstee, Francken, & Leroy, 2007). It has been, and continues to be used to describe many different types of relationships with little agreement about what it really means (Blagescu & Young, 2005; Bloomfield, 2004; Brinkerhoff, 2002). Why have partnerships become so popular? Does the obsession with partnerships simply reflect an underlying positive value attached to the term 'partner'? Or does it simply reflect a desire by organisations to keep up with the latest 'trend' (Torjman, 1998: 2) ?

One theory links the rise of partnerships to the ‘South-South non-governmental development organisation cooperation conference’ of 1986. Ashman (2001: 76) maintains that it was at this conference that visionary Southern and Northern NGO leaders argued strongly that North-South relationships must change from being hierarchical donor-recipient/patron-client relationships to partnerships.

Another theory links the rise of partnerships to the push for global sustainable development (Van Huijstee, et al., 2007). Global sustainable development was placed firmly on the agenda at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Since achieving sustainable development is a complex task, many people felt that there was a need for cross-sectoral action (i.e. partnerships). The link between partnerships and sustainable development was further strengthened at the 2002 WSSD in Johannesburg, where it was declared that partnerships are an important tool for implementing sustainable development.

Other theories link the rise of partnerships to deficits left by things such as privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation. However, “whatever the cause, the number of publications on partnerships as well as the number of actual partnerships has grown rapidly from the mid-1990s onwards.” (Van Huijstee, et al., 2007: 76).

Partnership Discourses

a) Partnership agendas

Many people in the 1970s wanted to eliminate the South's dependence on the North. They felt that in order to do this they should link communities from the North that shared common interests with communities in the South. This was a people-to-people idea and involved things such as the twinning of schools, women's groups, municipal councils and minority groups. The intention was to promote mutual understanding. The Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements are an example of a people-to-people programme (Brown, 1998), however, these sorts of programmes have not become mainstream within the development field. Fowler (1998) argues that this is partly due to the demand for technical management within the aid industry and partly due to the vested interests that are tied to project-based development work. As Fowler (1998: 152-153) states "there is not much income to be gained from facilitating relationships between groups and communities in the North and South, and allowing them to explore what such relationships might mean." Despite research showing that people-to-people programmes were generally positive because they were not based solely on financial transfers but had the potential for learning and sharing through interaction, people within the aid industry felt that such general programmes would be too risky and too many mistakes would be made. So, most programmes were left up to specialists. This has led increasingly to the development and aid system becoming dominated by a self-serving professional class that is isolated from the general populations at both ends (A. F. Fowler, 1998).

Over the past two decades, many people that work at providing development assistance have become increasingly aware of the danger of paternalism. They have tried to move from ‘working for’ others to ‘working with’ others. This shift in awareness has brought about a change in the way people receiving aid are referred to – from ‘victims’, ‘recipients’, ‘beneficiaries’, ‘counterparts’, ‘participants’, ‘clients’ to ‘partners’. (M. B. Anderson, 2001; Blagescu & Young, 2005; Bontenbal, 2009b; Edwards, 1999)

Increasingly, [Northern groups] ‘partner’ with local agencies ... programmes are designed to ‘build’ local capacity; and community ‘participation’ is encouraged (or at least talked about) in all phases of aid delivery, from planning through to evaluation. (M. B. Anderson, 2001: 292)

However, it is important to note that there are multiple competing, and often contradictory, Northern and Southern agendas that underlie North-South partnerships (see for instance Alan Fowler, 2000c; Makuwira, 2006a; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). For example, from a Northern perspective, some people may be involved because they want to be seen to be doing ‘good’. For others, their careers may be at risk if the partnership fails. Some people may use North-South partnership links to build up their ‘expertise’, while others may see it as a way to increase cross-cultural sensitivity (Hewitt, 2000).

From a Southern perspective, even though development aid recipients are meant to be at the centre of the development programming, there is often a mixed reaction about receiving aid. Some people want more aid given, while others do not want to receive aid. Some people feel that the international community is obligated to give aid, while others feel that international assistance is just another way of maintaining external control. Reactions of aid recipients range from: heartfelt thanks to extreme suspicion; an acceptance of outsider expertise to a

rejection of aid dependency; a desire to be like the donor to contempt for the donor; and, the dislike of outside control to the implementation of inside control (M. B. Anderson, 2001).

Relating partnership agendas to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements creates the following questions: *What Timorese agendas underpin the Friendship Agreements? How might these agendas affect the partnerships?*

b) The meaning of partnership

According to the literature, North-South partnerships are paved with good intentions (see for instance Brehm, 2001; Brinkerhoff, 2002; Engel, 2003; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006). Under the guise of partnerships, many Northern groups maintain that they hold values of solidarity, co-operation, collaboration and reciprocity with groups from the South. So theoretically, partnerships are the opposite of conditionality. However, external forces (such as economics and politics) and poor internal reflection, often overtly or covertly compromise these values (Alan Fowler, 2000a). Although it is possible for partnerships between Northern and Southern partners to be beneficial, research has found that the Northern partners tend to dominate the relationships (see for example Hoksbergen, 2005; Malhotra, 2000; Valderrama, 2001; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). Partnerships that actually encourage and build up local ownership and help create strong, local civil society groups are difficult to achieve in practice (Makuwira, 2006b). Many partnerships resemble patron-client relationships that are associated with contracting and often mask paternalistic practices (Brehm, 2004a; Hoksbergen, 2005).

Although some might argue that partnerships are still based around moral and political solidarity, the term ‘partnership’ has become so overused, and the meaning has become so vague, that it has lost most of its value (Bloomfield, 2004; Crawford, 2003; Leach, 1997). The meaning can vary from having equality in decision-making, two-way learning, reciprocity, mutuality, and shared visions and goals, to having a good, working, project-oriented relationship, right through to a donor-recipient relationship (Mawdsley, Townsend, Porter, & Oakley, 2002).

Defining the concept of partnership is difficult. The term partnership *implies* a relationship of equality, mutuality, trust and respect - with partners sharing goals and objectives, decision-making, benefits and risks (Hatley, 1997). And yet, “partnerships, like relationships, are unique and develop in a range of different contexts. There can be no universal blueprint for ... partnerships, and defining what does and does not constitute a partnership is highly subjective”. (Brehm, 2004a: 19)

As a consequence, the concept of partnership has been widely debated (H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006). Brehm (2004a: 18) argues that, in the context of international development, partnerships tend to draw from one of two different conceptualisations – the functional or the authentic. The functional concept of partnership relates to creating alliances for the sharing of resources and responsibilities to achieve a common goal. An authentic concept of partnership³⁰ not only implies a shared commitment to a common goal, but also implies

³⁰ Brehm (2004) defines this type of partnership as an “idealistic partnership”. However, I use Fowler’s (2000) term “authentic partnership” in order to avoid confusion with Drew’s ideal partnership.

reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities, equality, mutuality, a balance of power, and a joint commitment to long-term interaction (Brehm, 2004a: 18; Alan Fowler, 2000b: 4).

According to Brehm (2004a: 163), Northern groups that take a more functional approach to partnership tend to concentrate on “achieving certain development goals and do not explicitly concern themselves with the long-term impact they have on their partners’ autonomy”. On the other hand, Northern groups that adopt an authentic approach to partnership appear to concentrate more on relationship building by using “the philosophy of accompaniment and the idea of being *with* the partner” (Brehm, 2004a: 18).

Just as the friendship literature makes distinctions between a friend and an *ideal friend*, the partnership literature has begun to distinguish between an actual partnership and an *ideal partnership* (also known as an authentic partnership or a genuine partnership) (Brehm, 2004a; Drew, 2003; Alan Fowler, 2001; Hauck & Land, 2000). Drew (2003: 5) illustrates graphically what is commonly understood to be the differences between an ideal North-South partnership and the majority of actual North-South partnerships in the following figure.

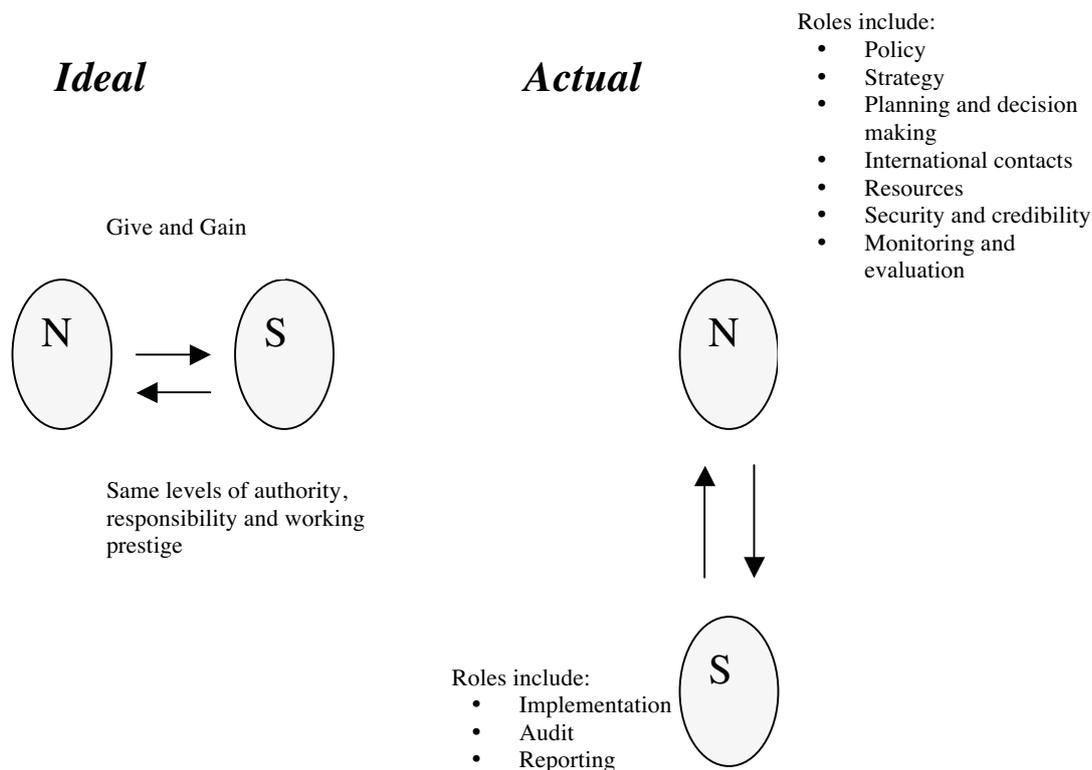


Figure 5.1 *Ideal and actual types of North-South partnerships*

Drew (2003: 5) maintains that, although there is often a desire for equality within a North-South partnership, equality is rarely achieved. What is more common is a type of ‘parent-child’ relationship based on the roles that are divided up between the ‘partners’.

According to Hoksbergen (2005: 19-20), the characteristics of an authentic partnership include: a common vision, a sense of purpose and clearly articulated goals; open and transparent communication; a sense of equality in the relationship (in things such as the size and characteristics of the organisations, how people are treated and whose voices are heard); joint decision making; shared responsibility; mutual accountability; a willingness to

compromise; an ability and willingness to listen and learn from each other; constructive methods of dealing with conflict and disagreements; complementary strengths; a strong working relationship; and a shared outlook about the future of the partnership. The most commonly cited problem for building authentic North-South partnerships is the transfer of finances. It appears that it is easier to create an authentic partnership if financial transactions are not part of the equation (A. F. Fowler, 1998). This will be discussed further in the section on challenges.

This discussion about the meaning of partnership raises a number of questions in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, such as: *How are partnerships portrayed in the written MoUs? Do these portrayals reflect a functional or authentic concept of partnership? Do the MoUs identify specific roles for the Timorese and Australian groups? How do these roles relate to Drew's (2003) ideal versus actual types of partnerships?*

c) The desire for partnerships

Even though the meaning is unclear, the discourse about partnerships among Northern partners (who tend to be donors) appears to be very positive. There appears to be consensus within Northern groups that North-South partnerships are important and that these partnerships should be Southern driven (King & McGrath, 2000). Partnerships are thought to: increase local ownership; be inclusive of civil society; assist in the development of local capacity; help donors understand local procedures; and, promote transparency, openness, humility and dialogue (Hoksbergen, 2005).

From a Southern perspective however, there does not seem to be a corresponding Southern consensus about the desire for partnerships. While the term partnership is widely used by Northern partners, Southern partners rarely use it (Lister, 2000). Recently, several Northern NGOs have claimed that the balance of power and influence in North-South partnerships has been shifting more towards their Southern partners. However, their Southern partners appear to disagree (Ashman, 2001). Many Southern partners claim that they have little or no influence over their Northern partners and are often confused when financial relationships (donor-recipient relationships) are labelled partnerships (Ashman, 2001; Brehm, 2004a). Different expectations about what constitutes an effective partnership can also cause tensions. Recent research highlights the fact that while Northern partners tend to emphasise the *purpose* of the relationship and the quality of the *work* carried out, Southern partners tend to place a higher value on the quality of the *relationship* between the partners³¹ (Brehm, 2004b; Vincent & Byrne, 2006).

Thinking about the desire for partnerships raises the following question about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements: *Do the Timorese use the term 'partnership' in relation to the Friendship Agreements?*

Models of North-South partnerships

It has been argued that the partnerships that are the most successful are the partnerships built around strong personal relationships (Lister, 2000; Mawdsley, et al., 2002; Takahashi, 2006). In order to build these relationships Mawdsley et al (2002: 140) argue that visits (by

³¹ My emphasis

Northern personnel to the Southern community or Southern personnel to the Northern community) should happen as often as possible and last for more than a few days. For continuity, many of the same people should visit each time. This enables better personal connections to be built up over time and facilitates people's understanding of the local context. Continuity also helps with the maintenance of 'institutional knowledge'. Although other forms of communication (such as email and phone) are useful, regular face-to-face meetings are important for building an authentic partnership and breaking down the power differentials between the partners.

Personal relations are important. Obviously, individual ties can underlie and contribute to nepotism, cronyism and other undesirable relations, but they can also be used to establish trust and more effective working relations. Although there is no guarantee that more personal contact will result in better relationships between individuals, it is likely that the quality of communication will improve, and that a better understanding of different perspectives will emerge. At the most mundane level, sending an email, fax or report to someone you have met has a different and easier feel than when sending it to a stranger. At a more fundamental level, enhancing, promoting, supporting and sanctioning personal relations tends to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas on a more equal footing, because of increased trust and knowledge of individuals and context. (Mawdsley, et al., 2002: 140)

However, Lister (2000) points out that partnerships that are dependent on only a few strong personal relationships are vulnerable to disruption and upheaval when the people involved move away or lose their leadership positions.

Some authors have tried to classify the many types of partner relationships using various typologies. For instance, Leach (1997) identifies six models of partnerships that vary according to the degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance. In a *Contracting model*, the Southern partner is paid by the Northern partner to perform a set of tasks that are

determined by the Northern partner. In a *Dependent franchising model*, the Southern partner acts as a local field office, operating independently from the main office but dependent on the Northern partner for direction and finances. The *Spin-off NGOs model* is where the Southern partner field office is expected to become independent over time. In a *Visionary patronage model*, the Northern and Southern partners have a shared vision and joint goals. The Southern partner implements the plans and the Northern partner provides funding and other resources. The *Collaborative operations model* is where there is shared decision-making power over programmes and planning. The Southern partner implements the programmes and the Northern partner provides financial and technical support. In the *Mutual governance model*, the Southern and Northern partners both have substantial decision-making powers at the organisational and programme levels and, to a certain extent, influence each other's policies and practices. (Brehm, 2004a; Leach, 1997; Makuwira, 2006a, 2006b) These varied types of relationships show how broadly the term 'partnership' is used. The difference between each model is the measure of equality, mutuality and shared governance there is within the relationship (Brehm, 2004a).

Rather than using Leach's models of partnership, Brehm (2001: 26) highlights the differences in the depth and quality of North-South partnerships. She claims that dependent relationships cannot be considered to be a partnership and that "achieving depth and quality in the relationship is intrinsically linked to the capacity of the two partners". Brehm maintains that North-South partnerships fall somewhere within all three following categories: the **funding-based differences in the relationship** category ranges from those that provide funding with no dialogue right through to those that involve advocacy, exchange

visits, dialogue and lobbying with no funding involved; the **capacity-based differences in relationships** category ranges from those where one partner has little or no organisational capacity and is dependent on the other partner right through to those that involve two strong, capable organisations that are autonomous and self-sustaining; the **trust-based differences in relationships** category ranges from those where the Southern partner is controlled by the Northern partner right through to those where the Northern partner has placed unconditional trust in the Southern partner. North-South partnerships tend to fall somewhere between the two extremes in each category. Research has shown that the relationships that espouse the greatest optimism for achieving mutuality and equality were those that concentrated on advocacy and policy dialogue rather than funding although some partnerships may move from funding to advocacy over time (Brehm, 2001: 26-27).

Instead of ‘partnerships’, Fowler has suggested that North-South relationships could be built around cooperation and solidarity underpinned by interdependence.

Cooperation has none of the normative overload of partnership. There are many, many ways of cooperating. The most appropriate way depends on the issue and interests at hand, the capacity and power of actors involved and the context. The fact that development cooperation has turned out to be a condition of Northern dominance and patrimony has to do with pathologies introduced by its interpretation not with the concept as such. (A Fowler, 2002: 250)

Solidarity is built around mutual empathy, mutual understanding and shared actions. Although solidarity as a concept is more emotive and politically loaded than cooperation, it is less ambiguous than partnership on “what needs to be done relationally to bring about change” (A Fowler, 2002: 250).

Relating these issues to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements creates the following question: *What models of 'partnership' are emerging from the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs?*

Partnership challenges

A major challenge for people involved in partnerships (in both discourse and practice) is addressing the inequalities between the partners. These inequalities include differences in things such as access to resources, knowledge³², capacity and power as well as differences in perceptions, assumptions, expectations and agendas. Although these inequalities are found in North-North and South-South partnerships, they are especially evident in North-South partnerships (H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; Mohiddin, 1998).

The inequality between the partners is the most commonly cited challenge for North-South partnerships - particularly in regards to giving/receiving aid and the control of finances.³³ By its very nature, the relationship between those providing aid and those receiving aid is unequal. First, there is an inequality in power when one group is able to give from a surplus while the other group is in need. Second, there is an inequality in options when one group can choose whether or not to give, while the other group may have little or no choice about

³² Although Southern partners are given some credit for having knowledge about the local context, Southern knowledge tends not to be given equal value to Northern knowledge. Northern partners are often seen as 'experts' and their ideas upheld as 'best practice' (H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006).

³³ There are too many references that raise this issue to list them all (see for instance Abbott, Brown, & Wilson, 2007; M. B. Anderson, 2001; Ashman, 2001; Carmen, 1999; Drew, 2003; Alan Fowler, 2001; A. F. Fowler, 1998; Hately, 1997; Hauck & Land, 2000; INTRAC, 2001; King & McGrath, 2000; Lister, 2000; Maxwell & Riddell, 1998; Rein, Stott, Yambayamba, Hardman, & Reid, 2005; Stirrat & Henkel, 1997; A. Thomas, 2007; Townsend, Porter, & Mawdsley, 2002; Townsend & Townsend, 2004; Van Huijstee, et al., 2007; Wallace & Chapman, 2003)

accepting aid. And, third, there is an inequality in accountability and transparency since the donors tend to be accountable primarily to the 'giving' community rather than the 'receiving' community (M. B. Anderson, 2001). Although, accountability and transparency are important for effective partnerships, in practice the one-sided funding arrangements cause accountability and transparency imbalances. Southern partners tend to be accountable to the Northern partners. In these cases, Northern partners gain greater institutional knowledge of their Southern partners than Southern partners gain of their Northern partners. This imbalance in institutional knowledge can lead to a lack of transparency (Brehm, 2004a).

North-South partnerships have been described by some people as 'terminological Trojan Horses' (A Fowler, 2002: 248). They can appear benign, and yet provide a way for external agencies to penetrate deeply into a country's internal affairs. "By veiling the imbalance of power with the language of equality, the existence of inequality is ignored and even denied" (Hately, 1997: 26). Also, by appearing to be inclusive, sharing, complementary, harmonious and open, partnerships are often difficult to criticise (A Fowler, 2002; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). Many people would like the term partnership to be dropped from the development lexicon and "call for a clearer vocabulary that would adequately capture the diversity of institutional relationships and address differentials of power" (Vincent & Byrne, 2006: 387).

Brehm (2004a: 10) agrees that "the assumption in much of the literature ... of a top-down North-South power dynamic is in fact an over-simplification of complex interactions between individuals and between different organisational hierarchies". Nevertheless, Northern partners tend to be reluctant to discuss the North-South power imbalance, playing

down the issue of who controls the resources and, as a result, Southern partners are under considerable pressure to take on the identity of, and accept and follow the agendas of their Northern partners (Vincent & Byrne, 2006). Aid often comes with strings attached. For instance, conditions might be imposed around issues such as gender, environment, democracy, administration, planning, accountability, monitoring and evaluation. Also, when funds are involved, Southern partners are under pressure to keep administration costs down while fulfilling stringent reporting criteria (Brehm, 2004a; Takahashi, 2006).

Northern partners often have difficulty letting go and really sharing decision-making (Drew, 2003; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). For instance, Northern partners often 'consult' their Southern partners on the basis of prepared policy papers or documents. In these cases, consultation can essentially be considered an exercise in legitimisation.

There are a number of risks involved in building a partnership when one party takes the lead in drawing up the criteria of partnership. One is that the views, perspectives, sensitivities, values and priorities of the other partner will be under- or misrepresented ... A related risk is that without this input, the partner drawing up the contract assumes the criteria s/he draws up will be the 'correct ones'. (Maxwell & Riddell, 1998: 264)

Mawdsley et al (2002: 133) suggest that if Southern partners do contribute occasionally to a Northern agenda, "such a process is essentially *ad hoc*, opportunistic and rarely institutionalised". Also, few specific examples of Northern partners systematically learning from their Southern partners have been found. Generally, Northern partners are more concerned with finding out about the context for projects and project implementation "than with actively taking up ideas generated in the South by Southern partners" (Mawdsley, et al., 2002: 133).

Sustainability is another challenge facing North-South partnerships. On the one hand, while Southern partners remain financially dependent on donations from Northern partners, pressure can be put on particular programmes if the focus of a Northern partner changes over time (Makuwira, 2006a). On the other hand, when Southern partners become financially independent, Northern partners often withdraw from the partnerships in order to focus their work with non-financially independent groups. This appears contradictory to the equality that is implied within a partnership (Brehm, 2003).

Cross-cultural partnerships face extra challenges. Many authors claim that leadership styles and communication styles are two key cultural factors that can affect cross-cultural partnerships (see for instance Ansett, 2005; Hoksbergen, 2005; Takahashi, 2006). However, although Ashman (2001) acknowledges the importance of communication, leadership, mutual influence and learning for effective partnerships, she suggests that the main barriers to effective North-South partnerships can be found in the Northern partner's internal systems (such as their policies, procedures and cultures associated with financial and management control).

The prospect of changing internal financial and management control systems raises a core dilemma for [Northern partners]. The types of changes that would make these systems more open to influence by Southern partners inherently contradict the principles of accountability on which they are founded. (Ashman, 2001: 76)

This common Northern management style, with its emphasis on accountability, can impact negatively on North-South relationships by reducing the quality and quantity of dialogue between the partners (Mawdsley, et al., 2002).

It is apparent from the literature that these are all common challenges faced by North-South partnerships. In relating these challenges to the Australian/Timorese Friendship partnerships the following questions are raised: *What are the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement 'partnership' challenges? How might the MoUs impact on these challenges?*

Partnership and the Friendship Agreements

Analysing partnership in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements differs from other partnership research because: (1) although they are grouped under the term 'Friendship Agreements' each Friendship Agreement partnership is unique; (2) Most partnership literature examines either NGO to NGO partnerships, NGO to government partnerships, government to government partnerships or business-government-NGO partnerships not a combination of community to community partnerships, community to community/government partnerships and community/government to community/government partnerships; and (3) The Friendship Agreements are long-term partnerships.

Chapter 6

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter, which sits between the three literature reviews, ('friendship', 'international municipal links' and 'partnerships for development') and the three analysis chapters on the same subjects, outlines the research design that was used to explore Timorese perspectives about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. This chapter summarises the theoretical and analytical frameworks of this research, the fieldwork and data collection, and the techniques used for data analysis.

Research is never conducted in a vacuum; there are personal and political reasons that researchers choose the research subject that they do. As far as this research is concerned, my interest in Friendship Agreements began when I was employed as a research assistant and I was asked to write a literature review about North-South international municipal links. Soon after completing this literature review, my husband and I moved to Timor-Leste to live. I was then employed by researchers at the University of New England to conduct an evaluation of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements (from the Timorese perspective). Originally I intended to analyse the data (collected during the evaluations) in relation to the international municipal links literature. The international municipal links literature was chosen because of the obvious link that many agreements had to Australian local governments. However, information obtained during the evaluations led me to believe that the Friendship Agreements should also be examined through two other theoretical

frameworks — ‘friendship’ and ‘partnerships for development’. The friendship literature was chosen (and placed ahead of the international municipal link chapter) because of the constant emphasis that was placed by the Timorese on the importance of friendships and relationships to the agreements. The partnerships for development literature was chosen because of the discrepancy in the usage of the term ‘partnership’ between the signed Friendship Agreement MoUs and what was said by the Timorese.

Theoretical Framework

This research is a qualitative study that draws on elements of critical modernist, poststructuralist and postcolonial frameworks. According to Peet & Hartwick (1999: 198) critical modernists distrust the elite (whether it is bureaucratic, racial, patriarchal, scientific, entrepreneurial, intellectual or geographic elite), favour the views of the oppressed without romanticising what they say, and find wisdom and worth in all experiences. In relation to development issues, critical modernists retain a belief in the potential, rather than the present practices, of development. A critical modernist’s credo is “criticize everything, convert critique into proposal, criticize the proposal, but still do something” (Peet & Hartwick, 1999: 198).

Poststructuralist research is not interested in finding a singular “truth” about a particular subject. Rather, it is interested in exploring a particular subject’s various ‘truths’ and the knowledges and practices on which these ‘truths’ are based (Del Casino, 2006; Søndergaard, 2002). Poststructuralists focus on “taking apart the endless layers that are seen to constitute social reality” (Fawcett, 2008). However, poststructuralists assume that, not only the texts

they read, but also the texts they produce, will contain some contradictions and ambiguities (Agger, 1991; Cherryholmes, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000a, 2000b)³⁴.

Postcolonial research is grounded in the context of the past as well as the present. The past includes the context of colonialism and the present includes the context of contemporary issues (such as international relations, globalisation, or in the case of this study – Friendship Agreements) (Ilieva & Odiemo-Munara, 2007; Loomba, 1998; Van Dommeien, 2006). A postcolonial study situates the subject matter in its historical context, challenges the dominant narratives, and looks at questions of inclusion and exclusion (Bhabra, 2007). According to Sherry (2008), postcolonial studies examine “the specific ways in which various forms of inequality intersect in particular discourses and in particular historical locales.”

Critical Discourse Analysis was chosen as the analytical framework for this research. Drawing on Foucault (1972), discourse has been described as the entire set of statements (texts) made about a particular topic including oral and written words, graphics and symbols (Ninnes, 2004). Critical in this sense does not mean concentrating on negatives. Rather, it means questioning the truth claims of particular discourses, exposing the way discourses and social structures are bound together, and opening the topic for further debate by exposing complexities and contradictions (Ninnes, 2004; Van Dijk, 2001; Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001; Wodak, 1999). According to Ninnes (2004: 46)

Discourses have material effects, especially in terms of power, which means that discourses can shape, constitute, maintain, reproduce and disrupt relations of inequality.

³⁴ It must be noted that, as a poststructuralist study, the notions of validity/reliability are not utilised within this study.

One of the aims of critical discourse analysis is to identify and critique these aspects of discourse, which are sometimes considered ‘common sense’ or ‘natural’. When conducting critical discourse analysis, questions that are asked in relation to the texts include questions such as:

- Which values, concepts, and ideas are present in the text and which are absent?
- Whose interests are served by the reproduction of these ideas in the texts?
- How might audiences’ views of the world be influenced by the texts?
- What kinds of stereotypes are perpetuated in the texts?
- What are the mechanisms by which ideas are conveyed?
- Whose voices are heard and whose are silent? (Willis, 2006: 276)

Since critical discourse analysis examines the way in which ideas are expressed and the consequences of the discourses on power relations in society, by examining how and why some discourses have become privileged within a particular social setting it is possible to uncover alternative views (Andrews, Sullivan, & Minichiello, 2004; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Luke, 1999; Minichiello, Sullivan, Greenwood, & Axford, 2004; Potter, 2008; Walter, 2006b; Willis, 2006).

Field Research

Data generation

Four different qualitative research methods were used for the generation of data for this thesis – focus groups, individual interviews, document analysis and participant observation at a conference (Garnham, 2008).

Focus Groups

The main purpose of the focus groups was to hear the views, of as many Timorese participants as possible, about their Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. Since each Timorese community with an established Friendship Agreement had set up a Friendship

Agreement committee, I thought that these would be the best people to include in the focus groups. The evaluations mainly looked at what sort of activities had been carried out as a result of their agreement, the successes, challenges and purposes of their agreement, what they felt they offered to the Australians in the agreement, why it was called a Friendship Agreement, and their recommendations and dreams for the future of their agreement.

Reasons for using focus groups

For the purposes of this research, the use of focus groups is defined as “a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher” (Morgan, 1996: 130). Focus groups that bring together people who are knowledgeable about a particular topic can provide a flexible, cost effective way of obtaining more in-depth information in a short time than conducting individual interviews (see for instance Babbie, 2004; Laws, 2003; Mikkelsen, 1995; Robson, 2002). Since many Friendship Agreements have been established in remote parts of Timor-Leste and travelling around the country is logistically challenging (due to road and weather conditions, security concerns and the mountainous terrain), focus groups were selected as an appropriate research method to hear from as many people as possible and get a good overview of Timorese perspectives about the Friendship Agreements in a cost effective way within a manageable time-frame.

Besides being a cost effective way of hearing from a large number of people in a short time, focus groups can reduce the power of the researcher, increase participants’ ability to feel greater control of the process, be accessible to people who cannot read or write and be enjoyable for participants (Laws, 2003; Robson, 2002). Although almost all the participants

in the focus groups were literate, at least one participant was illiterate but this person was able to participate effectively. He was able to participate effectively when the participants were broken up into small groups because each group only needed one scribe. Questions were discussed among all members of the group and the scribe then wrote down the answers. However, since the recommendations were written down individually, his recommendations were written down for him by another Timorese participant and read back to him to make sure that they were correct.

Being an outsider

As a non-Timorese researching in Timor-Leste, I was very aware that I would not be able to conduct the focus groups alone. I needed to rely on an interpreter. Senor Alex Gusmão was asked by the researchers to become my interpreter while conducting the Friendship Agreement evaluations. Senor Alex Gusmão was chosen because he was known to one of the Australian university lecturers and it was known that he would be available during the time that the evaluations would be carried out. He not only interpreted what was said during focus group meetings and helped me translate the written responses (both the group responses and the individuals' recommendations), he also contacted the relevant people in order to set (and later, re-confirm) a time for the meeting, taught me how to act appropriately in a Timorese setting and helped facilitate the focus groups. We worked well together as a team; however, the focus groups would not have been possible without his knowledge and input.

Initially I did not speak any of the most common languages spoken in Timor-Leste (Tetum, Indonesian or Portuguese) although my Tetum improved enough while conducting the

research for me to be able to understand some conversations³⁵. Prior to conducting the focus group interviews I studied Tetum privately for three months although, I was only able to have a few private lessons during that time. However, there were both positive and negative aspects to the improvement in my language skills. The positive aspect was that I was sometimes clear about what had been said before it was interpreted. However, as my language skills improved there was a danger that, while I may have thought I knew what was said, I sometimes got it wrong, or worse, I might think I know what was said but I could not be sure because for some reason it was not interpreted.

To lessen the chance of misinterpreting the focus group answers to the questions, groups were asked to write their answers down (as well as present them verbally). Senor Alex Gusmão translated the focus group verbal answers into English³⁶ while I took notes and he and I worked together on the translations of the focus group written answers. Group answers were written on butcher's paper and presented to the whole group. If members of the wider group wanted to add something to the written answer it was added (written by Senor Alex Gusmão in his role as facilitator) during the time of the verbal presentation. This meant that the final written answer that was used for analysis included both the written response and any additional information given during the verbal presentation. Answers were generally written in Tetum but since Tetum has only recently become a written language, written answers tended to be much shorter than the verbal answers, the spelling varied widely and

³⁵ I was able to track the improvement in my language comprehension when I was taking notes during the focus group sessions. For instance, when people were presenting their written answers to particular questions I sometimes wrote (in English) what I believed they had said (in Tetum) in my notebook and then compared that to the interpretation given to me by my interpreter. They aligned more often as the research progressed.

³⁶ Wherever possible verbal responses were translated into English during the focus group discussions but there were a few occasions when time limitations meant that not all of the verbal responses could be translated during the meeting. In these instances, Tetum notes were taken for later translation.

answers were often mixed with bits of Portuguese, English and/or Indonesian. However, although Senor Alex Gusmão and I conducted all the focus group interpretations and translations as faithfully as possible, the translated version may not have always captured everything that the response was trying to portray. However, the following comment was made in appreciation of our collection of written responses – “I like the fact that you have our responses written down because then you have those responses to refer to in the future and not just rely on your memory” (District Administrator, **Group WB**)³⁷.

The advantage in being an outsider doing the evaluations was that I had no prior knowledge about Friendship Agreements activities in the Timorese communities I visited. Besides the abovementioned disadvantage of not speaking the local language fluently, however, the main disadvantage in being an outsider was to do with objectivity. Although my interpreter and I tried to be as objective as possible, all responses got ‘filtered’ through two different people’s perceptions (the interpreter’s and mine) in order to get the answers into English (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Janesick, 2003).

Written feedback about the process used during the focus group interviews was overwhelmingly positive and not only indicated that participants enjoyed themselves but indicated that they also felt empowered by the process.

According to my view, this meeting was very, very good. We want to do it again.
(Participant L, **Group NQ**)

³⁷ In order to maintain confidentiality, all individuals and groups that were interviewed have been given a unique two-letter code that will be used throughout the thesis (unless I was given specific permission to use their name). When quoting individuals, the two-letter code (in bold), interview will be placed in brackets at the end of the quote (E.g. **TX**, interview). When quoting a group response obtained by consensus, the word “Group” followed by the two-letter code (in bold) will be used. (E.g. **Group WY**)

The process from the start was active and flexible and encompassed the realities and facts that society faces. (Participant B, **Group NR**)

Process of the meeting on evaluation went well because everybody expressed and gave their inspiration. (Participant C, **Group HC**)

This process of evaluation went very, very well. What we think is that it is a good way for us to express our opinions through a process like this. (Participant D, **Group KJ**)

Your presentation was very good because the methodology that you used gave an opportunity for everybody to express their ideas and to make decisions together. This is what we want to happen. (Participant B, **Group KN**)

So, using focus groups as a data collection technique not only enabled the collection of large amounts of data in a short space of time in a cost effective way but also enabled participants to participate fully in an enjoyable and empowering way.

The challenges of conducting the focus groups

Timor-Leste, although small in area, is a very mountainous and rugged country, and with the roads in various states of disrepair, travelling around the country was very slow despite travelling by 4-wheel drive and employing an experienced driver. Torrential rains often cause landslides, bridge collapses and severe road damage and, although the heaviest rains have usually finished by early April, they sometimes keep going until the end of April (as was the case in 2006 when I travelled around the country to conduct the focus group interviews). However, although the heavy rain slowed down the travel, it did provide some protection from various groups of bandits who tended not to attack vehicles in the rain.

Although most of the travel around Timor-Leste was done by 4-wheel drive, since the district of Oecusse is physically separated from the rest of Timor-Leste I needed to travel to

that district by boat. It was while I was conducting fieldwork in Oecusse that the security situation in Dili deteriorated when a demonstration by disgruntled ex-army personnel became violent and a number of people were killed. As the boat that I had travelled to Oecusse on was recalled to help evacuate people fleeing from the violence, I was stranded in Oecusse until the boat returned 5 days later. Although the security situation appeared to calm down in early May 2006, it deteriorated badly at the end of May when a group of Timorese police were shot and killed by Timorese soldiers while being escorted to safety by UN officials. Throughout the rest of 2006 and 2007 there were sporadic outbursts of violence (generally perceived to be between groups from the Eastern part of Timor-Leste and groups from the Western part of Timor-Leste), while hundreds of thousands of Timorese people lived in internally displaced 'refugee camps'. Travel around the country became difficult and people were advised to be home before dark.

The development of focus group questions

The list of questions to be used for the focus groups (see Appendix 1) evolved through a process of consultation with a number of people. These people included my supervisor who had conducted a similar evaluation of Australian groups involved in the Australian-Timorese Friendship Agreements, the Friendship Agreement liaison officer (Senor José Mousaco) based in the Timorese Ministry of State Administration and my Timorese interpreter/translator/facilitator. Once the final fourteen questions were written in English they needed to be translated into Tetum. My interpreter and I discussed the questions in detail in order to clarify what the questions were really asking. For example, one of the original questions was "What are your visions for the Friendship Agreements?" There is a

word for vision in Tetum but my interpreter thought that most people would struggle to understand what the question meant. I changed it to “What are your dreams for the Friendship Agreement in the future?” Just prior to the commencement of the first focus group session I realised that an important question (“What are your recommendations for making the Friendship Agreements stronger in the future?”) had been omitted. The timetable for the focus group interviews was amended to include this important question.

Selection and scheduling of sites for focus groups

According to Babbie (2004) focus groups are sometimes difficult to assemble. However, the assembling of the focus groups was helped, to a certain extent, by the hierarchical social structure of Timor-Leste. Once I had the official approval (with a stamped, signed letter) from the appropriate government minister, doors opened very quickly and easily. I discussed the proposed list of 17 Timorese Friendship Agreement groups³⁸ that I would like to evaluate with the Friendship Agreement Liaison officer (Senor José Mousaco) based in the Timorese State Administration office and he agreed that they would provide a good sample of the Friendship Agreements. I was given a list of names and mobile telephone numbers of the District Administrators, the Deputies and the District Development Officers. Following the hierarchical structure, an attempt was always made to contact the District Administrator first, followed by the Deputy if the District Administrator was not available and, finally the District Development Officer if both the District Administrator and the Deputy were unavailable. Meetings were arranged, at very short notice, by contacting one of the appropriate people in each of the 13 districts. As soon as they heard that an official letter of

³⁸ Listed in alphabetical order: Aileu, Ainaro, Baguia, Baucau, Dili, Ermera, Iliomar, Liquiça, Los Palos, Maliana, Manatuto, Natarbora, Oecusse, Same, Suai, Venilale, Viqueque.

support from the government had been issued they were very keen to help. A schedule of meetings was, therefore, able to be organised very quickly. A few changes were made to the initial timetable (due to landslides, miscommunication and armed conflict), however the seventeen focus group interviews were conducted in just over six weeks between April 6 2006 and May 20 2006. The final schedule can be seen in Appendix 4.

Recruitment of focus group participants

As stated earlier, in each place I visited I tried to interview the people on the Friendship Agreement committee. However, these groups did not always include the people most involved with the work of the Friendship Agreement in their community. For instance, in two of the places that had Friendship Agreement centres with a paid coordinator I didn't get to speak to the coordinator because they were not invited. It would only be part way through the meeting, when some of the answers to the questions were being interpreted, that I would discover that such a person existed and by then it was too late to do anything about it. It was probably partly my fault for not being more specific when contact was first made with the District Administrator. Since I had asked to speak to the committee then I only got to see people from the committee. I had assumed (wrongly in some instances) that these would be the people who would know the most about the Friendship Agreement in their community. In hindsight I would have liked to be able to include more people involved in the practical application of the Friendship Agreement programmes, more women and more general community members. Although I would have liked to conduct follow up visits to hear the views of other people it was not possible to return during 2006 and 2007 due to the

breakdown in security within Timor-Leste and after that time I had moved away from Timor-Leste.

Also, in regards to the recruitment of participants, the focus groups were not always as well attended as they could have been. On at least 5 occasions, despite plenty of notice, the person contacted to arrange the meeting failed to notify the other committee members prior to the day of the meeting. In these instances only those committee members that could be quickly contacted and were available at short notice could attend. Focus groups ranged in number from 3 to 29. However, taking out these two extremes, the focus groups averaged about 8 participants. The numbers attending each focus group are shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 *Number of focus group participants*

Places (in alphabetical order)	Men	Women	Total
Aileu	3	-	3
Ainaro	23	6	29
Baguia	3	2	5
Baucau	3	1	4
Dili	7	3	10
Ermera	5	-	5
Iliomar	14	2	16
Liquiça	13	2	15
Los Palos	5	3	8
Maliana	8	2	10
Manatuto	6	-	6
Natarbora	14	-	14
Oecusse	9	1	10
Same	6	-	6
Suai	6	-	6
Venilale	4	-	4
Viqueque	7	-	7
Totals	136	22	158

It can be seen from these figures that men dominated the groups. Twenty-two women participated in total; however, these women were not evenly distributed across the seventeen groups. Women did not participate in eight of the seventeen groups and, of the other nine

groups; women were heavily outnumbered in almost all cases. This means that the data collected is skewed towards the interests of Timorese men.

Participation within the Focus groups

It has been argued by various authors that focus group interviews need to be well facilitated (see for instance Mikkelsen, 1995; Robson, 2002; Travers, 2006). If they are not well facilitated the quieter people within the group may not share their views and there is a risk of interviewer bias and/or domination of the interview by a few individuals. In regards to the focus groups, my interpreter was an experienced group facilitator. I decided before I started that I wanted everybody who attended the focus groups to be able to contribute. This led to a participatory research approach being used through the use of interactive methods (Laws, 2003). Although social pressure may have played a part in people turning up for the meetings, nobody was coerced into participating. When given the opportunity to participate they all freely chose to participate with apparent enthusiasm.

Being participatory was a radical departure from the norm in Timor-Leste. I was told, prior to collecting the data, that most meetings in Timor-Leste are run in a way that only the highest-ranking individuals speak and the rest just have to sit and listen. One of the early focus groups was accidentally conducted in this Timorese meeting style³⁹ (with only 3 of the 14 men present contributing to the answers). When asked if anybody who had not already spoken had anything more to add one of the eleven silent observers stated that “He is our representative, so he knows.” Seeing first hand the limitations of a meeting conducted in this

³⁹ I had been under the impression prior to our arrival in that community that our visit was to physically inspect the results of the Friendship Agreement’s programmes rather than conduct the focus group interview.

style made me more determined to make all subsequent focus groups participatory. Beside the problem of not hearing everyone's views, there was not enough time in the usual Timorese meeting style to obtain answers to all 14 focus group questions as the answers were given orally (and interpreted with notes taken) and were very detailed.

Apart from this one meeting all other focus groups were conducted in a participatory way. However, there was a gradual refinement of the process because my interpreter and I spent time after each focus group session discussing what went well and what could be improved. Two of the main improvements made were the way that recommendations were collected and presented to the whole group and the way that feedback was collected about how the meeting was run. The recommendations of the first four focus groups were given orally with notes being taken. However, it soon became apparent that the most highly ranked people tended to make the recommendations and the others stayed silent. The recommendations from the other thirteen focus groups were written by each participant and then presented for consensual acceptance or rejection by the whole group. This led to greater participation and an increased group ownership of the recommendations⁴⁰. In regards to the collection of feedback - the first five focus groups gave oral feedback of the way the meetings were conducted (with notes taken). However, it became apparent that people were unlikely to give negative feedback this way. Consequently, written anonymous feedback was collected from each participant of the other twelve groups. The feedback about the focus group process was used in order improve the way that the focus groups were conducted. Although almost all the responses were positive, one early criticism, which I was able to address, was the need to

⁴⁰ The vast majority of recommendations were written (320 of the 345 recommendations). However, if a recommendation that was given orally is quoted, it is marked as such.

provide some food and drink during the meeting since the meetings could last anywhere between 3 and 5 hours.

The following timetable for the focus groups was presented and displayed throughout each session⁴¹.

Introduction
Session I
 Group work⁴²
 Presentation
Session II
 Recommendations⁴³
 Presentation
Evaluation of the process

Since the focus groups were likely to vary in size, I decided that if there were 3 people or less then we would get them to answer the questions in one group.⁴⁴ If there were 4-7 people, we would break them up into two groups and if there were 8 or more people we would divide into three groups. In practice, however, I found that people participated better in smaller groups so even a focus group of 6 or 7 could be divided into 3 groups to work on the written group responses. I also found that within each focus group some people had been more involved in the Friendship Agreements than others. This meant that certain participants were sometimes placed in a particular group in order to ensure that there was at least one person in each group that had knowledge about what had been happening within their Friendship Agreement. However, the unit of analysis of the focus groups was the group rather than the individuals within the group (Perecman & Curran, 2006; Short, 2006).

⁴¹ Apart from the meeting previously described as being run in the normal Timorese style.

⁴² People are divided into groups to discuss and write answers to specific questions from the 14 focus group questions.

⁴³ Individuals write their recommendations for the Friendship Agreements

⁴⁴ However, when we finally got a focus group with only 3 people we decided to treat each person as a group and got each of them to write answers to particular questions. They then brought these answers back to the whole group and, as each individual presented their answers, the other two people were able to add to the answers if they felt that it was not complete.

According to Laws (2003) using a participatory research approach is one way of facilitating community members' participation in decision-making. Breaking the focus group into smaller groups to discuss particular questions was shown in my study to be an effective way of allowing most people's voices to be heard. An example of different people's voices being heard can be seen in the following excerpt from my field notes:

I overheard one small group, which included the District Administrator (DA) (the highest ranked individual present), discussing question 9. The DA tried to dictate what he wanted written to the scribe. However, the scribe had other ideas about how the question could be answered. There were 3 people in the group and for a while the third person sat back and listened. He was the youngest of the 3 men. The discussion was quite lively between the DA and the scribe for a while but eventually the third person put forward his views. I noticed, when their answer was presented to the whole group, that it reflected the deep discussion and not just the views initially put forward by the DA.

This example not only highlights that focus groups can help those that are usually voiceless be heard but shows what Morgan (1996: 139) argues is a unique strength of focus groups – the ability for the researcher “to observe the extent and nature of interviewees' agreement and disagreement” (see also Watts & Ebbutt, 1987).

However, using a participatory approach does not guarantee equality of power between community members. Women, children and people with disabilities will often have difficulty in getting their voices heard. That was certainly the case in this instance. It was participatory in the sense that all the people who came to the meetings were able to participate equally but men dominated all the groups. No children or people with disabilities were ever present and very few women participated. The participation of certain members of the community and the lack of participation by others will be discussed further in chapter eleven when I discuss future research possibilities. Despite this obvious bias, however, two aspects of community

participation in research were applicable: the respondents who did participate were able to work in groups to formulate their views on a range of questions; and individual respondents could fully express their views on recommendations for the future (Laws, 2003).

Analysis of the Focus Group data

The focus group data that was analysed was the English translation of the written answers provided by the groups to written questions. If, when presenting their written answers to the whole group, other participants made additional points, these points were added in writing to the 'written answers' chart at the time of presentation (written on the chart by Senor Alex Gusmão in his role as facilitator). This means that the written answers that were translated and used for analysis incorporated both the original written answer and any additional points that were made during their presentation.

Analysis of the focus group data was carried out on the information provided about the meaning and purposes of friendship for the Friendship Agreements to see how these related to the friendship literature. Lynch's (2005: 20) list of friendship characteristics was used as a starting point for analysing the meaning of friendship. Each sentence⁴⁵ of a group's response to the questions "Why is it called a Friendship agreement? What does it mean to you?" was examined in order to find out which friendship characteristics it contained⁴⁶. However, the unit of analysis was always the group. If a group mentioned a particular aspect of friendship in their answer, then it scored a 1 in that category (whether they mentioned the aspect once or several times). Friendship characteristics that were mentioned by Lynch but not mentioned

⁴⁵ If answers were written in sentence fragments then the sentence fragments were analysed as if they were complete sentences (e.g. "To help each other in terms of development").

⁴⁶ If a sentence contained two friendship characteristics then it was placed in both categories.

by the focus groups (such as ‘liking’, ‘affection’, ‘love’ and ‘intimacy’) were dropped as categories, while the characteristics that were mentioned by the focus groups but not mentioned by Lynch (such as ‘relationship’ and ‘development’) were added. A similar sentence-by-sentence analysis was carried out on the responses given to the question “What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?” However, in this analysis, categories were obtained by grouping similar sentences together rather than starting with an existing list of categories. Details of the meaning and purposes of friendship texts used in the analysis can be found in chapter seven.

Analysis of the focus group data was also carried out on the information provided about the successes of the Friendship Agreements to see how these related to the international municipal links literature. A list of commonly cited ‘success’ categories, taken from the international municipal links literature, was used as a starting point for analysing the successes data⁴⁷. Statements were examined in order to identify the type of success that was given. However, the unit of analysis was always the group. If a group mentioned a particular type of success, then it scored a 1 in that category (whether they wrote one statement or several statements about that type of success). Successes that were mentioned in the municipal links literature but not mentioned by the focus groups (such as environmental improvement) were dropped as categories, while the successes that were mentioned by the focus groups but not mentioned in the municipal links literature (such as agricultural

⁴⁷ The successes of international municipal links mentioned in the literature include: people-to-people contact; long-term evolving relationships; understanding and friendship; public awareness raising; professional exchanges; social development projects; construction of infrastructure and provision of equipment; training of personnel; technical and managerial assistance; environmental improvement; and modest scale and bottom-up changes.

benefits) were added. Details of the texts relating to the successes used in the analysis can be found in chapter nine.

A similar analysis of the focus group data was carried out on the information provided about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements by examining the responses given to the question “What have been the challenges?” Starting with a list of commonly cited challenges found in the international municipal links literature⁴⁸, the same technique that was used to analyse the successes was used to analyse the challenges data. Details of the texts relating to the challenges used in the analysis can be found in chapter nine.

However, critical discourse analysis does not just look at what is said. It also looks at the context within which something is said and who says it; what is not being said; whose voices are heard and whose voices are silent; and the effects of the discourses. In regards to analysing the focus group Friendship Agreement discourses, besides analysing what was said (and not said), I look at the context within which it was said, who said it (and who was not heard), and the possible impacts on, and implications for the Friendship Agreements of those things being said (or not said) by those particular people or groups⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ The challenges of international municipal links mentioned in the literature include: unequal partnerships; lack of finances; bi-partisan political support; workable evaluations; communication; different educational levels leading to different expectations; having clearly identified aims; and the need for a long-term commitment.

⁴⁹ In other words, this thesis utilises aspects of micro, meso and macro-level critical discourse analysis.

Individual Interviews

Reason for individual interviews

Although the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements are managed at the local/district level, some Timorese central government officials have been involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in the instigation, oversight and/or the implementation of the agreements. It was for this reason that I felt that it was important to interview some Timorese central government officials about the Friendship Agreements. Six recorded semi-structured individual interviews were conducted during the month of March 2007⁵⁰.

Reason for using a semi-structured interview style

The individual interviews were conducted in a conversational semi-structured style to enable the use of some predetermined questions while allowing for the inclusion of questions that arose from the information provided during each interview (Laws, 2003; Robson, 2002). Although interviews are time-consuming, semi-structured interviews can be an inexpensive, flexible way of obtaining in-depth, inside information about a particular topic (Laws, 2003; Mikkelsen, 1995; Robson, 2002). Participants are generally happy to be given the opportunity to be listened to at length and tell their story in their own way. Conducting semi-structured interviews, as opposed to completely unstructured interviews, makes the analysis of the data less difficult and provides a certain degree of standardisation and reliability (Laws, 2003). They also “offer the possibility of modifying one’s line of enquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives” (Robson, 2002: 272-273) while giving the interviewer an opportunity to observe important non-verbal clues. However,

⁵⁰ Four men and two women were interviewed.

it is important to acknowledge that the researcher will inevitably have some effect on the responses that are given. Also, while the responses indicate what the people say they do, their responses need to be checked to see how they relate to what is actually done (Laws, 2003; Robson, 2002).

Selection of Interviewees

The individual interview sampling was done using the snowballing technique (Babbie, 2004). Walter (2006a: 199) suggests that snowballing is the most appropriate sampling method for “surveying a limited number of respondents from a hard-to-reach group”. Although the Timorese central government officials is a fairly large group, narrowing the field to find specific government officials that had been involved in the Friendship Agreements in an official capacity was going to be difficult without help. I knew three relevant government officials prior to the interviews and they each indicated that they would be happy to be interviewed. At the end of each of these interviews I asked if they knew of other government officials that I should interview, which lead to the group of interviewees growing in size from three to six. When contacted, the other officials also indicated that they were happy to be interviewed. The level of involvement in, and knowledge of, the Friendship Agreements amongst these six people varied in my estimation from high (2 people), to medium (2 people) to low (2 people).

Language used during interviews

The individual interviews were conducted in English for the most part, although two people included little bits of Tetum. My Tetum language skills had improved enough by that stage

that I was able to understand the little bits of Tetum used. Although English was not the first language of most of the participants, their English was of a high enough standard that an interpreter was not needed. The advantages of not using an interpreter were that participants could feel relaxed in a one-on-one conversation and participant's answers were not filtered through another person before being given to me. The disadvantage of not using an interpreter for two of the participants, whose English was not quite as strong as the other's, was that their answers may have been briefer because of language limitations.

The interview questions

The predetermined questions for the six individual interviews were:

- Why is it called a friendship agreement?
- What does friendship mean to you?
- What do you think are the most important features of friendship in Timor-Leste?
- What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?
- What do you think the Timorese offer to the Australians in these partnerships?
- What do you think are the main successes of the Friendship Agreements?
- What do you think have been the main challenges?

Most of these questions are a sub-set of the questions asked of the focus groups. The second question is a slightly re-worded version of a focus group question⁵¹. Only the third question (What do you think are the most important features of friendship in Timor-Leste?) was unique for the individual interviews. Prior to the individual interviews, I had begun the analysis of the focus group responses. I included this question because of the emphasis placed on friendship by the focus groups. All of the predetermined questions were asked at some stage during each interview. However, since the semi-structured interviews were

⁵¹ In the focus groups, the two questions: "Why is it called a Friendship Agreement? What does it mean to you?" were grouped together. The word 'it' in the second question could have been interpreted as 'friendship' or 'Friendship Agreement'. For the individual interviews I separated these questions and made it obvious that the second question was asking about friendship.

conversational in style, and a particular answer often led to another question (i.e. to clarify a point, to obtain further information, etc) (Babbie, 2004), none of the interviews were limited to these seven questions.

Recording of interviews

Prior to each interview, permission was obtained from each person being interviewed for the interview to be recorded (and later transcribed by me). Five of the six people seemed unaffected by having the interview recorded. However, despite the promise of confidentiality, one of the interviewees, although readily agreeing to the interview being recorded, was obviously more guarded in the way that they answered the questions when the recording device was being used. The following extract is taken from notes made soon after that interview:

I was given the impression that Z's answers were more guarded because the answers were being recorded. A few times during the interview the recording device was switched off (due to outside interruptions such as mobile phone calls) and Z became relaxed and spoke at a normal speed. As soon as the recording device was switched back on, Z spoke more slowly and appeared to weigh up each answer carefully before answering. At the end of the interview, when the recording device was switched off, Z visibly relaxed and went back to speaking normally.

Differences between focus group and individual interview responses

Any differences between the Friendship Agreement committees' responses and the individual government officials' responses could have been caused by a variety of factors. These factors include things such as: individual interview versus focus group interviews; the numbers involved (six individuals as opposed to 17 groups that incorporated the views of

158 people); the language the interviews were conducted in; and the particular questions that were asked.

In regards to the questions that were asked, the Friendship Agreement committees were asked, “Why is it called a Friendship Agreement? What does it mean to you?” Some groups answered these questions in the form of “Friendship means ...” while other groups answered them in the form of “It is called a Friendship Agreement because ... It means ...”. On the other hand, the government officials were asked, “What does friendship mean to you?” Although this question is asking for a personal opinion about friendship, most of the questions that the government officials were asked in the interview related to the Friendship Agreements, so they tended to answer this question by saying, “Friendship means...” and then go on to explain how friendship relates to the Friendship Agreements. So, despite the fact that the questions they were answering were slightly different, many of the responses of the committees and the individuals were similar but the wording of the particular question may have influenced the emphasis that they placed on certain attributes. For instance, it could be argued that when answering the question, ‘What does friendship meant to you?’ the lack of emphasis on relationship by the government officials may have been to do with the fact that they were answering a question about a particular kind of relationship (i.e. a friendship) where the importance of relationship is already understood.

Analysis of the Individual Interview data

The analysis of the individual interview data was conducted in exactly the same way as the analysis of the focus group data. Responses about the meaning and purpose of friendship,

Timorese contributions and the successes and challenges of the agreements were analysed by the sentence and categorised according to the characteristic(s) mentioned in each sentence. The only difference was that the unit of analysis was the individual rather than the group.

In regards to critically analysing the Friendship Agreement discourses found in the individual interviews, besides analysing what was said, again I look at the context within which it was said, who said it and the possible impacts on, and implications for the Friendship Agreements of those things being said by those particular people.

Document Collection and Analysis

Document collection

While conducting the evaluations of the seventeen Timorese Friendship Agreements, I was shown various copies of signed Friendship Agreement MoUs. At the time this research was conducted, thirteen of the seventeen places where evaluations took place had signed an MoU. Both Portuguese and English versions were generally displayed although at least one place had it displayed in Portuguese, English and Tetum⁵². My interest in analysing Friendship Agreement documents grew as I began to notice a discrepancy in the way that Friendship Agreements were described. The term partnership was often used within the MoUs; however, the Timorese rarely used it, preferring instead to describe them as a friendship. Since a Friendship Agreement MoU is a document that establishes ‘guidelines’ for the way that a Friendship Agreement will be conducted, analysing the discourses within

⁵² Although each MoU was available in Portuguese as well as English, I chose to collect the English versions because I do not understand Portuguese. Most of them were not available in Tetum.

these documents potentially provided valuable information about the Friendship Agreements in practice (Jacobs, 2006).

I was able to collect copies of the thirteen English versions of the MoUs by either being given a copy at the time of the evaluation, taking a photo of the displayed version, downloading a copy from the internet or being sent a copy on request from a Timorese community's Australian counterpart. Other documents that were collected for analysis included: publically available documents relating to the Friendship Agreements found online and the conference proceedings from the Timor-Leste – Australia Friendship conference: "Strengthening communities through international friendship" held in Dili, Timor-Leste 18-20 June, 2008.

Document analysis

Since document analysis does not require the analyst to be in contact with the person who produced the document, it can be an unobtrusive method of data collection that can add authority to a study by either supporting or refuting other findings (Laws, 2003; Robson, 2002). In regards to the Friendship Agreements, document analysis also provides an opportunity to look for consistencies or contradictions between people's views and experiences and the formalised understandings contained in the MoUs. White (2006: 173) summarises documentary analysis using critical discourse analysis well when he states that

It is intended to be a form of reflection on the social meaning of official documents, ... policy statements [etc] ... This form of evaluation is concerned with identification of the perspectives that underlie the issues. It is an attempt to expose the assumptions, discourses, and ideological propositions that are embodied in particular policies, programmes, and strategies ... The contribution of this form of data collection, therefore, is to provide critical appraisal of taken-for-granted assumptions, and thereby

to open the door for alternative explanations, programmes for action, or suggestions for reform.

As a researcher I had to put aside my own assumptions and pre-conceived ideas about what I was going to find within the documents I collected, and allow the data to ‘speak for themselves’ (Rob White, 2006). I did this by applying the questions to the relevant documents as a whole. Initially, I did a paragraph-by-paragraph comparison of the thirteen MoUs and, in doing this; I discovered that the first three MoUs written were completely unique. One of these three MoUs was then copied or modified to create the other ten MoUs that were analysed.

In chapter ten Brehm’s (2004a: 18) functional and authentic partnership characteristics were used in the analysis of the MoUs. Each sentence in the MoUs was examined to determine whether it contained one of the listed partnership characteristics. For instance, if a sentence within an MoU contained one of the authentic partnership characteristics (mutuality, long-term commitment, balance of power, shared responsibility, equality, reciprocal obligations or common goals), then it scored a 1 in that category (whether it could be found in one sentence or more than one sentence). Similarly, if an MoU contained statements pertaining to one of the functional partnership characteristics (allocation of resources or distribution or responsibilities) then it scored a 1 in that category. In allocating statements to ‘mutuality’ I looked for sections of the MoU that included the term ‘mutual’ as a descriptor within the sentence (e.g. mutual respect and cooperation). ‘Long-term’ statements included periods of time between five and ten years or stated that the agreement was long-term or would be ongoing through periodic reviews. ‘Balance of power’ statements included statements that

dealt with exchanges of knowledge and skills and/or working together. ‘Shared responsibility’ statements listed all responsibilities identified within a particular MoU as belonging to both parties. ‘Equality’ statements indicated that the Timorese have the same things to offer to the Australians, as the Australians have to offer the Timorese. ‘Reciprocal responsibilities’ statements indicated that the responsibilities that the parties were committing themselves to were two-way (e.g. the Timorese had the same responsibilities towards the Australians as the Australians had towards the Timorese). ‘Common goals’ statements indicated that both parties were committing themselves to achieving a particular goal. ‘Allocation of resources’ statements indicated a one-way transfer of knowledge, skills and finances and the ‘distribution of responsibilities’ statements indicated the allocation of separate responsibilities for the Timorese and the Australians. Details of documentary texts used in this analysis can be found in chapter ten.

Drew’s (2003: 5) actual and ideal partnership characteristics were also used in the analysis of the MoUs. In regards to the actual partnership characteristics, MoUs were examined for statements identifying which partner is responsible for decision-making, implementation, audit, reporting, policy, international contacts, the provision of resources, security and credibility, and monitoring and evaluation. In regards to the ideal partnership characteristics, MoUs were examined for statements indicating that the Timorese and the Australians have the same levels of authority, responsibility and working prestige. The ‘same level of authority’ statements indicated that planning and decision-making were the responsibility of both parties. The ‘same level of responsibility’ statements indicated that all responsibilities were said to be the responsibility of both parties equally. The ‘same level of working

prestige' statements indicated an exchange of knowledge and skills. Again, details of documentary texts used in this analysis can be found in chapter ten.

The statements made within the MoUs were also analysed in relation to Leach's (1997) six models of partnership that vary according to the degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance and Brehm's (2004a) models of partnership which highlights the differences in the depth and quality of the partnerships in the three areas of funding, capacity and trust.

In order to critically analyse the discourses found within the documents, besides analysing what has been said (and not said) within the documents, again I look at the context within which it was said (or not said); who said it (and who did not say it); and the possible impacts on, and implications for, the Friendship Agreements of those things being said (or not said) by those particular people or groups.

Participant Observation at a Conference

Participant observation can take a variety of forms. The *complete participant* is where the participant-observer conceals the fact that they are an observer by trying to become a full member of the group. The *participant-as-observer* is where it is made clear from the beginning that the participant-observer is there to observe while participating in the activities. This form of participant observation allows the observer to ask members of the group to explain various aspects of what is going on. The *marginal participant* is where the observer is passive but is a completely accepted participant, such as being a passenger on a train or a member of an audience and the *observer-as-participant* is where, while the

participants know that the observer is a researcher, the observer takes no part in the activities (Robson, 2002: 316-319).

My participant observation of the Timor-Leste – Australia Friendship conference: “Strengthening communities through international friendship” held in Dili, Timor-Leste 18-20 June, 2008 varied between *marginal participant*, *participant-as-observer* and *observer-as-participant*. This conference was held 14 months after I had completed the fieldwork and evaluations.

During the conference plenary sessions I was a *marginal participant*. The plenary sessions of the conference were held in a large meeting hall at the Timorese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with rows of chairs set up in front of a stage. I did not get to meet the majority of conference delegates personally since there were about 250 delegates at the conference (with approximately half from Timor-Leste and half from Australia). So, as a member of a large conference audience, for the majority of participants I appeared to be accepted as just another conference delegate. The advantage of being an observer during the plenary sessions was that, since many people take notes during conference sessions, my taking notes was seen as normal behaviour. I took detailed notes of all plenary session speeches and I was then able to compare my notes with the printed conference proceedings that were published later. My notes were found to be highly accurate.⁵³

⁵³ In most instances the printed version of the conference speeches found in the Conference Proceedings aligned with the notes taken of that speech. In these cases the printed version was used for analysis. However, the Timorese Prime Minister gave a different speech to the one that he had prepared for the conference. In this case, his prepared speech (found in the Conference Proceedings) and the notes taken from the speech that he actually gave were both used.

However, with the people that I did meet at the conference I was more a *participant-as-observer*. I was always up-front in explaining that I was attending the conference in my capacity as a researcher researching the Friendship Agreements. I already knew some of the Timorese delegates, since many of the people who had participated in the focus group evaluations also attended the conference. Although I had not previously met many Australians involved in the Friendship Agreements, some of the Australian delegates I met already knew about my role as a researcher through previous email contact, reading one of the reports I had written or hearing about me through another person. Between plenary or group sessions, most delegates (both Timorese and Australian) were happy to talk to me in my role as a researcher.

On the second day of the conference, the delegates were broken up into smaller groups. These groups, which contained both Australian and Timorese delegates, generally corresponded with the District divisions of Timor-Leste. In other words, the Australian delegates and their Timorese counterparts that were linked with communities from a particular Timorese district all met together. It was during these sessions that I became more of an *observer-as-participant*. I did not want to sit in just one group, I wanted to observe how the groups functioned and watch the interactions between the Australian and Timorese delegates. Most of the groups worked quite well. Each group had an interpreter so that everybody could be included in the conversation and I observed that there was active participation by both Australian and Timorese delegates in most groups. However, one group was completely dysfunctional. I observed this group on two separate occasions and on both

occasions the Australian delegates dominated the conversation. An excerpt from my notes about this particular group states that,

The Timorese are sitting bored and excluded. The Australians are having a conversation amongst themselves. At one stage, one of the Timorese delegates (T) said, “Our business is to be friends with each other”. Three Australians immediately stopped him speaking and then proceeded to tell him that communication is a big problem.

The groups had been given the task of identifying the successes, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges of the Friendship Agreements. According to Laws (2003: 305) “the presence of the observer cannot help but influence the setting they are observing to some extent”. It is difficult to gauge whether I had an impact on the way the groups operated or not. Although some of the observed groups were small enough for the participants to notice my presence, they did not appear to change the way that they were behaving when observed from a distance or observed from nearby. In the large groups the participants did not appear to take any notice of me, as I was one individual amongst many who moved around. I did not use the data provided by these groups about the successes and challenges in this thesis because my research explores the Timorese perspectives about the Friendship Agreements. Since the groups included Australian and Timorese participants, it was not possible to separate the views of the Timorese from the views of the Australians from this data.

Authenticity of the Information and Interpretation

Extensive field notes were made both, during and after, each focus group session as well as after each individual interview and throughout the conference. These field notes have been used widely to write the methodology. However, most of the data generated for this research was either written or recorded. Nevertheless, although all responses of the focus groups were

written (and then given orally), I was heavily reliant on my interpreter for the authenticity of the information when translated into English.

As a non-Timorese researching the Timorese perspectives about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, it is important to position myself as the researcher. I am a female Anglo-Australian and I was in my late 40s when I conducted the field research. I was a teenager at the time when Indonesia invaded and annexed Timor-Leste. Over time I became more aware of the Indonesian suppression of the Timorese and the Australian government's role in supporting this suppression through their alliance with the Indonesian government and their endorsement of Indonesia's annexation of Timor-Leste. My Bachelor of Arts, with majors in Anthropology and Asian Studies,⁵⁴ further fuelled my interest in Timor-Leste. However, it was ultimately my passion for social justice that informed my views about the importance of the Timorese voices being heard in relation to the recently established Friendship Agreements. Since it is not possible for a researcher to be value free (Mikkelsen, 1995; Ogden, 2008), I acknowledge that my social justice values have influenced this research particularly in the way that the research was conducted (e.g. by trying to conduct participatory focus groups instead of only hearing from the most senior people present) and in the way that the data was analysed (e.g. in the choice of questions applied to the data).

However, although this thesis attempts to present Timorese perspectives about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, since the analysis and interpretation of the data

⁵⁴ Although the Asian Studies course included studies of South Asia, East Asia and South-East Asia there was considerable focus over the whole course on Indonesia.

has been carried out by me (a non-Timorese) it must be stated that the final product is an ‘outsider’s perspective’ of Timorese perspectives.

Conclusion

In sum, this research project is a qualitative study that draws on elements of critical modernist, poststructuralist and postcolonial frameworks (using critical discourse analysis as the analytical framework) to explore Timorese perspectives about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. As a critical modernist/poststructuralist/postcolonial study it does not claim to uncover ‘a truth’ about the Friendship Agreements but rather, it explores the layers of complexity around which the Friendship Agreements are built and attempts to uncover gaps, contradictions and discontinuities as well as continuities and congruencies.

The following four chapters present the analysis of the data. Chapter seven presents the analysis of the Friendship Agreement data in relation to the friendship literature presented in chapter three. Chapters eight and nine present the analysis of the Friendship Agreement data in relation to the international North-South municipal links literature presented in chapter four. Chapter ten presents the analysis of the Friendship Agreement data in relation to the North-South partnerships for development literature presented in chapter five.

Chapter 7

Friendship and the Friendship Agreements

This chapter presents and analyses statements made about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements by Timorese participants in relation to the six research questions that arose from review and discussion of the literature surrounding friendship (see chapter three).

Choices

Although much of the recent academic literature about friendship emphasises that friendships entail a certain level of choice by the people involved (Chambers, 2006; Lynch, 2005; Richard White, 1999b), the extent of choice within friendships continues to be debated (Doyle & Smith, 2002; Jeske, 1997; Spencer & Pahl, 2006). The research questions pertinent to this study that arose from the review of literature on friendship were:

Who chooses to make these friendships? How are they implemented? Do the Friendship Agreements vary from each other? If so, how? What are some of the influences that could impact on the amount of choice within the Friendship Agreement friendships?

Implementation

As stated previously, Friendship Agreements between Australia and Timor-Leste began when Senor Abel Guterres, was approached by three Melbourne councils (Darebin, Moreland and Port Phillip City) in late 1999 to see if they could establish some sort of relationship with towns in Timor-Leste (R. Brown, 2009; Perry, 2002). Senor Abel

Guterres⁵⁵ wanted the relationships to be different to the ‘Sister-Cities relationships’ established by many local government associations. He wanted an emphasis on ‘friendship’ (Perry, 2002). He stated that:

I personally have been involved in it, myself and Rae Perry, at the start, in Victoria in 2000. We felt that this is the time to reignite the friendships because that’s the kind of friendship money cannot buy, you know. And ... then we sort of came up with the idea, and then started to sell the concept of the friendship. We determined friendship - not sister cities. Sister cities are something bigger ... pomp ceremonies, you know.

Sister cities don’t really involve the people ... the grassroots. Our aim was to have that grassroots link, you know, which means that the village people have the chance to build this friendship ... rather than only people from the top, and they [the village people] don’t know anything about it, or they know very little, or they’re bystanders. Because all we have to do is to have truly, people-to-people friendship (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007).

However, this desire to include the people at the grassroots is overlaid with a desire to link more with Australian local governments.

The other aspect of the friendship is that when we started to build up this friendship we did also bring in some structural aspect. OK? And that’s where local governments come in. Because East Timor will have two-tier government. And that is guaranteed by the constitution. It doesn’t matter what government will be in place ... or which party. The constitution clearly states that they have to devolve power to local government. Two-tier government ... [So,] we hope to engage more with the Australian local government (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007).

In order to understand who chooses to make these friendships it is important to understand the process by which the Friendship Groups are established.

The first thing is ... in an [Australian] local government area, if people are interested ... then, ... a group of people ... come together and say, “Let’s discuss the idea of building [a] friendship with a town in East Timor” (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007).

After garnering broad community support, this group then approaches their local council to see if they can get council support for the friendship⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Senor Abel Guterres is such a central figure in the Friendship Agreements that he gave me permission to use his name, with extracts from his interview, when necessary.

“We are the rate payers, the community, of the city of so-and-so and we want to go in friendship, and we’d like you to help us and be as our local government and together we can build this friendship.” (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007)

However, at this stage they do not have a particular Timorese community in mind.

Once they do that ... then they will make contact with me and I’ll set aside an area that they can build a friendship (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007).

The Australian and Timorese communities are generally paired because of some sort of similarity. For instance, the two communities may have a common geographical position (such as being coastal or inland), common interests (such as agriculture or tourism) or common issues (such as isolation or size). Within Timor-Leste, the local chiefs are expected to be part of the Friendship Agreement committee.

When it comes here ... the local chiefs are ... the friendship committees. Once ... the [Australian] mayor and other councillors adopt the resolution that, yes – the city of so-and-so is willing to go into friendship with so-and-so in East Timor ... then it’s official and the mayor will issue a letter of goodwill addressed to the district or sub-district administrator, and then they will respond in turn, welcoming the friendship and invite them to come and visit.

Have any of the friendships actually been initiated from a Timorese Community?

No, no, no. They’ve ... of course they always want it ... all of them want it because the others are having it and they’re all complaining to me that, how come we’re still left out, we still haven’t got it. I said, “Come on it takes time to build it for everybody” (Senor Abel Guterres, interview 2007).

Variations

The Friendship Agreements are all diverse – each one is different. (R. Perry 2008, pers. comm., June 18)

Some have been very successful and others have not been so successful. (Senor Z. A. da Costa 2008, pers. comm., June 18)

⁵⁶ Australian local council support is not obtained in all cases, however this does not prevent Australian community groups from establishing a Friendship Agreement with a Timorese community.

The Friendship Agreements are relationships between particular Australian communities to particular Timorese communities and each agreement varies for a number of reasons. Some of the agreements have been established with strong support from an Australian local government council while other agreements are organised by a community group without Australian local government support. Some of the Australian communities give their counterpart community an annual budget while most do not. Some of the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees have been operating since the beginning of their agreement while other groups are beginning to see the necessity of forming an official Friendship Agreement committee. The Timorese Friendship Agreement committees vary in size,⁵⁷ how often they meet, how active they are, and how knowledgeable each member is about the Friendship Agreement.

Some of the Timorese communities are urban and others are rural, some are located in the mountains and others on the coast, and the languages spoken vary from place to place⁵⁸. A few of the Timorese Friendship Agreement communities have access to good communication tools (such as internet and landline telephones) while most do not. Some have access to the mobile phone network but many do not. Variations between the agreements are also caused by the different personalities that are involved in each one. These are just a few of the factors that bring about differences between the Friendship Agreement friendships.

⁵⁷ The membership lists of the seventeen Timorese Friendship Agreement committees that were interviewed ranged in number from five to thirty-six members.

⁵⁸ As stated before, there are two national languages (Portuguese and Tetum), four working languages (Portuguese, Tetum, Indonesian and English) and 18 indigenous languages spoken around the country. Although English is one of the four working languages it is not very widely spoken, particularly in the more remote communities.

Choice

Despite the variations between the agreements, choice appears to play some part in the Friendship Agreements. However, the extent of choice appears to vary depending on the participant. Individual Australians involved in Friendship Agreement community groups appear to have some choice about whether to become involved and the extent of their involvement. Their choice to become involved may be influenced by things such as: their ideas about politics, social justice, development, history and/or economics; their historical link to Timor-Leste; their desire to 'do some good'; their community connections; their availability; and their economic standing (D. O'Mahoney 2006, pers. comm., 4 September).

The way that the Friendship Agreements are established implies that the Australians make a commitment to a friendship without knowing who the friend will be. In relation to choice in friendships, it was noted in chapter three that people often form friendships before they really know the other person's character well and if they discover later that they are completely incompatible there will probably be a breakdown in the friendship (Jeske, 1997). This implies that (1) the people met first and then formed a friendship, (2) the friendship is formed between individuals, and (3) no time limit is set on the friendship but incompatibility can end it. The choices made by the Australian groups in establishing a Friendship Agreement, on the other hand, differ from the aforementioned, common types of friendship choices on all counts. Friendship Agreement friendships are usually formed for a period of time (usually 10 years) between a non-static Australian group and a non-static Timorese group before people from the two groups have met. This means that the other people's characters are not only not known, but do not matter and implies that (1) people make a

conscious decision to form a friendship with strangers and then hope to meet, (2) the friendships are between groups with fluctuating memberships, and (3) incompatibilities need to be worked through because the friendship has been established for a period of time.

Since many, but not all, of the Australian-Timorese Friendship Agreements are endorsed and actively supported by the Australian community group's local government (council), Australian local governments appear to have a choice about whether to become involved in a particular Friendship Agreement. A council's choice about whether to participate is likely to have been influenced by a variety of factors. These factors could include (but not be limited to) things such as: the dedication of the community group proposing the friendship; the extent of community support for the friendship; councillor's involvement in election monitoring within Timor-Leste; and perceived benefits of the agreement for the local council area (**BB**, interview; Spence & Ninnes, 2007).

The level of choice within the Timorese communities, in regards to the Friendship Agreements, appears to be debatable. Timorese communities have initiated none of the Friendship Agreements and yet, according to the Timorese Consul General to Australia, every Timorese community wants an agreement. The Timorese communities do not get to choose when or with whom they can have an agreement as they have to wait until an Australian community makes a request. The Timorese Consul General to Australia then selects a particular Timorese community to match with that Australian community based on some similarity (such as geographical similarities, industry similarities, tourism potential to tourism experience, capital to capital, and so on). However, given that the Timorese society

is highly hierarchical (as noted in chapter two), it could be argued that if a high-ranking government official informs the leaders of a Timorese community that their community has been selected to form a Friendship Agreement with a particular Australian community they would appear to have little choice in the matter. Also, since Timorese communities are often struggling, with few trained personnel, to deal with high levels of illiteracy, high unemployment, poverty, frequent food shortages, water and sanitation issues and a lack of infrastructure, it could be argued further that it seems unlikely that any community offered the opportunity to form a friendship with a well-developed community from Australia would turn down an offer of friendship.

However, despite this apparent lack of choice, the choice of Timorese communities to build friendships with Australians was first made back in World War II.

The background [to the Friendship Agreements] was to do with the Second World War. The [Australian] commandos came here to fight the Japanese. I think out of 500 men, they managed to pin down almost 18,000 to 20,000 Japanese troops. And these were young men of 18, 19, 20 and 21. They were all really great. And they were thrown in here with malaria, and all sorts of things happened to them ... And the fact that they lost about 40 men only, over almost 18 months, with a complete loss of communication with Australia, [was because] they relied on their friendship with local villages – to ensure their survival. And they did ... they did survive and went home. And so, that is where the friendship was established (**BB**, interview).

And the Timorese paid a high price for their choice.

And then out of that friendship, of course we lost about 40,000 people. Killed in the reprisal because we were supporting the Aussies. (**BB**, interview)

The Timorese did not choose to break the friendship with the Australians but were isolated from Australia after World War II first by the Portuguese and then by the Indonesians, while successive Australian governments (until 1999) condoned this isolation. Many Timorese

Friendship Agreement committees⁵⁹ pointed out that these friendships are not new but go back to the time of World War II.

Australia and East Timor had a good relationship during World War II so we are happy to rebuild this relationship. **Group WY**

Look at the history and background of our relationship. The relationship started between Australia and Timor-Leste in World War II. **Group WB**

It is called Friendship City because the Australian nation feels that Timor is their good friend from a long time ago (from the time of the Japanese war) and now they have their friends back again. **Group KJ**

It seems, therefore, that the Timorese participation in the Australian-Timorese Friendship Agreements is, to some extent, not the result of simply obeying instructions from leaders or an act of desperation but an endorsement of a choice made by previous generations. Furthermore, the Timorese do not only see the friendship stretching back into the past but, given a choice, they would like to see the friendship stretching off into an un-timed future. When asked for their recommendations of the Friendship Agreements the following quote sums up the commonly held view of the Timorese.

We recommend that the relationship continue in the long term. Don't cut our relationship. The relationship has to go on until the end of life. **Group NQ (also expressed by Groups WY, VY, CB, HC, WB and KJ)**

This quote not only emphasises the Timorese desire for continuity but the centrality of relationships. Choosing current friendships through the communal endorsement of historical ties of friendship differs greatly from recent academic literature on Western friendship. Western friendships are generally portrayed as informal, personal, non-hierarchical, voluntary relationships between two individuals. The Timorese communal endorsement of

⁵⁹ Known in Timor-Leste as commissions.

historical ties of friendship, as seen in the Friendship Agreements, can lead to both formal, impersonal and hierarchical relationships (e.g. formal signed MoUs⁶⁰ between two communities) and informal, personal and non-hierarchical relationships (e.g. individual friendships between certain participants). These friendships also contain aspects of voluntary-ness (some members of the Timorese community originally need to make a decision as to whether they want the relationship) and involuntary-ness (once the decision has been made it is made for all members of that community, even those as yet unborn). Furthermore, these friendships are between groups (community to community) but they can lead to friendships between individuals (such as the strong and lasting friendships that can develop between some work colleagues, some sporting associates and some members of the same interest groups).

According to the Timorese, these agreements are all about building and maintaining relationships and the importance of having a good relationship was emphasised over and over again.

It is important to strengthen our relationship first. Just as the relationship was built between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste during WWII, we need to continue to strengthen the relationship between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste if we want things to go well in the future. **Group CB**

One most important thing ... we need some ... how should I put it ... not that you give some things ... that is not important but, ah ... good relations, good relations, Yeah?
SB Interview

It is called Friendship City⁶¹ – it means that the people establish a relationship. **Group DK**

⁶⁰ For detailed analysis of the Friendship Agreement MoUs see chapters eight and nine.

⁶¹ Although Friendship Agreements have been established to differ from Sister Cities, within Timor-Leste they are usually referred to as Cidade Amigas or Cidade Amijade, which translate into English as Friendship City.

To make an intimate relationship between groups in order to create a family. **Group NR**

We are the beneficiaries of this relationship. But it is not just about seeking benefits. It is about building a good relationship. (Senor A. Caetano 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

Although the Timorese express appreciation about the various benefits of the Friendship Agreements to their communities, they choose to emphasise the relationship – the friendship.

The Meaning

It was noted in chapter three that, defining the meaning of friend or friendship is difficult because it does not relate to a person's social position (such as aunt or work colleague) or proximity (such as neighbour) but implies certain qualities and characteristics of the relationship (Allan, 1989). The research questions on this issue that arose in the review of the friendship literature were:

What do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees mean by friendship? What do the National Timorese government officials involved in the Friendship Agreements mean by friendship? Do the meanings differ?

Since friendship is difficult to define, Fehr (1996) suggests that it is best to think of it as a prototype concept⁶². So, rather than trying to define friendship, Lynch's (2005) list of friendship characteristics⁶³ was used as a starting point for analysing statements about

⁶² A prototype concept does not have a clear-cut set of features but has a 'fuzzy' set of attributes that are typical of the concept.

⁶³ Liking, affection, love, intimacy, freedom, choice, utility, pleasure, goodness, equality, reciprocity and mutuality, shared activity, goodwill, trust, care and concern, loyalty, steadfastness, similarity, difference, vulnerability and fragility have all been addressed as features associated with understandings of friendship. (Lynch, 2005: 20)

friendship and the Friendship Agreements made by the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees⁶⁴ and the Timorese government officials⁶⁵ that were interviewed.

Group meanings

Statements made about friendship by members of sixteen Timorese committees incorporate the following attributes: relationship, reciprocity, development, support, shared activities, loyalty/steadfastness, utility, similarity, harmony, respect and solidarity (see Figure 7.1 below)⁶⁶.

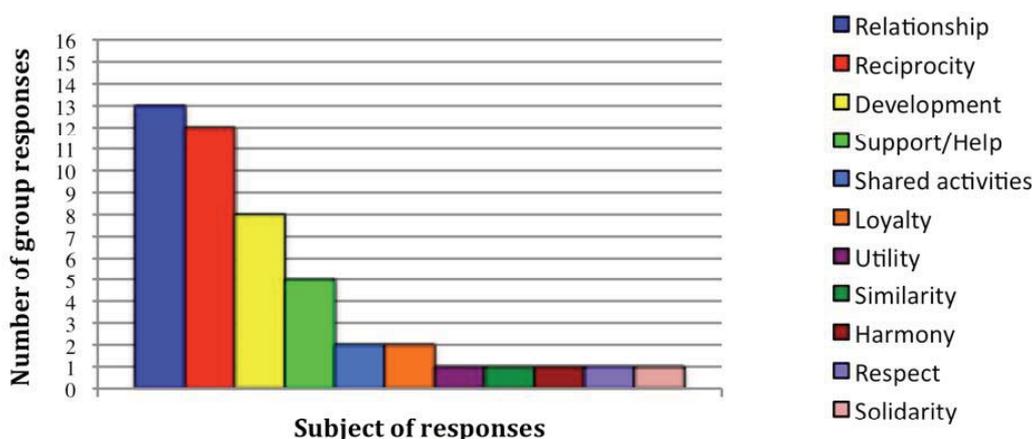


Figure 7.1 Group responses about friendship attributes from 16 Timorese committees (incorporating the views of 144 participants)

⁶⁴ Although seventeen focus group interviews were conducted, one group missed answering a few questions because the meeting was conducted in the normal Timorese style (where only the most senior people present spoke and they spoke at length), which meant that some questions were not answered due to time constraints. This means that some charts show a total of seventeen groups while others show a total of sixteen groups. The interviews conducted with the seventeen Timorese Friendship Agreement committees were conducted in April and May 2006 and involved 158 participants. 156 Timorese (135 Timorese men and 21 Timorese women), 1 Australian volunteer and 1 American Peace Corps volunteer. All except one person involved was literate.

⁶⁵ The six government officials, 4 men and 2 women, were interviewed in March 2007. All six officials were knowledgeable about the Friendship Agreements but their level of involvement in the Friendship Agreement programme varied. They ranged from high involvement and high impact (2 people), medium involvement and medium impact (2 people) to low involvement and low impact (2 people).

⁶⁶ The unit of analysis in Figure 7.1 is the group. Group responses were obtained through a process of consensus. If a group mentioned a particular aspect of friendship in their summary, then it scored a 1 (whether they mention the aspect once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 13 means 13 groups indicated this aspect rather than a few groups mentioning this aspect 13 times in total. See Appendix 5 for a full list of the group statements relating to the meaning of friendship.

First and foremost, the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees regard friendship as a type of relationship. They emphasise the need to build and maintain a good relationship if a friendship is to survive. However, according to the Timorese committees, one of the most important features of a friendship is not *simply* that it is a relationship but it is a relationship built on *reciprocity*.

When we establish friendship with another city it means we share with each other what we have. **Group LZ**

It means helping each other. **Group CF**

To help each other. **Group TG**

To help each other in all areas. **Group NR**

The working relationship between people makes 2 peoples close to each other, understand each other and support each other. **Group HB**

It means that, we need to look after each other well - like brothers. **Group KJ**

So, friends share with each other, help each other, support each other and look after each other - like brothers. However, although the Timorese responses emphasise the importance of reciprocity in friendship, the majority of the Timorese that were interviewed stated, usually with a noticeable sense of shame, that the Friendship Agreement relationships are not yet reciprocal.

We receive a lot but we don't give anything back but our thanks. **Group YL**

It is called Friendship City because community people in Australia and Timor-Leste make friends and they help each other according to their capacity but in reality we don't give anything back but as friends, it should be both ways. **Group DK**

When we talk about friends, it comes from the inside. We are friends – we are supposed to help each other but we feel that we are receiving more than we give. **Group WY**

Development, the next most mentioned friendship attribute mentioned by the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees, is not a commonly cited friendship attribute. However, in view of the fact that most of the signed Friendship Agreement memoranda present the Friendship Agreement relationship in terms of the Australian community assisting in the reconstruction of the Timorese community (i.e. assisting in development outcomes) it is not surprising that development is linked to friendship in this instance.

It is called a Friendship City because we would like to create a good friendship relationship in the future in terms of development. **Group HC**

It also signifies to us a desire to increase the development in our district to be like the city of X⁶⁷. **Group WY**

Friendship means strengthening unity in order to achieve success in development issues. **Group KA**

The two communities are able to become healthier, similar to each other. **Group HB**

It means helping each other in various development areas based on the needs of each city. **Group CF**

To help each other in terms of development **Group TG**

Nevertheless, none of the comments portray development as a type of handout. For instance, “It also signifies to us a desire to increase the development in our district to be like the city of X” could be read as “Since we are now friends with community X in Australia we are motivated to improve our own community so that we become more like community X”. “Friendship means strengthening unity in order to achieve success in development issues” highlights the need for the relationship to be strong before successful development outcomes can be achieved. While “It means helping each other in various development areas” and “To help each other in terms of development” convey the importance of reciprocity.

⁶⁷ In order to preserve anonymity Australian place names are replaced with an X, Timorese place names are replaced with a Y.

Individual meanings

Statements made about friendship by the six Timorese government officials that were interviewed incorporate the following attributes: support, reciprocity, loyalty/steadfastness, respect, relationship, shared activities, solidarity, harmony, honesty, trust, similarity, pleasure, chemistry and goodwill (see Figure 7.2 below)⁶⁸.

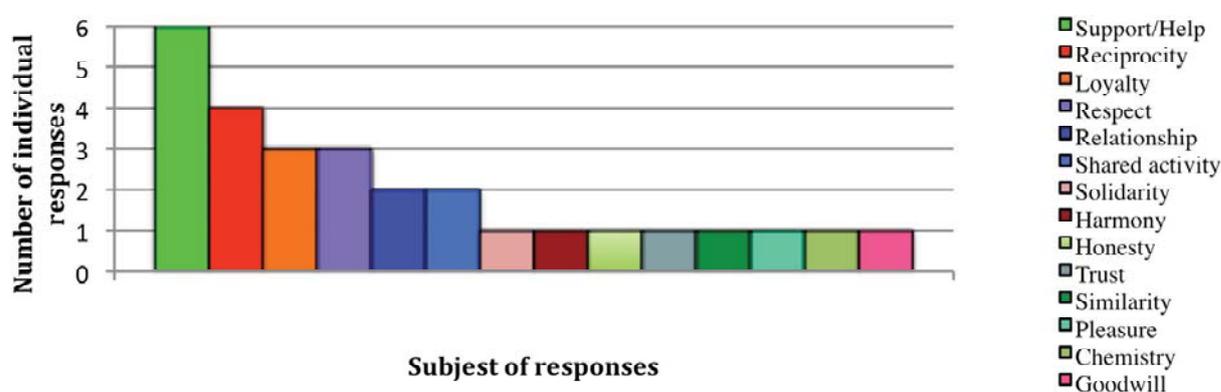


Figure 7.2 Individual responses about friendship attributes from 6 Timorese government officials

According to the six government officials, the most important attribute of friendship is support/ help. Not support or help that makes people dependent on each other but support that assists people to become independent.

The Australian communities want to give support, want to give the support that they can give to their friendship city but support that can change lives. But that does not mean that you must give money to them, no, no. Don't give in order to make the Timorese dependent on the Australians but help for them in order that they can change their thinking, change their life. **SB**, Interview

Help us with the knowledge and we stand on our own feet. That's what friendship is. Don't give us the fish but give us the net. Help us with the knowledge and we stand on

⁶⁸ The unit of analysis in Figure 7.2 is the individual. If an individual mentioned a particular aspect of friendship in their summary, then it scored a 1 (whether they mention the aspect once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 6 means 6 individuals indicated this aspect rather than 1 or 2 individuals mentioning this aspect 6 times in total. See Appendix 6 for a full list of the individual statements relating to the meaning of friendship.

our own feet. That's what friendship is ... You know, when your friend is down, I mean, that is when you're supposed to, as a friend, give a helping hand and we're going through our troubles now. Yeah, and so we need that friendship – to standby and encourage, you know – because having people around, coming to visit in the difficult times, it shows that unique aspect of friendship, you know. You feel that – Oh wow, my friends really do think of me! Even though I'm in a very difficult stage, you know, but they still think of me and they still come and visit. **BB**, Interview

Just coming over, and not thinking about “Well we're going to provide this, we're going to give you this!” [But] ... really coming over and just listening and building that relationship rather than coming over and thinking that “OK this is a needy country, we need to provide you with this, this, this, this and that.” **DP**, interview

The government officials emphasise that support is not a handout. Support is about standing alongside, encouraging, visiting, listening and learning. Although support, rather than relationships, is the most commonly cited friendship attribute according to the government officials, they appear to agree with the Friendship Agreement committees about the importance of reciprocity in friendships.

It's about supporting each other. **DP**, Interview

When two parties agree to do something based on the friendship, you know, they are willing to help each other - support each other. **FP**, Interview

And, of course, it is reciprocated by the other side. And I mean that is friendship! **BB**, Interview

And open ... very open between you and us, yeah. Very open. We can share. Very open to share ideas, share opinions, something like that, yeah? **SB**, Interview

Loyalty and respect are the next most mentioned friendship attributes by the government officials.

Some friends only show up when we are rich people. But some friends are true friends ... true to friends. Wherever we are, in whatever position, they are always as a friend. That's what friendship is. So, they don't care about the circumstances. They're always by our side. **TX**, interview

And in friendship, there are certain loyalties. Friends depend on loyalty. **BB**, interview

I guess friendship is based around mutual respect – mutual understanding, respect for each other, respect for each other’s political, social and cultural beliefs. **DP**, interview

And, of course, they will always have consideration, respect and collaboration. **FP**, interview

Differences in meaning

Any differences between the Friendship Agreement committees’ responses and the individual government officials’ responses on friendship could have been caused by a variety of factors. These factors include: data methodology issues (as discussed in chapter six)⁶⁹; people’s position in relation to the Friendship Agreements; and the fact that friendship can mean different things to different people.

Whether the people were part of a focus group or one of the individuals interviewed, their position in relation to the Friendship Agreement(s) (such as the length of their involvement and the level of their influence) may affect their views about them. The individuals that were interviewed ranged from those that were highly influential and heavily involved in the Friendship Agreement programme through to people that had knowledge about Friendship Agreements but were limited in their level of influence. Although the focus groups were conducted in a way that encouraged the voices of all those present to be heard and not just those who normally hold the most influence, the Friendship Agreement committees also tended to include people with different levels of involvement and influence for their particular Friendship Agreement. For instance, some members of the committees had been

⁶⁹ Methodology issues that may have influenced some responses include: individual interview versus focus group interviews; the numbers involved (six individuals as opposed to 17 groups that incorporated the views of 158 people); the language the interviews were conducted in; and the particular questions that were asked.

involved from the beginning of an agreement while other members had only become involved recently and some members had visited Australia as a result of the agreement but most had not.

Although friendships are a global phenomenon, the friendship literature points out that it is impossible to come up with one, all-encompassing definition. As a prototype concept, it does not have a clear-cut set of features but a ‘fuzzy’ set of attributes that can be contained within a broad category but no single definition can be given that will cover all variations. Therefore, some of the differences in meaning could relate to the fact that different people value certain friendship attributes more highly than others.

However, despite these factors, the similarities of the responses between the committees and the government officials may provide some useful insights into Timorese perceptions of friendship, especially as they relate to the Friendship Agreements.

Overall meaning

Although there are a few differences in the responses about friendship between the committees and the individual government officials interviewed, the similarities outnumber the differences (see Table 7.1 below).

Table 7.1 *Timorese Friendship attributes according to the Friendship Agreement committees and government officials*⁷⁰

	Committees	Govt officials
Friendship attributes shared with Lynch's list	Reciprocity Shared Activity Loyalty Similarity Utility	Reciprocity Shared Activity Loyalty Similarity Trust Pleasure Goodwill
Additional friendship attributes	Relationship Support Respect Harmony Solidarity Development	Relationship Support Respect Harmony Solidarity Honesty Chemistry

Nine of the eleven friendship attributes mentioned by the committees are also mentioned by the government officials – reciprocity, shared activity, loyalty, similarity, relationship, support, respect, harmony and solidarity. While four of these nine attributes are shared with Lynch's friendship attribute list (reciprocity, shared activity, loyalty and similarity), there is not as much overlap as one might expect. Shared activity, loyalty and similarity are present but in small numbers. Reciprocity is the only attribute from Lynch's list that was present in large numbers. Of the five other shared friendship attributes, relationship and support were present in large numbers while respect, harmony and solidarity were present in small numbers.

Given the number of responses about relationships, reciprocity and support, it seems that having a reciprocal, supportive relationship is the most common and significant meaning given to friendship in Timor-Leste, particularly in relation to the Friendship Agreements. The emphasis placed on reciprocity in the Timorese meaning of friendship concurs with the

⁷⁰ The friendship attributes that are shared by the committees and the government officials are typed in bold.

views of some of the Australian groups but contrasts sharply with the views of those Australian groups that viewed their friendship simply “as an act of giving material assistance to people who had less access to resources and skills” (Spence & Ninnes, 2007: 336). Neither the government officials nor the Friendship Agreement committees want the support given by Australian communities to be a handout. The strong emphasis of the Friendship Agreement committees on friendship as a relationship appears to suggest that the groups’ first priority is the building of *peaceful relations*⁷¹.

Background, Expectations and Values

Historical background

Silver (1990) argues that it is important to consider the historical situation within which a friendship paradigm develops. The research question on this issue that arose in the review of the friendship literature was:

How has the historical background between Australia and Timor-Leste affected the Friendship Agreements?

In regards to the historical background of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement friendships, it was noted earlier in this chapter that the Timorese did not choose to break the friendship with the Australians after World War II but were isolated from Australia first by the Portuguese and then by the Indonesians, while successive Australian governments (until 1999) condoned this isolation. Australia’s previous abandonment of Timor-Leste, their close military and economic ties with Indonesia and their manoeuvring over the Timor Gap Treaty led to a certain amount of scepticism on the part of some of the Timorese about the motives

⁷¹ *Peaceful relations*: Links that emphasise friendship, peace, cultural understanding, exchange and people-to-people contact.

of Australians wanting to form the Friendship Agreements. Several groups and individuals stated that there have been, and sometimes still are, misunderstandings about the expectations and values of the Friendship Agreements from some people in the Timorese communities.

They think that this is compensation payment to the people of Timor-Leste who had helped Australia in WWII. **Group DK**

They think that Australia may have an interest in the rich resources of [Timor-Leste] such as oil, etc. **Group DK**

First, when we start to establish the relationship between [the] Timor-Leste community and the Australian community, we found some problems. Sometimes also misunderstanding of ... politicians. They say, “[Friendship Agreements] - For what?” **SB**, interview

People who haven't had a project yet are not sure what it's all about. **Group DK**

They think it is government assistance. We try hard to explain that it is a community-to-community link. **Group VY**

We are not sure if the help is coming from the Friendship City or elsewhere. **Group LZ**

First of all they don't know what is the friendship ... friendship city all about but then we ... we explained what is the objective ... and what [would be] the benefits for them by involving themselves in such a project. So that later on ... they understood. **FP**, interview

We don't know what the purposes of the Friendship Agreement are but we see it as people being good friends and helping and caring for each other. To re-establish the relationship that existed in World War II. **Group WY**

Expectations and values

As well as understanding the historical situation within which a friendship developed, Silver (1990) argues that it is important to understand the values and expectations of each friendship paradigm. In relation to this study, a relevant research question that arose from the friendship literature was:

What are the Timorese expectations and values of the Friendship Agreements?

In order to understand Timorese expectations and values of the Friendship Agreements friendships, seventeen Friendship Agreement committees and six government officials were asked, “What are the purposes of the Friendship Agreements?” Their responses were then analysed and compared to the friendship attributes that were discussed earlier.

Group expectations

Statements made about the purposes of the Friendship Agreements by members of the seventeen Timorese committees incorporate the following attributes: relationship/friendship, cooperation in development, support/help, activities, reciprocity, shared knowledge and trust (see Figure 7.3 below)⁷².

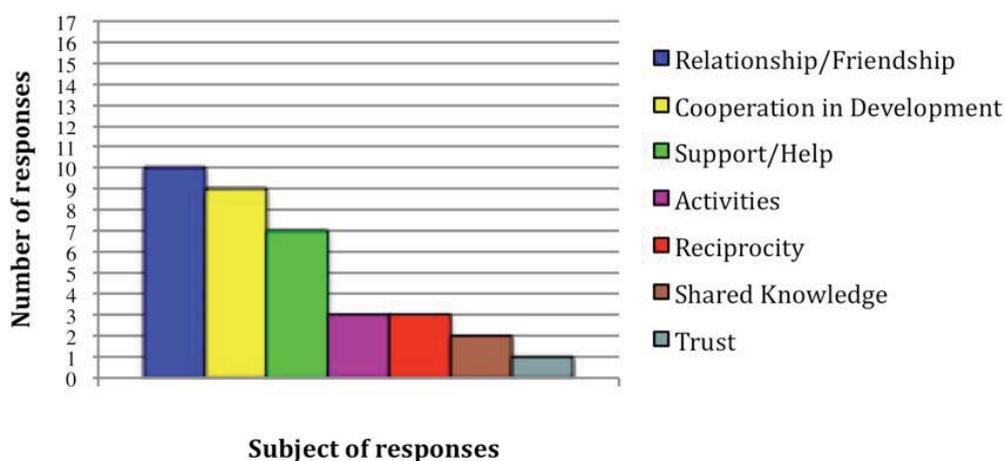


Figure 7.3 Group responses from 17 Timorese committees about the purposes of Friendship Agreements (incorporating the views of 158 participants)

⁷² The unit of analysis in Figure 7.3 is the group. Group responses were obtained through a process of consensus. If a group mentioned a particular purpose of the Friendship Agreement in their summary, then it scored a 1 (whether they mention the purpose once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 10 means 10 groups indicated this purpose rather than a few groups mentioning this purpose 10 times in total. See Appendix 7 for a full list of the group statements relating to the purpose of the Friendship Agreements.

The Timorese Friendship Agreement committees' main expectation of the Friendship Agreements is that they are relationships (friendships) that enable Timorese communities to collaborate and cooperate with other people in order to bring about improvements in their communities.

To create a strong relationship between 2 communities in order to develop our life. **Group NQ**

With a good relationship and collaboration between 2 cities, we are able to develop better. **Group CF**

To strengthen the friendship relationship that exists through establishing various activities (such as physical projects, capacity building, comparative studies and exchanges). The intention of the Friendship City is cooperation in order to see the development of the nation in the future. **Group KA**

To involve the 2 cities in development together. **Group DK**

The intention of the Friendship City is to give attention, support and cooperation. **Group HC**

The intention of the Friendship City is to cooperate in development areas such as: Education, Health, Agriculture, Infrastructure, etc. **Group KN**

Although these responses indicate that most of the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees expect the Friendship Agreements to be a collaboration rather than a form of handout, a few Friendship Agreement committees expressed a more one-sided expectation.

To give help to their friends in Timor. **Group KJ**

Help from people in Australia to the people of Timor-Leste. **Group HB**

Since reciprocity ranked so highly in the friendship attributes listed by the Timorese, it might be expected that reciprocity would be one of the most common Timorese expectations of the Friendship Agreements. However, while several groups expressed a desire for reciprocity

(i.e. “We want to give as well as receive.” **Group DK**), only three of the seventeen Friendship Agreement committees that were interviewed expressed an expectation that the Friendship Agreements would be reciprocal in some way.

To help each other to strengthen the unity between groups through the interest of the groups. **Group NR**

To teach one another about Timorese/Australian culture **Group CB**

We see it as people being good friends and helping and caring for each other. **Group WY**

Individual expectations

Statements made about the purposes of the Friendship Agreements by the six Timorese government officials that were interviewed incorporate the following attributes: relationship/friendship, support/help, reciprocity, solidarity, cooperation in development, shared knowledge, cultural exchange, trade, raise awareness and social change (see Figure 7.4 below)⁷³.

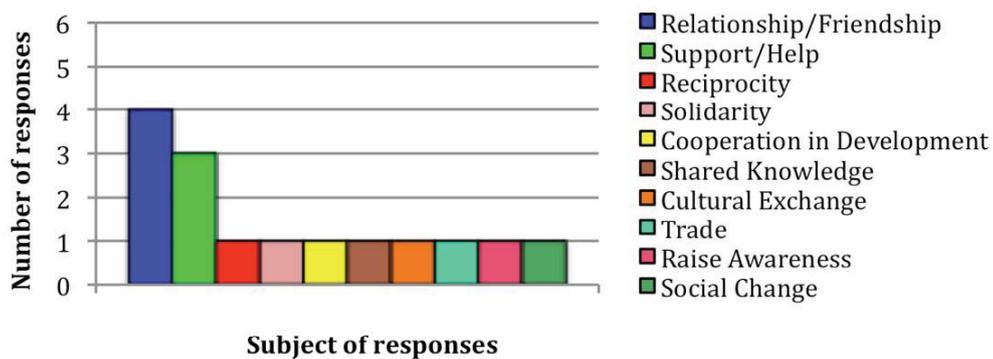


Figure 7.4 Individual responses from 6 government officials about the purposes of Friendship Agreements

⁷³ The unit of analysis in Figure 7.4 is the individual. If an individual mentioned a particular purpose in their summary, then it scored a 1 (whether they mention the purpose once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 4 means 4 individuals indicated this purpose rather than 1 or 2 individuals mentioning this purpose 4 times in total. See Appendix 8 for a full list of the individual statements relating to the purpose of the Friendship Agreements.

The expectations of the six government officials varied more than the expectations of the seventeen Friendship Agreement committees. The Timorese government officials' main expectation of the Friendship Agreements appears to be that they are relationships (friendships) that provide support to the Timorese communities.

The main purpose is, as I told you before, that we don't want ... the friendship that we feel in the Second World War is disappeared. Second is, from the friendship, we feel we can get more support. **MX**, interview

The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is ... to maintain a good relation[ship] and to develop a good relation[ship] and to coordinate and to promote the interests of both parties. **FP**, interview

I guess, the short-term purpose would be building relationships. I think the purpose would be ... support. Supporting Timor in regards to this ... economic, social development. I guess, the short-term purpose would be ... supporting development - grassroots development projects but the long-term purposes would be on a greater scale [i.e.] economic support. **DP**, interview

You know, based on my ... when I learned our history, our background, historical background ... my father say that in the Second World War we have ... a good cooperation between Australian soldiers and Timorese. And we don't need that history, our histories to stop there. OK? We need to continue and remember that we have a good relationship, not only now but before ... First, I can say that now we are independent. We are ... an independent country. But that's not mean that we must isolate ourselves. Keep ourselves to ... No! We must have a relationship with all nations. Many countries have government-to-government relationships - much better community and community. We have a historical background and ... geographically, you know, we ... our position is a bit in ... Indonesia and Australia, yeah. No reason to object ... to object if we ... if community from both sides want to make good relations. **SB**, interview

However, although a relationship of support is the most common expectation of the Friendship Agreements given by the government officials, other expectations tended to vary from person to person.

OK the purpose here is – the bottom line ... is sharing knowledge. **BB**, interview

First, we have to have a code of conduct. That's the one thing we have to clarify – what is the purpose. We document the friendship. And the second, is the awareness of the people ... to introduce what it means. **TX**, interview

I think the purpose would be cultural exchange, cultural understanding. **DP**, interview

The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is to help each other ... and to coordinate and to promote the interests of both parties. **FP**, interview

Sometimes ... the government, politically they make decisions, they make decisions between ... Timor-Leste government and Australia government ... they make decisions. But these decisions [sometimes] give negative impact to our community. Who can help? Who can help, yeah? If there is in fact a negative impact effect [on] our community here in Timor-Leste, I think, who can raise this issue in Australia. Maybe I think the Australian community can raise this issue... to build some pressure to your government [while] in Timor-Leste we give some pressure to our government. That's maybe very political. **SB**, interview

Overall expectations and values

Whereas the government officials' value of support within friendships generally matched with their primary expectation of the Friendship Agreements (a relationship that provides support), the Timorese value of reciprocity within friendships was rarely replicated in the expectations of the Friendship Agreements friendships by either the government officials or the Friendship Agreement committees.

However, just as trying to set up a globally applicable definition of friendship would probably set up boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, trying to set up a one-size-fits-all definition of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements – with a set of particular values and expectations – would limit the versatility of the agreements. The Friendship Agreements are part of a “new type of sociality in a globalising but complex and contradictory world

whose cultural and social boundaries are constantly being transformed” (Bell & Coleman, 1999a: 16).

Nevertheless, whether the values and expectations of the Friendship Agreements vary from group to group, clearly communicating the values and expectations is important. As noted in chapter three, good, open communication may be essential for intercultural friendship formation since people from different cultures share fewer common norms and values about how to interact (Kudo & Simkin, 2003), and friendships are likely to benefit from a deeper understanding of what friendship means to individuals from each culture (Pahl, 2000; Vorauer & Sakamoto, 2006; Wilson, 1993). So if friendship really is a central focus of the Friendship Agreements, establishing good forms of communication and finding out what friendship means to both parties and communicating the values and expectations of the friendships may be essential for their long-term success.

Influences

However, while friendships are inherently social relationships that are constructed by the actions of individuals, they are influenced by the economic reality and social conventions (such as power structures and gender) of the time and place in which they are located (Adams & Allan, 1998; Allan, 1989, 1998; Chambers, 2006). In relation to this study, a relevant research question that arose from the friendship literature was:

How have the economic and social backgrounds of the Timorese communities impacted on the Friendship Agreements?

Economic Influences

As stated in chapter two, Timor-Leste is the poorest nation in Asia with a per capita income of about US\$370 per year. Approximately 40 percent of the population live below the poverty line on less than US\$0.55 per person per day. Although twenty four percent of the population is urban (mainly in Dili and Baucau), the vast majority of the population live in small isolated hamlets comprising of a few houses and live by way of subsistence farming or fishing. The following comments by Timorese Friendship Agreement committees show some of the ways that the Timorese economic reality impacts on the agreements:

We don't have our own transport, if people come to visit, they have to hire their own car – we are sometimes embarrassed if our car breaks down. What will people think?
Group WY

We have an interest in sending staff to attend training or some courses in Australia but there are no financial resources, and a lot of staff cannot speak English. That is why this programme hasn't been implemented yet. **Group CF**

When the [Timorese] community members arrive as volunteers they often arrive late because they are busy in their garden, looking after cows, etc. **Group YL**

Tools are difficult if they need electricity. Electricity is only on from dusk to 11pm.
Group YL

We have a phone but no money for phone cards. **Group TG (also expressed by Groups WY and WB)**

There is no internet, no phone reception and no good postal service. **Group YL (also expressed by Groups LZ and NQ)**

There is an imbalance between Australia and Timor-Leste. They are well developed and we don't have much. It is difficult for us to ask for things. **Group CF**

Nobody [from our community] has been to Australia yet. **Group NQ**

In relation to communication difficulties – The Australian community want a list showing costs for scholarships and literacy classes. How are we going to send them a list? There is no phone reception and no fax machine. **Group LZ**

A family from Australia came to Y to help the community learn how to make bread. However, there is already a lot of bread made in Y and the market for bread is not good so we would rather have a programme for planting vegetables. **Group WY**

They sent 110 sewing machines. However, the problem with the sewing machines is that they are electric and so when they are sent to the villages they just sit around looking nice but can't be used. **Group HB**

Although friendships are often portrayed as non-hierarchical, status-free, reciprocal relationships between equals, the friendship literature points out that context matters. It is apparent from the previous statements that the Timorese are very aware of the economic differences between Australia and Timor-Leste and the ways that these economic differences have impacted, and continue to impact, on the Friendship Agreement relationships. Timor-Leste's economic reality impacts on the Friendship Agreement relationships in terms of: communication, transport, donations, frequency and reciprocity of visitations, and choices about, and participation in, specific Friendship Agreement activities. However, besides these physical impacts, a significant impact appeared to be a sense of shame felt by many Timorese due to their inability to reciprocate within the relationship in the way they would like.

We only receive and we never give back. To complete each other as a friend, we want to give as well as receive. **Group DK (also expressed by Group YL)**

They bring a lot of things for us. We give nothing to them. We accept each other and work together. We didn't ask them to bring everything, we feel a bit ashamed because we don't want to keep asking everything from them. They always ask us what are your priorities. I don't want to tell them all of them because we have so many. You need to look around and see what the priorities are. **Group WY**

There are no good things we give to our partners because they are advanced but what we can give are words that have no value and those words are "Thank you". **Group NQ, (also expressed by Groups KA, KJ, DK, XS, VY and NR)**

Social Influences

Besides being influenced by the economic reality of the time and place within which they are formed, friendships are also influenced by social conventions such as power structures and gender (Adams & Allan, 1998; Allan, 1989, 1998; Chambers, 2006). The hierarchical and patriarchal structure of Timorese society, mentioned in chapter two, impact on the Friendship Agreement relationships in a variety of ways.

Power structures

The power structure in Timorese society has a number of different levels. As stated in chapter two, the Timorese constitution stipulates that Timor-Leste will have two tiers of government (the national government and local municipal governments), but until recently the power has remained mainly centralised in the capital Dili. Timor-Leste is currently changing from this centrally administered system (with 13 Districts, 65 sub-districts, 442 sucos (villages) and about 2500 aldeias (hamlets)) to a more decentralised local government system, which will have 13 municipalities⁷⁴ and the same number of sucos and aldeias. Although each Timorese Friendship Agreement committee is unique, they are generally made up of some government representatives (from areas such as district/sub-district administration, health, education, agriculture, sanitation, community development, etc) together with some community representatives (from specific interest groups such as church, youth, women, the elected suco chiefs, NGOs, etc). They are regarded within Timor-Leste as the appropriate Friendship Agreement decision-making bodies.

⁷⁴ Based on the old districts with most sub-district offices outside the district capitals retained as service centres.

The following comments indicate that some Australian groups have by-passed some of the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees and dealt with proposals that came directly from community members or groups.

The structure of the commission has to involve the representatives from the local authority and the community. At least we have to organise together – Do we need the support of the local government or NOT? If people come with money, they can run a project but this is different. **Group HB**

The design of the plan for development has to come through the commission. We would like programme/project proposals from the communities, youth, women, sub-district etc to come through the commission for approval before sending to X in Australia. **Group KN**

We have established a commission here and we agree that proposals should come from the villages to the commission but [the Australian community] is still receiving proposals directly from the community and approving them to an NGO in the community and then we don't know what is going on. **Group HC**

We would like to ask our [Australian] friends to work through the [Timorese] elected commission. **Group KJ**

The way that Friendship Agreement friendships have been embedded within the Timorese power structure makes these friendships different to friendships between ordinary individuals. Unlike two private individual friends, the Friendship Agreement friends need to seek approval from the appropriate committee about all decisions that relate to the friendship. Australian Friendship groups that ignore the Timorese Friendship Agreement power structure may cause unintended friction, not just between the Australian group and the Timorese group but also between different members of the Timorese community.

Gender

As well as the power structure, the impact of gender on the Friendship Agreement relationships has been marked, particularly in regards to membership of the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees. Although women fill 29 percent of the seats in the national parliament, that level of female representation is not generally reflected in the district/sub-districts, sucos or aldeias. Since women are poorly represented in district/sub-district, suco and aldeia leadership positions, the government and community representatives on the Friendship Agreement committees are predominantly men. Of the 158 Friendship Agreement committee members that were interviewed 22 were women.

As a female researcher, I was very conscious of the gender imbalance within the Friendship Agreement decision-making structure. After the second group interview I wrote,

There were about 14 men and me. I became very, very conscious of being the only woman that was a part of this group. The only other females present served us and cleaned up ... I have never been made to be aware so much about being female (Field Notes 7/04/06).

When asked about gender participation in the Friendship Agreement committees, one of the government officials stated that:

The women's representative **MUST**⁷⁵ be on the committee. Regardless of what, they have to be on the committee to speak on behalf of women, you know. What their needs are and so on. And then when you have projects, the committee then make decisions that say that, "OK, the women's group will present a project about a women's centre or whatever and then they'll make the decision that this is a priority. Because it has to be on a priority basis, on a need basis ... So, [the committee] carry the load. If they do it wrong then they take responsibility for it. If they do it right they get credit for it. **BB**, interview

⁷⁵ His emphasis

This indicates that each committee must have at least one woman elected as a member. However, it also implies that so few women are likely to become members of the Friendship Agreement committees by way of the power structure described above, that a rule had to be made to ensure the inclusion of at least one woman on each committee. The majority of the 17 Friendship Agreement committees that were interviewed had between 9 and 18 official members⁷⁶ and men predominated in all cases. Eight of the 17 committees did not have any women present at the interview. Although this does not necessarily mean that these committees had no female member(s) as some members were not able to attend the meeting due to prior commitments, it does highlight the imbalance between the genders in the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees.

Comments made about women by the 17 interviewed Timorese Friendship Agreement committees fell into four categories: past activities, successes, plans and recommendations. The 8 committees that did not have any women present made a total of five comments about women⁷⁷. Two comments were about past activities:

Sewing training for groups of women [carried out]. **Group DK**

A women's group got the sewing machines, material and typewriters etc. **Group WB**

Two comments were about plans:

There has been discussion about fixing the women's centre in Y but we are waiting on the women in Y to put a few pages together of their plans for the centre. Estimates will then be sent to X. **Group CB**

Another plan is in the area of health. We would like to build a house, close to the clinic, for women to give birth in and stay for a few days after giving birth. **Group YL**

⁷⁶ Although the smallest committee comprised of 5 members and the largest committee comprised of 36 members.

⁷⁷ 3 of the men-only groups made no comments about women and the other 5 groups made one comment each.

And one was a recommendation:

Exchanges between the two communities. Women's exchanges a high priority. **Group TG**

On the other hand, the 9 committees that had at least one woman present at the interview made a total of 24 comments about women⁷⁸. The comments about past activities and plans were generally similar to those made by the men-only committees, although some mixed-gender committees also mentioned women that had received training of some kind in Australia. Two of the mixed-gender committees also specifically mentioned women in relation to the perceived successes of the agreements.

An important success that we see is improvement of the literacy amongst the women. **Group LZ**

The tails from vulnerable women from [our area] got promotion and access to market. **Group XS**

However, it was in the area of recommendations that the mixed-gender and men-only committees differed the most. Whereas in the 8 committees that only had men present, one recommendation specifically mentioned women's issues, in the 9 mixed-gender committees twelve individual recommendations were made that specifically mentioned women's issues. These twelve recommendations were eventually reduced to a total of eight group recommendations since similar recommendations that came from the same committee were combined at the request of the committees. For example, in group NQ the following two recommendations were made by the two women that were present:

⁷⁸ 11 comments about past activities, 2 comments about successes, 3 comments about plans and 8 group recommendations.

We would like to ask our friends in X to help provide (facilitate) training for the women in this commission especially relating to women's issues. **Woman from Group NQ**

We would like to ask our Friendship City to help establish training in order to increase women's capacity (for example in leadership areas). **Woman from Group NQ**

These recommendations were combined to make the following recommendation:

We would like to ask our friends in X to help provide (facilitate) training for women in order to increase women's capacity especially relating to women's issues and leadership. **Group NQ**

The number of recommendations relating to women may have been influenced by the method of data collection. Unlike comments about past activities, successes and plans (which were all discussed in small groups before being written down, presented to the wider group and then endorsed or amended), recommendations were written by each individual and presented to the wider group individually. The wider group then decided whether each recommendation should be endorsed or rejected, and if endorsed whether it should be combined with similar recommendations. Whether the presence of a female researcher influenced the endorsement of the recommendations about women's issues or not, it would appear, even from this small sample, that having women present at the Friendship Agreement meetings helped raise the awareness of women's issues.

The studies by Silver (1990), Oliker (1998 cited in Allan, 1998), Marks (1998 cited in Allan, 1998), Sheets & Lugar (2005), and Wellman (1998 cited in Allan, 1998) discussed in chapter three all showed how altered social and economic conditions influenced patterns of friendship. The particular way that the social and economic conditions within Timor have helped to shape the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement friendships may be unique to

these friendships but it reinforces the importance of social and economic conditions to friendships.

Communication

As mentioned earlier, Kudo and Simkin (2003) suggest that good, open communication may be essential for intercultural friendship formation since people from different cultures share fewer common norms and values about how to interact. The research questions pertinent to this study that arose from the review of literature on friendship were:

Have good, open communication channels been established between Friendship Agreement participants? What are the difficulties faced in creating good, open communication channels? What are some of the strategies suggested and/or used by the Timorese to overcome these difficulties?

Although good, open communication may be essential for intercultural friendship formation, the focus groups and government officials identified communication as the biggest challenge facing the Friendship Agreements. Thirteen of the 17 committees and five of the 6 government officials stated that communication between the Timorese and the Australians was a major challenge. Many committees also stated that internal communication (between the Timorese) was also a challenge. Establishing good, open communication between the Australian and the Timorese Friendship Agreement commissions has been difficult for a number of reasons. The following quotes indicate that the first reason is to do with language.

Language [is a challenge]. English is limited. We need an interpreter and there is no money to pay an interpreter. **Group WY (Also expressed by Groups NR, KN, WB, CF, KA, LZ, CB, XS, KJ and TG)**

If they don't have a translator then misunderstandings can happen. **Group KJ**

English is generally the language used by the Australian participants but not many Timorese participants speak English, and those that do speak English often indicated that they do not feel confident communicating in English. The Timorese committees also indicated that very few Australians that are involved in the Friendship Agreements speak Tetum, Portuguese or Indonesian (the other working languages of Timor-Leste).

The second reason is to do with the availability and/or cost of communication infrastructure (such as telephone, fax, internet and/or postal services) in the Timorese communities. Many Timorese communities do not have access to the internet (**Groups LZ, KN, NR, WY, YL, TG, XS, CB**), most communities do not have a postal service (“There is no good postal service” **Group WY**) and some communities cannot get mobile phone reception (**Groups LZ, YL and NQ**). However, for many of the communities that have mobile phone reception and/or access to the internet, the cost of using them means that they can rarely be used to communicate with their Australian counterparts.

Telephone is expensive and there is a lack of financial support to buy phone cards so members of the committee have to pay for the phone cards with their own money and that is limited. **Group WY**

To communicate there is internet in Y but it costs US\$3.00 per hour and if we want to use the phone we have to buy our own phone cards. **Group KN**

We have a phone but no money for phone cards. **Group TG**

Also, having access to the internet or telephone does not always help if the Australian and Timorese committees lack the ability to communicate in a common language.

Communication really only happens when the people from X come to visit – internet is available in the health centre but we feel that our lack of English prevents us from communicating well. **Group KJ**

Strategies to improve communication

When asked to give recommendations about how to make the Friendship Agreements stronger in the future, many recommendations were made about how to improve communication. The three most common recommendations about improving communication were about visiting each other regularly, language learning and improving communication infrastructure.

We recommend having regular visits [including exchange and comparative study visits] both ways. Visits help to build friendship and understanding. **Group HB (also expressed by Groups KJ, VY, DK, CF, KA, NR, WY, YL, HC, KN, TG and CB)**

We would like to improve communication with each other. Practically, this means that, friends who come to Timor-Leste should try to learn Tetum and when the Timorese go to Australia they should try to learn English so that we can communicate better. **Group WB (also expressed by Groups VY, CB, XS, KJ and HB)**

We would like to ask the Timorese government or the Friendship City to establish a communication system [in the Timorese communities] in order to be able to communicate better [e.g. internet, phone and/or fax]. **Group TG (also expressed by Groups HB, XS, CB)**

Although the importance of face-to-face meetings for the maintenance of friendships continues to be debated within the friendship literature (Cocking & Matthews, 2001; Urry, 2003), it appears that most Timorese participants consider regular face-to-face ‘meetings’ (visits) important for the maintenance of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement relationships.

These visits help us to understand each other’s habits, customs, traditions and cultures so that we can respect each other and make our relationship better in the future. **Group WB (also express by Group VY)**

Both Friendship cities must sit together to discuss and identify the problems and areas of need so they can support each other based on the capacity of each city. **Group CF**

It’s better to sit and talk. It’s more good for the vision. Telephone is good but ... it’s more good we sit down, yeah. Let’s do our traditional thing. Sit, not busy and we talk. **TX**, interview

However, besides learning each other's language(s), improving telecommunications and having frequent two-way visits, many groups also suggested practical ways in which cultural issues could be communicated in order to build understanding and strengthen the friendships.

In order to have a good relationship in the areas of culture, it is necessary to publish a book with information from both sides, about their culture, to strengthen the friendship.

Group KA

Examples of things that can be done with groups coming to Timor-Leste from Australia and groups going to Australia from Timor-Leste include: Sports teams exchanges; Music; Dance and other cultural items such as tais; Food, coffee' exhibition. **Group WB (also express by Group VY)**

We would like to ask the community in [X, Australia] and [our] community to establish comparative studies especially in its traditions and cultures which can contribute to the strengthening of the relationship of the 2 cities. **Group NQ**

We need to establish guidelines between two friendship groups. These guidelines should include things such as cultural information to help us understand each other's culture. **Group WY**

According to [our] custom/culture, there needs to be an exchange of land for land between [our community] and [X in Australia]. On this land, the Timorese will build a cultural centre in [X] and [the Australians] will build a cultural centre in [our community] as a sign of a concrete friendship relationship. These cultural centres should include a Friendship City office, communication facilities (such as internet and phone) and an information centre in each city. **Group KA (also expressed by Group HC)**

It was mentioned in chapter three that, in face-to-face meetings, much of the communication is carried out through non-verbals (such as eye contact, facial expressions, body language, status, turn taking, voice intonation, etc). Improving communication through the identification and communication of common cultural practices can help to minimise misunderstandings that occur due to misinterpretation. For instance, using the example that was discussed in chapter three, a person coming from a culture where eye contact is

considered important and polite would probably try to minimise eye contact if they were informed that eye contact within the other culture was considered disrespectful.

The numerous comments about, and strategies on how to improve communication show that the Timorese consider good communication essential for the ongoing success of the Friendship Agreements. Communication between the Australian groups and the Timorese groups could be improved by way of two-way language learning, an improvement in the telecommunications infrastructure, regular visits and an exchange of cultural information. However, the improved communication needs to be both external (between the Timorese and the Australians) and internal (between the Timorese and Timorese).

Impacts

Private or Public?

As stated in chapter three, since a friendship can instil a strong sense of loyalty once it has been established, it has the potential to disrupt the social order and change community attitudes and behaviour (Friedman, 1993; Lewis, 1993; Pahl, 2000, 2002). So, societies tend to deal with friendship by either treating friendship as an individual and private matter or by trying to incorporate a weaker form of friendship into its social institutions. In relation to this study, the relevant research questions that arose from the friendship literature were:

Are the Friendship Agreement friendships private or partly public? What do the people in authority think of these friendships? How might they change community attitudes and behaviours?

Since Friendship Agreements are agreements (often formalised through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding) between Timorese communities and Australian communities, they are a type of public friendship.

Friendship Agreements are based more on a relationship with a country. **DP**, interview

As far as the Timorese are concerned, the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements are not simply private friendships between individuals. They are a form of friendship that has been incorporated within the social structure (i.e. the community leadership structure).

We have established a [friendship] commission here and we agree that proposals should come from the villages to the commission. **Group HC (also expressed by Groups KN and KJ)**

The structure of the [friendship] commission has to involve the representatives from the local authority and the community. **Group HB (also expressed by BB, interview)**

People in authority

Despite widespread Timorese community support, there appears to be some confusion at the national level in Timor-Leste about the Friendship Agreement friendships. The views of people in positions of national authority in Timor-Leste range from enthusiastic and supportive —

The government gives full support to this friendship relationship between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste. (Prime Minister X. Gusmão, 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

We want this friendship relationship based on community-to-community relationship as they give friendship from their heart – with no interference from the government. But we [the government] want to support these relationships. (Minister of State, Senhor A. Leite, 2008, pers. comm., 20 June)

— to suspicious.

There is a lot of confusion at the national level. There are happy people on the ground.
DP, interview

What I need to warn you is that there are people ... people in the decision-making, who ... suspect these friendship aspects. They think ... no, they suspect that Australia will colonise East Timor! **BB**, interview

We found some negative opinion, yeah. (*In the ministry or in the community or both?*) No, not in the community. Not also in the community but we have ... a contradiction of opinion. Some people said “Ah, I don’t know what is the interest ... the political interest.” That’s one. And also, the second one ... our, some leaders, not all leaders but some leaders say, “You must be careful.” Yeah. They said, “We must be careful because now you make friendships between two sides – The Timorese community and other communities – and you should know that ... they have ... motivation.” **SB**, interview

As noted earlier in this chapter, Australia’s previous abandonment of Timor-Leste, their close military and economic ties with Indonesia and their manoeuvring over the Timor Gap Treaty led to a certain amount of scepticism on the part of some of the Timorese about the motives of Australians wanting to form the Friendship Agreements. Since the Friendship Agreements are public friendships that have been embedded mainly within the Timorese community leadership structure rather than the national leadership structure, the people at the national level who have had little to do with the Friendship Agreements may continue to be sceptical about the motives of the Australian participants and the benefits of the agreements to Timor-Leste.

On the other hand, the Timorese people in authority at the district/sub-district/municipal level on the Friendship Agreement committees were generally enthusiastic about the agreements. Although, as noted earlier, a few committees expressed disappointment about some Friendship Agreement decisions that had been made without the prior approval of the

particular Timorese Friendship Agreement committee, all the committees want the friendships to go on into the future. However, there appears to be a desire to maintain these friendships within the local system of hierarchy in order to minimise disputes within the community.

Changing community attitudes and behaviours

The following statements made by Timorese participants indicate that Friendship Agreement friendships may help to change community attitudes and behaviours (both in Australia and Timor-Leste) through an ongoing exposure to new ideas.

I think it is very hard work for us because first thing – we have to change the mentality ... from yesterday and today because ... what happened here is too many issues. And the issues compete with each other ... pulling the patience from people. And ... uh ... from the small things like a friendship that we build now, I think it can increase the level of ... peace and stability and to minimize the risk, you know. Timor's welcome of people from outside. That's the point. **FP**, interview

People in East Timor do learn better if they're exposed to it - a physical exposure. You kind of think – Wow, My God – this is what it is. So you learn. But ... you cannot use it as a replica – it doesn't work. But ... you take the base elements to adjust to the local needs, the culture, the customs and so on. **BB**, interview

Civic education (such as sanitation) to improve the health of the community. If we can educate ourselves in better health practices, and educate the people, then when others from the Friendship Agreement come they will see progress in our community. Civic education should come from within Timor-Leste so that there is not a misunderstanding of cultures. Even educating the community that we are friends with these people, (and that is why they come to help us), so we need to participate – this is also civic education. Timor-Leste has come from different colonial experiences of being dominated. First by the Portuguese (do as you are told) and then the Indonesians (we ask and ask and ask and they give) but now we are independent we have to address how we operate and think about how we do things in the future. **Group NY**

[Friendship Agreements] can help change a whole country's opinions and perspectives. **DP**, interview

As people become exposed to new ideas, attitudes and behaviours change. These changes can be both positive and negative. However, since the Friendship Agreement friendships vary in the same way that individual friendships vary, the impacts of the Friendship Agreements are likely to vary from place to place.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed friendship in relation to the Friendship Agreements and looked in particular at how the choices, meaning, background, values, expectations, social influences, communication and impacts of friendship relate to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. In relation to choice, although the extent to which choice plays a part in friendships continues to be debated (Doyle & Smith, 2002; Jeske, 1997; Spencer & Pahl, 2006), it appears that the Timorese participation in the Australian-Timorese Friendship Agreement friendships is, to some extent, not the result of simply obeying instructions from leaders or an act of desperation but an endorsement of a choice made by previous generations.

Recent friendship literature points out that, as a prototype concept (with a 'fuzzy' set of attributes) friendship can be contained within a broad category but no single definition can be given that will cover all variations (Allan, 1989; Bruckner & Knaup, 1993; Fehr, 1996; Lynch, 2005; Webb, 2003). Given the number of responses about relationships, reciprocity and support that were made by the Timorese participants, it seems that having a reciprocal, supportive relationship is the most common and significant meaning given to friendship in Timor-Leste, particularly in relation to the Friendship Agreements.

Since the meaning of friendship varies from place to place and from time to time, Silver (1990) argues that it is important to understand the historical context within which it developed and the expectations and values placed on the relationship. The history between the Australian people and the Timorese people has impacted on the Friendship Agreement friendships in both positive (such as the re-establishment of a historical relationship) and negative ways (such as scepticism about the motives and misunderstanding about the meaning). In regards to the expectations and values, the government officials' value of support within friendships generally matched with their primary expectation of the Friendship Agreements (a relationship that provides support). However, the Timorese value of reciprocity within friendships was rarely replicated in the expectations of the Friendship Agreements friendships.

Friendships, while inherently social relationships that are constructed by the actions of individuals, are influenced by the economic reality and social conventions of the time and place in which they are located (Adams & Allan, 1998; Allan, 1989, 1998; Chambers, 2006). Timor-Leste's economic reality impacts on the Friendship Agreement relationships in both physical (communication, transport, donations, frequency of visits, etc) and psychological (the sense of shame felt by many Timorese due to their inability to reciprocate within the relationship in the way they would like) ways. The Timorese power structures and gender issues affect the Friendship Agreement friendships through the make-up and processes of the Timorese Friendship Agreement decision-making bodies.

Kudo and Simkin (2003) suggest that good, open communication may be essential for intercultural friendship formation since people from different cultures share fewer common norms and values about how to interact. According to the Timorese, good communication is essential for the ongoing success of the Friendship Agreements and communication could be improved by way of two-way language learning, an improvement in the telecommunications infrastructure, regular visits and an exchange of cultural information. However, the improved communication needs to be both external (between the Timorese and the Australians) and internal (between the Timorese and Timorese).

Since a friendship can instil a strong sense of loyalty once it has been established, it has the potential to disrupt the social order and change community attitudes and behaviour (Friedman, 1993; Lewis, 1993; Pahl, 2000, 2002). The Friendship Agreement friendships have been embedded within the Timorese community leadership structure in order to help control the rate and types of changes. However, since the Friendship Agreement friendships vary in the same way that individual friendships vary, the impacts of the Friendship Agreements are likely to vary from place to place.

The implications of the findings in this chapter will be discussed further in chapter eleven. The next chapter will present and analyse Friendship Agreement rationale, contribution and sustainability discourses in relation to the international municipal link literature.

Chapter 8

Rationales, Contributions and Sustainability

This chapter presents and analyses Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement documents and statements made by Timorese participants in relation to three of the five research questions that arose from the international municipal link literature review (see chapter four)⁷⁹. In particular, this chapter considers (1) the possible effects on the Friendship Agreements of the rationale discourses found within the signed MoUs; (2) the possible effects of MoU rationales on Timorese friendship discourses and ‘purpose of the Friendship Agreement’ discourses (from chapter seven); (3) how the contribution and sustainability discourses of the Timorese participants relate to similar North-South international municipal link discourses; and (4) the impacts of the different types of Friendship Agreement MoUs on these discourses.

Rationale discourses

As mentioned in chapter four, the rationales for North-South international municipal links have varied over time. The main ‘waves’ of North-South rationale discourses identified in the literature were *peaceful relations* (where the dominant terms emphasise friendship, peace, relationship, partnership, cultural understanding and exchange), *political activism* (where terms such as solidarity, human rights, political issues, environment, liberation and

⁷⁹ The documents include the Statement of Principles (see Appendix 9), and thirteen signed Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs. As stated in chapter six, although there are currently more than thirteen signed MoUs, this research is limited to the seventeen Timorese groups that were interviewed, of which thirteen had signed formal MoUs. The thirteen MoUs have been classified using the letters “A” through to “N” (omitting the letter “I”, as the use of this letter may cause confusion). See Appendix 10 for the wording of these MoUs. However, please note that, in order to maintain confidentiality, Australian place names have been replaced with the letter X and Timorese place names have been replaced with the letter Y.

freedom are highlighted) and *assisted development* (where the dominant terms accentuate enabling, expert, expertise, improvement, empowerment, transfer, information sharing, technical information, good governance, enhancement, strengthening, and capacity building)⁸⁰ (Hoetjes, 2009; Spence & Ninnes, 2007).

The research questions pertinent to this study that arose from the review of literature on rationales for municipal links were:

What rationale discourses are found in the signed Friendship Agreement Memoranda of Understanding? How do these discourses relate to the international municipal link discourses? What consequences (either intentional or unintentional) could result from the use of these discourses?

Since the dominant words within each rationale ‘wave’ appear to relate closely to the desired outcomes of the municipal link, in order to identify the rationale discourses within the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, each MoU was examined for statements relating to their desired outcomes. Although the MoUs do not include the term ‘rationale’ or ‘desired outcome’, each MoU was examined for sentences that include information about what they want to achieve and I have grouped these together under rationales.

Analysis of the thirteen MoUs shows that the rationale discourses used within the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements relate quite closely to the North-South rationale ‘waves’ identified in the international municipal links literature. Two of the thirteen MoUs (B and D) appear to reflect the early *peaceful relations* international municipal link style discussed in chapter four with outcomes that are applicable to both parties highlighted

⁸⁰ At the same time that the *assisted development* rationale discourse began for North-South links, the *economic benefits* rationale discourse began for North-North links.

through the use of words such as: exchange, explore, link, values, promote, experience, share, partnership and friendship.

We, ‘The Parties’ declare our joint commitment to: a productive partnership built on mutual respect and friendship ... The underlying principles of the partnership are ... understandings that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities ... This MoU commits the two parties to: an exchange of knowledge and skills; exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange; maintaining frequent communication between parties; [and] consulting widely with their community. (Excerpts from MoU ‘B’,)

The primary goal of the relationship is friendship and mutual respect between the two communities. The initiatives created under the Friendship Relationship will promote educational, cultural, economic, humanitarian and sporting links. These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y. (MoU D, paragraph 4)

The *peaceful relations*-style discourse found within these two MoUs not only places the Timorese and the Australians participants on an equal footing (by ensuring that all the desired outcomes are applicable to both parties equally), but encourages participants to get to “know and understand each other on a personal level” (Weyreter, 2003). Since the people-to-people contact is one of the most commonly cited successes of international municipal links (see for instance Bontenbal, 2009b; Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006), the connections made between the Australian and Timorese participants are likely to be very good for those people that get to participate. However, those people that miss out may feel resentment. Agreements written in a *peaceful relations* style provide flexibility in how the agreement is manifest and yet their flexibility may make evaluating them challenging. For instance, since friendships mean different things to different people (as discussed in detail in chapter seven), what criteria should be used to evaluate, ‘the friendship’, ‘the mutual respect’ or ‘the goodwill’ identified as primary goals in MoU D?

One MoU (A) appears to reflect the *political solidarity* international municipal link style of the 1970s and 1980s with an emphasis on democracy, freedom, aspirations, control and ‘working with’ (solidarity).

In recognition of the aspirations of the people of Timor-Leste, and in particular of Y, to build their own democracy and take control of their future, a Friendship Relationship was established between Y and X on 4 May 2000. Now, five years later, we seek to reaffirm our commitment to that relationship and the principles and values on which it is based. (MoU A, paragraph 1)

We agree that we will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. We will ensure that our efforts are directed towards working with the people of Y so that they are able to achieve the goals they have for their own community. (MoU A, dot points 1 and 2)

Unlike the *peaceful relations* discourse, which applied all desired outcomes equally to both parties, there is a separation of the Australian and Timorese roles within the *political solidarity* rationale discourse found in MoU A. While the pronouns used within MoU A would indicate that the Friendship Agreement was written by a member (or members) of the Australian community (and later signed by the a member (or members) of the Timorese community), the Australians acknowledge the right of the Timorese to ‘build their own democracy and take control of their future’ and they (the Australians) pledge to work with the Timorese so that the Timorese can achieve their goals. So, although the Australian community identifies with, stands in solidarity with, and offers assistance to the Timorese community (if assistance is requested), the *political solidarity* discourse found in this MoU places control squarely in the hands of the Timorese.

Eight MoUs (C, F, G, H, J, K, L, and M) appear to reflect the *assisted development* international municipal link style of the 1990s with an emphasis on measurable outcomes (such as “the reconstruction of Y”) and one-way knowledge and resource transfers.

X and their communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y ... It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities. (MoU C, paragraphs 2 and 3) (Identical wording is also found in MoUs F, G, H, J, K, L and M)

Just as the *assisted development* North-South international municipal link discourse is dominated by the one-way development of the Southern municipality (see for instance Bontenbal, 2009a, 2009b; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c), the discourse found within these eight Friendship Agreement MoUs shows a one-way focus on the development of Timor-Leste. The Australians will *transfer* their knowledge, skills and resources *to* the Timorese (rather than knowledge, skills and resources being exchanged)⁸¹. The one-way aspect of the agreement is reinforced when the MoUs state that

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y ... (MoU C paragraph 4) (identical wording is also found in MoUs F, G, H, J, K, L, M)

The first rationale statement mentioned within these MoUs is that the Australian community (X) seeks to develop the relationship in order to *do* something in Timor-Leste ('assist in the reconstruction of Y'). Including this sentence in an agreement signed by both parties is problematic because it designates the Australians as the instigators of the relationship and the Timorese as the beneficiaries of the relationship, thus creating uncertainty about ownership. It was pointed out in chapter four that, despite the friendship and the vocabulary used in North-South municipal links, a critical issue facing these links is the danger posed by the lack of attention to ownership (Buis, 2009).

⁸¹ My emphasis

Even though some of the rationale statements within these MoUs include phrases that could be considered *peaceful relations*-style of phrases ('seek to develop the Friendship Relationship', 'will result in improved understanding' and 'the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities'), both the relationship and any improved understanding appear to be connected to practical outcomes (such as the reconstruction of Y and the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources) rather than building a relationship for the sake of a relationship. This makes the phrase 'establishment of long-term relationships between the communities', used later in the paragraph, ambiguous. Although it could be linked to the people-to-people connection of the *peaceful relations* style, it could equally be related to the *assisted development* style by meaning that the one-way *doing* can be maintained over a long period.

The meaning of the phrase 'and will result in improved understanding', within these MoUs is also ambiguous. It was noted in chapter four that the transfer of technical information is seen as a way for the Southern municipalities to gain technical and administrative 'expertise' and is seen as a way for the Northern municipalities to provide professional development opportunities (in a cross-cultural setting) for the Northern municipal officers that participate (Demers, 2002; Hewitt, 1999a, 1999c; Hobbs, 1994; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006; McLean, 2003). So, being placed in the same sentence and coming straight after the phrase about the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources, the improved understanding could mean that the Timorese will build up their technical and administrative understanding while the Australians will build up their professional capacity as well as their understanding of the context in which they provide the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources. However, it

could be interpreted as improved two-way cross-cultural understanding. It is also unclear whether the ‘improved understanding’ is a desired outcome or whether it is seen as an inevitable result of achieving the one-way transfer of knowledge, skills and resources.

Since the main aim of the *assisted development* North-South international municipal links is the transfer of information and technology from the North to the South (see for instance Hewitt, 1999a; Hobbs, 1994; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009), it seems likely that the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements that use *assisted development* discourse in their MoUs will establish links that set up a one-way flow of information and technology from Australia to Timor-Leste which, as noted in chapter four, sets up the binary of the Australians as the ‘experts’ and the Timorese as lacking (in some way).

The final two MoUs to be examined (E and N)⁸² each include two separate rationale statements. While the first statement appears to reflect the *peaceful relations* style, the second statement appears to reflect the *assisted development* style. The first rationale states that

It is intended that this partnership will be at both the local government and community levels and will result in improved understanding and appreciation of the cultures and experiences of the communities of Y and X. (MoUs E and N, paragraph 3)

Despite the fact that this sentence is a modified version of the paragraph used by the eight MoUs that were just mentioned, and contains the same phrase (“... and will result in improved understanding ...”), the sentence in which this phrase is contained differs markedly. This desired outcome applies equally to the Timorese and the Australians and was

⁸² MoU N is an amended version of MoU C. MoU E was then copied from MoU N.

not obviously written by one group or another. Also, the immeasurable outcomes of improved understanding and the appreciation of the cultures and experiences of both communities are not tied in any way to a measurable outcome (such as the reconstruction of Y or a one-way transfer of knowledge, skills and resources). In other words, the people-to-people connection itself (i.e. the relationship) is what is expected to bring about an improvement in understanding between the people from both communities.

However, although MoUs E and N omitted the phrase ‘... will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources’, by advocating that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship will build the capacity of the Timorese (and not the Timorese *and* the Australians) their second rationale statement appears to relate more to the *assisted development* discourse than the *peaceful relations* discourse. It states that

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship will aim to build capacity and advance and promote the self-sufficiency of the people of Y. (MoUs N and E, paragraph 4)

Omitting one of the groups from this statement (in this case, the ‘people of X’) is what makes this statement one-way. Nevertheless, MoUs E and N differ from the previous eight MoUs in the way that they have separated the *peaceful relations* discourse (building up the relationship) from the *assisted development* discourse (providing assistance). Including the two separated discourses within one agreement could be called a *relational assistance* discourse (providing one-way assistance but concentrating on building up the relationship first).

Effects of MoU rationales on Timorese friendship discourses

The group's statements about the 'meaning of friendship' discussed in chapter seven were analysed in comparison to the type of MoU they had signed⁸³ (see Table 8.1 below)⁸⁴.

Table 8.1 *A breakdown of Timorese Friendship Agreement group statements about the meaning of friendship by MoU type*

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (1)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
Relationship (13)	2	1	1	5	4
Reciprocity (12)	2		1	6	3
Development (8)	1			4	3
Support (2)				2	
Shared activity (2)				2	
Loyalty (2)				2	
Utility (1)				1	
Similarity (1)					1
Harmony (1)				1	
Respect/equality (1)				1	
Solidarity (1)					1

Groups with different types of MoUs state that friendship is a relationship which (most of them agree) should be built on reciprocity. There is clearly no link between the group that defined friendship in terms of solidarity and the *political activism*-type of MoU or the groups that defined friendship in terms of respect/equality, loyalty and harmony and the *peaceful relations*-type of MoU. However, there appears to be a link between the group's type of MoU and their definition of friendship as development. Although Table 8.1 shows that one of the groups that had signed a *peaceful relations*-type of MoU also defined friendship as development, it must be stated that this group had not had an active Timorese Friendship committee for a long time prior to the evaluation in 2006 and the whole agreement had been inactive for some time. Of the ten people from the newly formed committee only two people

⁸³ The types of MoUs have been divided into five categories: *peaceful relations*, *political activism*, *relational assistance*, *assisted development* and no MoU.

⁸⁴ Although two groups have signed *relational assistance*-type of MoUs, as mentioned in chapter seven, only one of these groups got to answer the question about the meaning of friendship.

had prior knowledge of their agreement. Consequently, the small group that answered the question about the meaning of friendship was made up exclusively of people who had no prior knowledge about their agreement (field notes). This means that their comment could be placed together with the other groups that had not signed an MoU.

So, only groups that had signed an *assisted development*-type of MoU or who had not signed an MoU (or who had no knowledge of what their agreement said) defined friendship in terms of development. This could mean that Timorese groups, prior to signing an agreement, tend to think that Friendship Agreement friendships should relate directly to improved development and the groups that sign an *assisted development*-type of MoU have this perception reinforced. The fact that the groups with knowledge about the contents of the *peaceful relations*, *political activism* and *relational assistance*-types of MoUs did not define friendship in terms of development suggests that the wording of an MoU can affect the sort of friendship relationship that the Timorese expect to build with their Australian counterparts. However, it is difficult to draw too many conclusions from such a small sample size.

Effects of MoU rationales on Timorese ‘purpose of Friendship Agreements’ discourses

The group’s ‘purpose of the Friendship Agreement’ statements from chapter seven were also analysed in comparison to the type of MoU they had signed (see Table 8.2 below).

Table 8.2 *Comparison of Timorese Friendship Agreement group statements about the purposes of the Friendship Agreements and the type of MoU they had signed*

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (2)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
Relationship/friendship (10)	2	1	1	5	1
Cooperation in development (9)	2		1	4	2
Support/help (7)		1		5	1
Activities (3)				3	
Reciprocity (3)				3	
Shared knowledge (2)				2	
Trust (1)				1	

It can be seen in Table 8.2 that groups with different types of MoUs identify the purpose of the Friendship Agreements as building a relationship that enables Timorese communities to collaborate and cooperate with other people in order to bring about improvements in their communities. The figures in Table 8.2 appear to indicate that there is no particular link between the type of MoU that groups have signed (or not signed) and the Timorese understandings of the purposes of the Friendship Agreements.

Contribution discourses

It was noted in chapter four that international municipal links that were established prior to 1990 tended to have more abstract objectives (such as friendship, peace, understanding and solidarity), while the links established after that time tended to have more measurable objectives (such as training of personnel, implementation of computer systems and the construction of infrastructure) (Schep, et al., 1995). Recent literature identifies numerous examples of what Northern municipalities offer Southern municipalities; however, Southern discourses about what Southern municipalities offer their Northern partners are noticeably absent in the literature. Whereas twelve of the thirteen signed MoUs analysed in this study designate ‘decision-making’ as the contribution that will be made by the Timorese (this is

discussed in more detail in Chapter ten in the section about ‘actual roles’), one MoU treats the Australian and Timorese contributions equally. The research questions on this issue that arose in the review of the international municipal link literature were:

What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the national Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about their contributions relate to the discourses about contributions in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

In order to understand the Timorese contribution discourses in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements sixteen Friendship Agreement committees and six individual government officials were asked, “What do you feel that you offer to the Australians in this partnership?”⁸⁵

Focus group contribution discourses

The contribution discourses found within the focus group responses⁸⁶ were dominated by one response: we do not give anything (or anything good) (see Figure 8.1 below)⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ One of the seventeen focus groups missed answering this question due to time constraints.

⁸⁶ See Appendix 11 for a full breakdown of the contributions statements.

⁸⁷ The unit of analysis in Figure 8.1 is the group. Group responses were obtained through a process of consensus. If a group mentioned a particular contribution discourse, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned it once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 8 means 8 groups mentioned this contribution rather than a few groups mentioning this contribution 8 times in total.

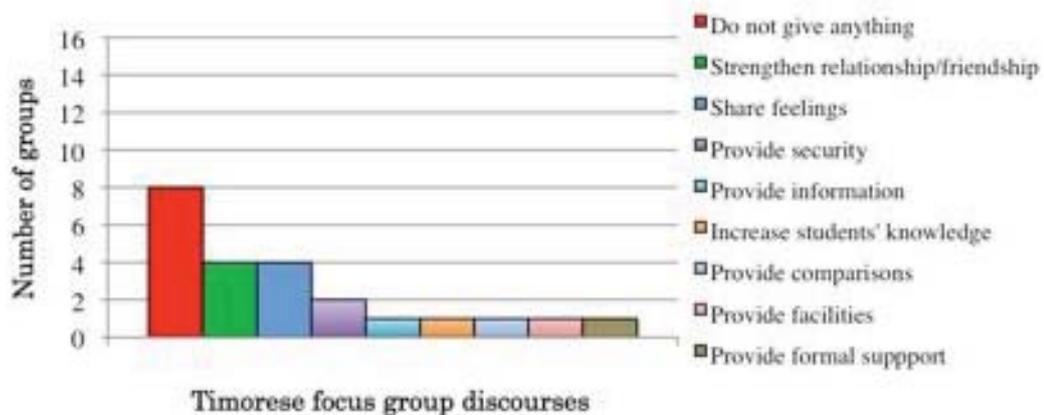


Figure 8.1 Focus group responses about "Timorese contributions to the Australians" from 16 groups incorporating the views of 144 people

A strong sense of shame was evident in the contribution discourses of the Timorese focus groups with half the groups beginning their discourse with a negative by stating that the Timorese do not give the Australians anything (or anything good). For example,

There are no good things we give to our partners because they are advanced but *what we can give*⁸⁸ are words that have no value and those words are "Thank you". (**Group NQ**)

We don't yet give good things but we always give our gratitude and thanks for all the help they give the sub-district of Y and because there are good intentions from our friends in X to the sub-district of Y. (**Group KJ**)

Physically we haven't given anything to the people of Australia. (**Group XS**)

They bring a lot of things for us. We give nothing to them. We accept each other and work together. We didn't ask them to bring everything, we feel a bit ashamed because we don't want to keep asking everything from them. (**Group WY**)

Furthermore, the sense of shame was evident even in answers that did not include a negative. Many of the group contribution discourses included the phrase 'what we can give' rather than the phrase 'we give' as seen in the examples above and below. The use of the phrase 'what we can give ...' appears to be synonymous with 'all we have to offer is this relatively

⁸⁸ My emphasis

insignificant ~' — an interpretation supported by observations (of body language, tone of voice and facial expressions) made during the interviews and noted in my field notes.

The sense that friends help each other, and that the people of Y do not want the help to be always one-sided, came through very strongly. (Excerpt from field notes)

*What we can give*⁸⁹ is our support as a friend when they come here. (**Group DK**)

We give our feelings and our spirit of cooperation and our transparency to our partners – that is *what we can give*⁹⁰. (**Group TG**)

*What we can give*⁹¹ is our honesty and our spirit of the family to our colleagues. (**Group HC**)

Government officials' contribution discourses

The contribution discourses among the six government officials that were interviewed⁹² varied more widely than the discourses from the focus groups (see Figure 8.2 below)⁹³. However, a sense of shame at the imbalance between what they felt the Australians offered and what they felt the Timorese offered was still evident in many of their responses. This was shown in their surprise at the question being asked, their choice of words (such as “The only thing we can offer is ...”, “I don’t know what the community of Timor-Leste gives to the Australians.” “Not much. To be honest not much.” “We know Australians have

⁸⁹ My emphasis

⁹⁰ My emphasis

⁹¹ My emphasis

⁹² See Appendix 12 for a full breakdown of their contributions statements.

⁹³ As stated in chapter seven, all six officials were knowledgeable about the Friendship Agreements but their seniority and level of involvement in the Friendship Agreement programme varied. They ranged from senior government officials with high involvement and high impact (2 people), middle level government officials with medium involvement and medium impact (2 people) to junior level government officials with low involvement and low impact (2 people). Their responses have been colour coded accordingly. The unit of analysis in Figure 8.2 is the individual. If an individual mentioned a particular contribution discourse, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned it once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 3 means 3 individuals mentioned this contribution rather than one individual mentioning this contribution 3 times.

everything already ...” and “Maybe they can give ...”), and in their body language, facial expressions, embarrassed laughter and pauses.

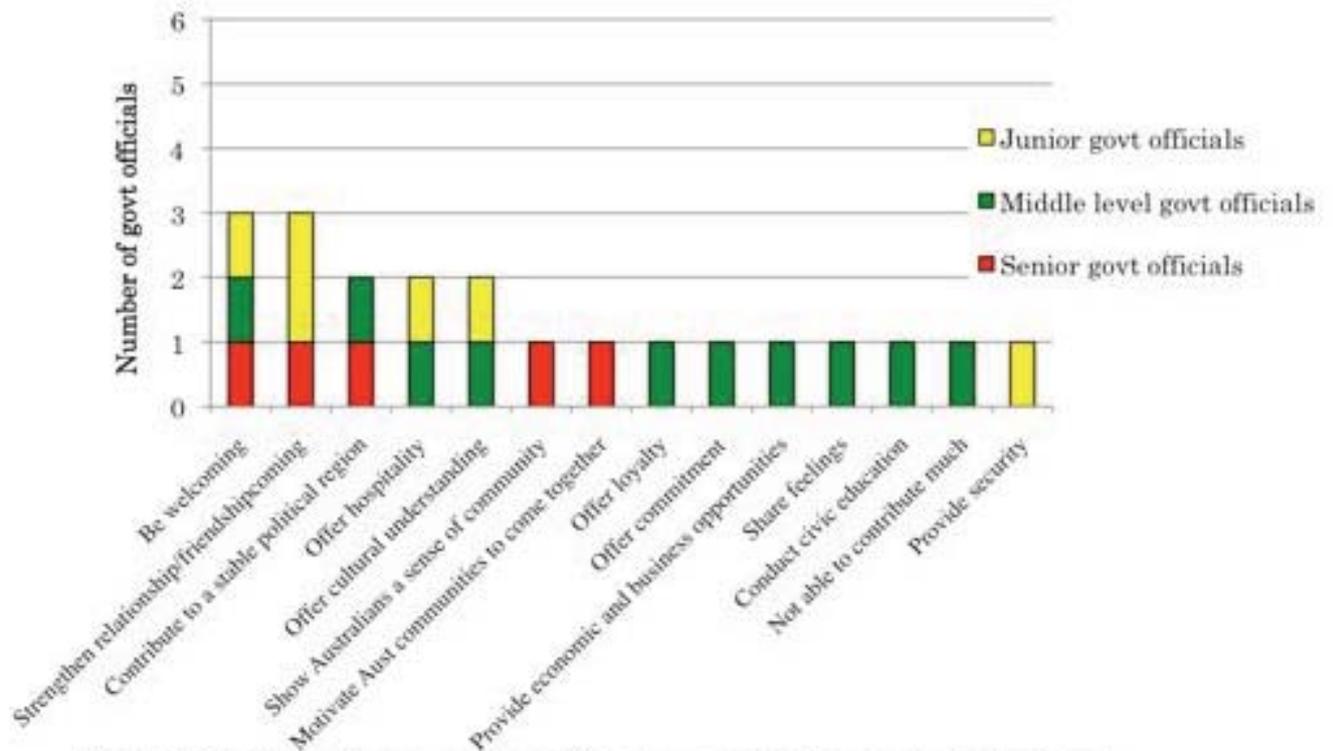


Figure 8.2 Individual responses about “Timorese contributions to the Australians” from 6 Timorese government officials

While many of the contribution discourses mentioned by the government officials were only mentioned once, a common discourse was friendship.

As a new nation ... I think the most important thing is our relationship. We have to have a good relationship between these two countries, Australia and East Timor, I mean Timor-Leste. **TX**, Interview

... Ah ... Australians they have everything! The only thing we can offer is friendship! **MX**, Interview

I don’t know what the community of Timor-Leste gives to the Australian community. Maybe ... our community can give ... like solidarity (Laughter). Yeah, like solidarity to the Australian community and also they can give some things if they have, yeah? If we make relations with anyone, we must underline that it’s not based on materials. We make it that it’s not based on materials (what you give me or what we give you) but

based on the spirit of solidarity, yeah? Spirit of solidarity ... spirit of friendship. That I think is very, very important. **SB**, Interview

Related to these friendship discourses, are the discourses about 'being welcoming', 'offering hospitality', and 'offering cultural understanding'. Although building and maintaining friendships, being welcoming, offering hospitality and offering cultural understanding are significant contributions, the sense of shame that accompanied many of these discourses indicated that the government officials often do not feel that they are as significant as the contributions made by the Australians.

Given the position of the six officials within the Timorese central government, it is hardly surprising that some of the discourses mentioned by the officials appear to relate to the government's role as the country's central governing body. These discourses include:

Contributing to a stable political environment

But, around self-interest, especially for Australia's interest, is that, if East Timor fails as a state, no one else is going to pick up the pieces other than Australia. So it is best for us to now prevent that scenario. And that is to engage. To nurture this friendship, and to help the country grow. If you have [an] unstable country on your north – you'll have problems. So that's why friendship is worth investing the money, and invest the time and effort. Yeah, because the reward will be greater than the effort you put in. And to become truly a good partner and a good neighbour – that you don't need to worry about them. You know, they stand on their feet, they're good, they're healthy, peaceful. That's what we want because if you have unstable country on your north – you'll have problems. **BB**, interview

From the small things like a friendship that we build now, I think it can increase the level of peace and stability and to minimise the risk. **FP**, interview

Providing economic and business opportunities

Economic and business trade is something that the Timorese can offer. Maybe in the long-term, you know, not so much in the short-term. **DP**, interview

And conducting civic education

Short-term, I guess, is based more on development. I think the development would be more in a social sort-of term, ... more of an understanding towards Australians, towards the history. Both [the] history in regards to the relationship Australia played between East Timor and Australia during World War II and the relationship during the Indonesian invasion. And, I guess, through this friendship [the] Timorese will, you know, develop their understanding in regards to Australia's roles and Australia's commitment in the future towards a peaceful neighbourhood, I guess.
DP, interview

According to the government officials' responses, the middle level government officials appear to have a broader perspective about the sort of contributions that can be made by the Timorese than either the senior or junior government officials. This may be because middle level government officials are the go-betweens between the high-level policy makers and the district administrations. However, with such a small sample size the differences could simply be the result of different personalities.

Differences in discourses

Any differences between the Friendship Agreement committees' contribution discourses and the individual government officials' contribution discourses could have been caused by a variety of factors. These factors include: data methodology issues (discussed in chapter six); respondent's position in relation to the Friendship Agreements; and the timing of the interviews.

The respondent's position in relation to the Friendship Agreements varied from those that were intimately involved in the practical application of their particular agreement (e.g. many of the Friendship Agreement committee members), to those with a more general overview of

the agreements (e.g. some of the central government officials). This could account for the differences between some of the practical suggestions made by the committee members (such as ‘providing information’, ‘increasing students’ knowledge’, ‘providing comparisons’ and ‘providing facilities’) and some of the more ‘nationally relevant’ suggestions made by some of the government officials (such as ‘contributing to a stable political environment’, ‘providing economic and business opportunities’ and ‘conducting civic education’).

In regards to the timing of the interviews, it is important to note that whereas all except one of the focus group interviews were conducted prior to the outbreak of internal Timorese civil unrest in April 2006, the interviews with the government officials (conducted in March 2007) were conducted while the situation was still tense. In March 2007 Timor-Leste was still coping with tens of thousands of internally displaced people and ongoing outbursts of violence. The outbreak of violence that started in 2006 led to some Friendship Agreement visits being cancelled or postponed as well as delays in Friendship Agreement programmes being conducted.

Because of the events, the political events that have taken place here, it has put a brake on, you know, many more people to come. **BB**, interview

So, the government official’s discourses relating to ‘being welcoming’, ‘offering hospitality’, ‘offering cultural understanding’, ‘contributing to a stable political region and stable state’ ‘offering loyalty’ and ‘offering commitment’, which were not mentioned by the groups, were possibly influenced by the outbreak of violence and ongoing tensions within Timor-Leste.

Overall contribution discourses

Although the focus group and government officials’ contribution discourses differ to a certain extent due to the reasons already outlined, there is some commonality between the discourses (see Table 8.3 below).

Table 8.3 *Timorese contribution discourses according to sixteen Friendship Agreement committees and six government officials*⁹⁴

<i>Focus group contribution discourses</i>	<i>Government officials’ contribution discourses</i>
Don’t give anything Strengthen relationship/friendship Share feelings Provide security Provide information Increase student’s knowledge Provide comparisons Provide facilities Provide formal support	Strengthen relationship/friendship Be welcoming Offer hospitality Offer cultural understanding Contribute to a stable political region Show a sense of community Share feelings Offer loyalty Offer commitment Provide economic and business opportunities Provide motivation for bringing Aust communities together Conduct civic education Provide security Not able to contribute much

The sense of shame at not ‘having much to contribute’ was found in the discourses of both the focus groups and the government officials with the most common Timorese contribution discourses being:

“We haven’t given anything yet” [*Don’t give anything discourse*] (**Group NR**).

“We offer our friendship” [*Strengthen relationship discourse*]. (**Group CB**)

“We give our feelings and our spirit of cooperation to our partners – that is what we can give.” [*Share feelings discourse*] (**Group TG**)

So, just as the “Northern partners’ knowledge of professional practice” is almost always more highly valued than the “Southern partners’ knowledge of context” in North-South international municipal links (H. Johnson & Wilson, 2009: 212), the Timorese contribution

⁹⁴ Contribution discourses that are shared by the committees and the government officials are typed in bold.

discourses point to the fact that the Timorese feel that what they have to offer the Australians is not as important as the contributions made by the Australians. In other words, the Timorese appear to place a higher value on the Australian contributions than the Timorese contributions. The impact of this could be a reduced sense of ownership by the Timorese participants.

Analysing MoU rationales in relation to contribution discourses

An analysis of the breakdown of the group contribution discourses by MoU type reveals that the sense of shame is common across all MoU types (see Table 8.4 below)⁹⁵.

Table 8.4 *Breakdown of group contribution discourses by MoU type*

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (1)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
We don't give anything but ... (8)	1	1	1	4	1
Strengthen relationship/ friendship (4)	1			3	
Share feelings (gratitude and love) (4)				2	2
Provide security (2)	1			1	
Provide information (1)					1
Provide comparisons (1)				1	
Help to develop knowledge (1)					1
Ensure transparency (1)					1
Provide formal support (1)	1				
Provide facilities (1)	1				

Since statements indicating that the Timorese feel that they do not have much to offer were made by all different kinds of groups and all levels of government officials (senior, middle level and junior officials), it appears that the practical application of the Friendship Agreements has left the Timorese with a sense of shame and inferiority. Agreements that leave one party feeling inferior should be brought into question. Given the importance for the Timorese of reciprocity within friendships (discussed in chapter seven) and the feeling of

⁹⁵ See Appendix 11 for a full breakdown of the contribution statements made by the focus groups.

inferiority indicated by their contribution discourses, making reciprocity an important part of the agreements should become a high priority for all participants.

Sustainability discourses

In the international municipal link literature there has been ongoing debate about what factors help in the sustainability of a link. Factors which have been identified as important for the sustainability of links include: having active community participation in, and good community awareness of, the link; having a strong commitment by all the people involved; building mutual understanding; ensuring reciprocity; achieving positive outcomes (tangible results); changing over time; making a long-term commitment; having regular communication; conducting regular monitoring and evaluation; scheduling regular exchanges (both ways); signing a formal agreement; ensuring that both linked communities have active committees supported by municipal officials; not relying on a few key individuals; accepting locally demanded reforms; and working collaboratively (see for instance Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Buis, 2009; Hewitt, 2000; Hoetjes, 2009; Monteiro, 2003; UNDP, 2000). In addition, factors that have been identified as being particularly relevant in Asia include: political support from higher levels of government; consistent leadership; cost sharing and cost effectiveness; and a free flow of information (Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009). In the context of this current study, the relevant research questions from chapter four are:

What recommendations do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committee members make about strengthening their Friendship Agreement relationship? How do these recommendations relate to the international municipal link sustainability discourses? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

In order to ascertain the Timorese views about what factors would help the sustainability of the Friendship Agreements the individuals in the focus groups were asked to write their recommendations for strengthening the relationship⁹⁶. These recommendations⁹⁷ were then analysed (see Figure 8.3 below)⁹⁸ and compared to the sustainability factors identified in the literature.

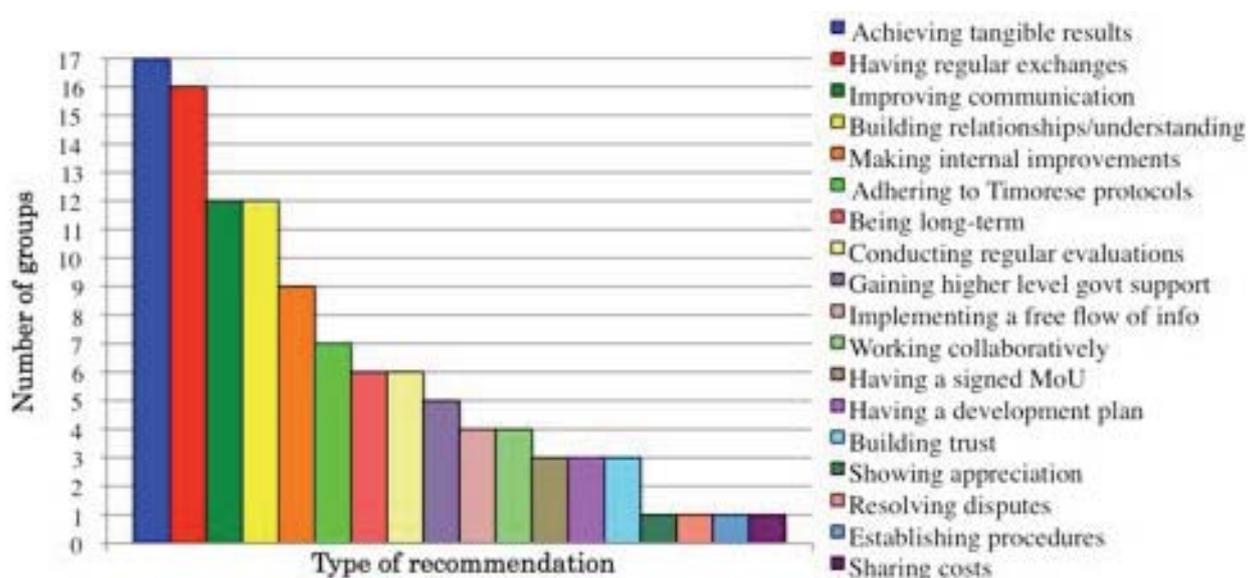


Figure 8.3 Recommendations from 17 Timorese committees (incorporating the views of 154 participants) about how to make the Friendship Agreements stronger in the future (i.e. how to make them sustainable)

⁹⁶ The individuals present in the focus groups completed a total of 358 recommendations. However, each recommendation was brought before the individual's focus group for acceptance (or rejection) by the group. 13 of the recommendations were rejected, leaving a total of 345 recommendations that were accepted by groups. Only the recommendations accepted by a group were analysed.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 13 for a full breakdown of the recommendations.

⁹⁸ The unit of analysis in Figure 8.3 is the group. If a group made a recommendation on a particular topic, then it scored a 1 (whether it was recommended once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 17 means 17 groups made recommendations on that topic rather than a few groups making a particular recommendation 17 times in total.

The recommendations with the most wide-spread support within Timor-Leste were: achieving positive, tangible results; having regular two way exchanges; improving communications; building relationships/building understanding; and making internal improvements.

All seventeen groups made recommendations about achieving positive, tangible results.

These statements included several kinds of requests. First, requests for specific assistance:

Would like to ask for sports equipment such as balls, uniforms, nets and other things in relation to the sports. (**Group KA**)

Would like to ask for support for equipment for administration such as computer, tables, chairs, photocopier. (**Group KN**)

Second, requests for the provision of training:

Ask their partner to do the training to increase human resources especially in English language. (**Group CF**)

Send a specialist in Agriculture from Australia to train the agriculturalists to improve their agricultural system. (**Group HC**)

Third, requests for the provision of educational scholarships:

We would like to ask our friends to establish scholarships for our children. (**Group KA**)

We would like to ask, if possible, to establish scholarships, not only for secondary school but also for university. (**Group HC**)

A good relationship between Friendship Cities in order to improve education sectors in Timor-Leste through scholarships. (**Group NR**)

Fourth, general statements about the need for concrete activities:

The relationship between Friendship City Y and X needs to improve its implementation in the future through concrete and sustainable activities e.g. Education, health and administration. (**Group WB**)

To make the relationship more significant we need to have concrete activities achieved so that people can see what has been done and the activities will benefit the community. **(Group CF)**

It appears from the number and variety of recommendations emphasising the achievement of positive, tangible results that the importance of tangible results cannot be underestimated. However, like other North-South municipal links (Schep, et al., 1995), in order to achieve tangible results, the people involved in the Friendship Agreements need to ensure that their objectives and programmes are both realistic and attainable, and properly take into account the resource limitations within Timor-Leste.

All except one of the seventeen groups recommended having regular two-way exchanges.

To invite members of the committee to visit their friends in order to see closely love between 2 people. Our Friendship City also needs to come to their friends place (e.g. Regular visits both ways). **(Group HB also expressed by groups VY, CB, LZ, YL and WY)**

Exchanges between the two communities such as: women's exchanges (a high priority), youth exchanges and cultural exchanges. **(Group TG also expressed by groups LZ, DK, CF, WB, NQ and HC)**

Ongoing comparative studies **(Group VY also expressed by groups DK, TG, KJ, NR, KN, WB, CF, NQ, YL and KA)**

The recommendations made about the regular two-way exchanges between linked communities appear to include three related but separate concepts – the concept of maintaining people-to-people contact through visiting (where the main focus may be on talking, eating and drinking together)⁹⁹; the concept of exchanges by particular groups (such

⁹⁹ For example, QS was invited to a Timorese house for dinner one night in Y. She didn't really know the correct protocol but felt awkward about showing up without taking something as a small contribution/gift. She bought some biscuits and lollies and felt that she could say that it was something small for the children and she

as the participation of a sports group in a sports event); and the concept of doing comparative studies (where people are able to observe how other people doing similar jobs operate in different contexts and think about what could be used or adapted for their own context). While the main focus of these different types of exchanges may vary, they are all seen as important by the Timorese.

Another common recommendation (already mentioned in chapter seven) was to improve communication. The two most common recommendations about improving external communication related to improving the language skills of the participants (English skills for the Timorese and Tetum skills for the Australians) and improving communication infrastructure (such as telephone, fax and/or internet).

Provide courses for English and Tetum for both sides to help our communication process. (**Group KJ** – providing English and/or Tetum courses was also expressed by **Groups VY, KA, CB, LZ, HB and XS**)

To create a centre of information in Y and X (with facilities of internet or phone) to facilitate giving the information to each other. (**Group KA** also expressed by **Groups CB, LZ, HB, TG, XS, KN, and HC**)

Improving internal communication (within Timor-Leste) was also mentioned.

Internal and external communication. E.g. regular meetings, regular emails or phone calls. (**Group HC**)

The reasons why communication is such a challenge will be discussed in more detail under the “Challenge discourses” section of chapter nine. However, it is evident from the number of recommendations made about improving communication that the Timorese understand the

felt it shouldn't embarrass anyone. She was surprised and delighted when the father of the house said “QS knows Timor culture.” (QS 2006, Pers. comm., 4 Sept)

importance of maintaining regular communication if the Friendship Agreements are to become sustainable.

Many groups made recommendations about building mutual understanding or building strong relationships with the central focus on getting to know each other, understanding each other's culture and strengthening the friendship. For example,

In order to strengthen the friendship relationship it is necessary to understand habits, customs, traditions and cultures so that we can respect each other and make our relationship better in the future. **(Group WB)**

It is important to strengthen our relationship first and then everything will go well in the future. **(Group CB)**

However, the mutual understanding referred to in the literature refers not only to understanding different cultural practices and traditions, but also to having agreed goals and mutually understood expectations (see for instance Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; UNDP, 2000). While not precluding the need for having agreed goals and mutually understood expectations, it appears that building and maintaining strong relationships is of major importance to the Timorese (see chapter seven for a detailed discussion on friendship).

Two common Timorese sustainability discourses (internal improvements and protocol) are discourses that are not commonly found in the literature. The internal improvement discourses relate to the improvements that the Timorese feel should be made within Timor-Leste and the protocol discourses relate to following the correct procedures within Timor-Leste. More than half the groups made recommendations about making internal improvements. For instance,

Civic education (such as sanitation) to improve the health of the community. If we can educate ourselves in better health practices, and educate the people, then when others from the Friendship Agreement come they will see progress in our community. Civic education should come from within Timor-Leste so that there is not a misunderstanding of cultures. Even educating the community that we are friends with these people, (and that is why they come to help us), so we need to participate – this is also civic education. Timor-Leste has come from different colonial experiences of being dominated. First by the Portuguese (do as you are told) and then the Indonesians (we ask and ask and ask and they give) but now we are independent we have to address how we operate and think about how we do things in the future. **(Group YL)**

In order to have a good relationship we would like to work with our friends but we have to have a good structure in order to facilitate good communication. **(Group KN)**

We would like to ask to review the structures of the committees in Y. **(Group TG)**

If there are a lot of activities implemented we have to have a regular meeting in order to know what is going on. **(Group KJ)**

In other words, many of the groups acknowledge that action and ownership by the Timorese is important for making the Friendship Agreements sustainable.

As part of that ownership process, many Timorese groups also indicated that there was a need for the Australian groups to follow Timorese protocol when engaging in Friendship Agreement activities.

All the support from the Friendship City, don't send it directly to the people. It needs to come through the elected committee. **(Group HC also expressed by groups KJ, HB, TG, CF and KN)**

If there is support from Australia it must be transparent to the Y representatives. **(Group HB also expressed by groups WB and HC)**

Seven of the 17 committees made recommendations about following protocol, so it seems that a number of Australian Friendship Agreement groups have been ignoring the need for working through their counterpart Timorese Friendship Agreement committee when conducting Friendship Agreement activities.

In regards to signing an MoU, although only three groups made recommendations about signing a formal agreement, it must be stated that 13 of the 17 Friendship Agreements that were analysed had already signed an MoU.

We would like to ask to have a Memorandum of Understanding between the Friendship City and the committee (**Group HC also expressed by groups TG and KN**)

Since two of the four groups that had not signed an agreement (as well as one of the groups that had already signed one) made a recommendation about signing an MoU, the importance of having a signed agreement for the Timorese may be more significant to the Timorese than the total number of responses initially indicate.

At least one recommendation was made about the need for having a strong commitment to the Friendship Agreements.

We would like to recommend to the commission in Y to come together and work together better for the implementation. (**Group TG**)¹⁰⁰

However, it should be noted, that the strong commitment referred to in the literature does not just refer to the dedication of the people involved but also to allocating sufficient time and adequate financial resources (see for instance Tjandradewi & Marcotullio, 2009; Tjandradewi, et al., 2006; UNDP, 2000). While the Timorese may be strongly committed to the agreements, since a lack of finances and a lack of human resources (which will be discussed in more detail in the challenges section of this chapter) are two of the main challenges facing the Friendship Agreements, their ability to fully realise that commitment may sometimes be hindered.

¹⁰⁰ This recommendation was grouped under the topic “Internal improvements”.

Having active community participation in, and good community awareness of, the link is considered vital for the sustainability of international municipal links (see for instance Hoetjes, 2009; Tjandradewi, et al., 2006; van Ewijk & Baud, 2009). Although the extent of community awareness and participation in the Friendship Agreements varied from one community to another, one group explained that in their community there was more community support for the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement than other more general ‘development projects’. They stated that under the Portuguese and the Indonesians there were negative connotations with ‘projects’. Many ‘projects’ were not well done and community members would only participate in a ‘project’ if they received pay. However, the community saw the Friendship Agreement as being different and more positive. The signing of the Friendship Agreement MoU taking place within the Timorese community led to a widespread support of the agreement and, as a result, if Friendship Agreement activities needed volunteers, community members were happy to provide their labour (field notes). Their success in including community members in their agreement not only changed attitudes and behaviours within their own community but it may have been influential in another group (that was aware of their success) making the following recommendation:

An example of the sort of thing that could be included is planning a small (or big) symbolic ceremony that includes the whole community to make the relationship stronger ... The MoU is very formal and it can appear to be just a government-to-government link. The ceremony will make it more community-to-community. It is not that we don’t need the formal government-to-government link but we need it to go even deeper. (**Group WY**)¹⁰¹

Many of the other recommendations about how to make the Friendship Agreement relationship stronger in the future, while varying in the number of times they were

¹⁰¹ This recommendation was grouped under the topic “Building relationships/understanding”.

mentioned, appear to align with other international municipal link sustainability factors identified in the literature. For instance:

Making a long-term commitment (mentioned by six focus groups)

e.g. To make the relationship not in short time but in the long term. Don't cut our relationship but the relationship has to go on until the end of life. **(Group NQ)**

Conducting regular monitoring and evaluation (mentioned by six focus groups)

e.g. To have regular evaluation in order to build trust in the implementation of the project. **(Group LZ)**

Ensuring that their community has an active committee supported by municipal officials (mentioned by five focus groups)

e.g. It is necessary to re-establish a coordination system so that the assistance from the Friendship City in X is well coordinated through a local authority. **(Group XS)**¹⁰²

Not relying on a few key individuals (mentioned by five focus groups)

e.g. Elect the representatives through the participation of large numbers of people. **(Group HB)**¹⁰³

Accepting locally demanded reforms (mentioned by six focus groups)

e.g. The support from X to Y has to come through the [Timorese] organising commission. **(Group TG)**¹⁰⁴

Working collaboratively (mentioned by four focus groups)

e.g. We would like to ask for both commissions to have a representative from the partner community on each commission. **(Group KA)**

Political support from higher levels of government (mentioned by five focus groups)

e.g. We would like to ask the Timorese government and the National Parliament to give strong support to the Friendship City relationships to help strengthen the relationship between Y and X. **(Group NQ)**

¹⁰² This recommendation was grouped under the topic "Internal improvements".

¹⁰³ This recommendation was grouped under the topic "Internal improvements".

¹⁰⁴ This recommendation was grouped under the topic "Protocol".

A free flow of information (mentioned by four focus groups)

e.g. We need to exchange information and knowledge with each other. (**Group WB**)

Cost Sharing (mentioned by one focus group)

We would like to ask to both committees to establish joint fund-raising for the development. (**Group HC**)

However, three of the sustainability discourses mentioned in the international municipal link literature were absent in the Timorese recommendations. These were the need for links to be reciprocal, the need for consistent leadership and the need for links to change over time. It must be noted that reciprocity is considered to be an important feature of friendship according to the Timorese (see chapter seven for a detailed discussion on reciprocity). The lack of recommendations on this topic, combined with the sense of shame evident in the Timorese contribution discourses, could indicate that there is little expectation from the Timorese that the Friendship Agreements will be reciprocal. Since other research has found that groups with successful links gave reciprocity a high priority, with each side showing that they had something to give and both sides benefiting from the relationship (UNDP, 2000), the prioritising of reciprocity within the Friendship Agreements would not only increase the likelihood of the links being sustainable but it would also strengthen an aspect of friendship that is important to the Timorese.

Although none of the recommendations specifically mentioned the need for consistent leadership, the number of protocol recommendations that were made about the need for Australian groups to coordinate with the elected Timorese Friendship Agreement committees indicates that the Timorese believe that the elected committees are the best form of leadership for the agreements. Since elections for these committees generally occur

infrequently (with people able to be re-elected)¹⁰⁵, it looks like the Timorese Friendship Agreement leadership structure provides a system for maintaining consistent leadership.

Even though none of the recommendations specifically raise the issue of the need for Friendship Agreements to change over time, the number of recommendations about implementing specific changes (such as improving communication, implementing regular visits, having regular monitoring and evaluation, etc) indicate that the Timorese are aware that changes could be made to improve the outcomes of the Friendship Agreements. However, all participants in the Friendship Agreements would probably benefit from understanding the importance, for the sustainability of their agreement, of changing over time.

Analysing MoU rationales in relation to sustainability discourses

At first glance, an analysis of the sustainability discourses by MoU type shows no obvious link between the type of MoU signed and the Timorese group sustainability discourses (see Table 8.5 below).

¹⁰⁵ One group held elections annually but most groups held elections more infrequently (Field notes).

Table 8.5 Breakdown of group sustainability discourses by MoU type

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (2)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
Achieving tangible results (17)	2	1	2	8	4
Having regular exchanges (16)	2	1	2	8	3
Improving communication (12)	1	1		6	4
Building relationships/understanding (12)	2		1	8	1
Making internal improvements (9)			1	5	3
Adhering to Timorese protocols (7)	1			4	2
Being long-term (5)	2	1	1	1	
Conducting regular evaluations (5)				2	3
Gaining higher level govt support (5)			1	3	1
Implementing a free flow of info (4)	1			3	
Working collaboratively (4)	1			2	1
Having a signed MoU (3)				1	2
Having a development plan (3)			1	2	
Building trust (3)	1			1	1
Showing appreciation (1)					1
Resolving disputes (1)				1	
Establishing procedures (1)			1		
Sharing costs (1)				1	

However, although recommendations were made about relationships by groups with different types of MoUs, the relationship recommendations made by the eight groups with an *assisted development*-type of MoU differed in their content to the recommendations made by the other groups. Whereas the groups without an *assisted development*-type of MoU made references to things such as improving people’s understanding of culture and building respect, all eight groups with an *assisted development*-type of MoU stressed the importance of building a stronger relationship if the agreements were to succeed. For instance:

We would like to ask that our relationship be better in the future. **(Group HB)**

I would like to recommend to the Friendship City in Australia to strengthen more the relationship in the future. **(Group NR)**

Just as the relationship was built between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste during WWII, we need to continue to strengthen the relationship between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste if we want things to go well in the future. **(Group CB)**

As friends we have to increase and strengthen our relationship between two people (Y and X). **(Group KA)**

As pointed out in chapter three the Australian Friendship Agreement groups that mirrored the *assisted development* model “viewed their friendship as an act of giving material assistance to people who had less access to resources or skills” and “concentrated less on the relationship building side and more on the logistics of giving material assistance [and they] were often frustrated by the lack of progress in the development of their agreement” (Spence & Nannes, 2007: 336). Since the Timorese groups with an *assisted development*-type of MoU emphasised the need for building a stronger relationship in order to make progress in their agreement, it appears that Australian groups with an *assisted development*-type of MoU need to place more emphasis on building relationships between the communities if they wish their agreements to succeed in the long term. This may also entail changing the wording of their MoU to reflect a more equal relationship.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed a number of ways in which the Australia/Timorese Friendship Agreements relate to North-South international municipal links. In particular, it has (1) looked at the possible effects on the Friendship Agreements of the rationale discourses found within the signed MoUs; (2) considered the possible effects of MoU rationales on Timorese friendship discourses and ‘purpose of the Friendship Agreement’ discourses; (3) discussed how the contribution and sustainability discourses of the Timorese participants relate to similar North-South international municipal link discourses; and (4) examined the impacts of the different types of Friendship Agreement MoUs on these discourses.

Of the 17 Friendship Agreements researched for this study, 4 groups had not signed an MoU. The MoUs of the other 13 groups reflect either one of the North-South rationale discourses identified in the international municipal link literature (i.e. two *peaceful relations*-types of MoUs, one *political activism*-type of MoU and eight *assisted development*-types of MoUs) or a combination of *peaceful relations* and *assisted development* (i.e. two *relational assistance*-types of MoUs).

The analysis of the effects of MoU rationales on friendship discourses from chapter seven found a possible link between the type of MoU a group had signed and defining friendship as development. Only those groups that had signed an *assisted development*-type of MoU or had not signed an MoU defined friendship in terms of development. However, no apparent link was found between the type of MoU a group had signed and their discourses about the purposes of the Friendship Agreements.

The practical application of the Friendship Agreements appears to have left the Timorese with a sense of shame and inferiority. The Timorese contribution discourses point to the fact that the Timorese feel that what they have to offer the Australians is not as important as the contributions made by the Australians. Given the importance for the Timorese of reciprocity within friendships and the feeling of inferiority indicated by their contribution discourses, making reciprocity an important part of the agreements should become a high priority for all participants.

A common theme that emerged from the sustainability discourses of the groups with an *assisted development*-type of MoU was the importance of building stronger relationships if the agreements are to succeed. The Timorese Friendship Agreement sustainability discourses indicate that, while the Timorese appreciate positive, tangible results, they would like to see an increase in regular two-way exchanges, an improvement in communication and internal structures and an acceptance of Timorese procedures.

The implications of the findings in this chapter are discussed further in chapter eleven. The next chapter presents and analyses the ways in which the successes and challenges of the Australia/Timorese Friendship Agreements relate to North-South international municipal links.

Chapter 9

Successes and Challenges

This chapter presents and analyses Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement documents and statements made by Timorese participants in relation to two of the five research questions that arose from the international municipal link literature review (see chapter four)¹⁰⁶. In particular, this chapter considers (1) how the success and challenge discourses of the Timorese participants relate to similar North-South international municipal link discourses; and (2) the impacts of the different types of Friendship Agreement MoUs on these discourses.

Success discourses

Although the successes mentioned in the international municipal link literature include things such as: long-term evolving relationships between communities; professional and cultural exchanges; public awareness raising; social development projects (e.g. Workshops on Gender issues); construction of infrastructure and provision of equipment; training of personnel; technical and managerial assistance; environmental improvement; and modest scale and bottom-up changes (see for instance Buss & Vaughan, 1995; Cremer, et al., 2001; H. Johnson & Wilson, 2006), the most commonly cited success is the people-to-people contact (Shuman, 1994; Smith, 1990; Tabe, 1998; van Lindert, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ The documents include the Statement of Principles (see Appendix 9), and thirteen signed Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs. See Appendix 10 for the wording of the MoUs.

However, it was pointed out in chapter four that, while there is a potential for reciprocity of effort and benefits between the linked communities, in the practical application of the *assisted development*-type of link, the Southern communities tend to be the beneficiaries of technical assistance programmes, receive financial aid, and participate in capacity building activities, while the Northern communities gain in the professional development of their staff and increase their awareness of global issues while providing opportunities for members of the public to participate in development efforts (Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006: 307). The research questions from chapter four that are relevant to this issue are:

What are the main successes according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main successes according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the successes of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about successes in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

In order to understand the Timorese success discourses in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, seventeen Friendship Agreement committees were asked what they felt were the main successes of their particular agreement and six individual government officials were asked what they felt were the main successes of the Friendship Agreements.

Focus group success discourses

It is important to note that two of the seventeen groups stated that their agreements were not yet successful¹⁰⁷ (see Figure 9.1 below)¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix 14 for a full breakdown of the focus groups' success statements.

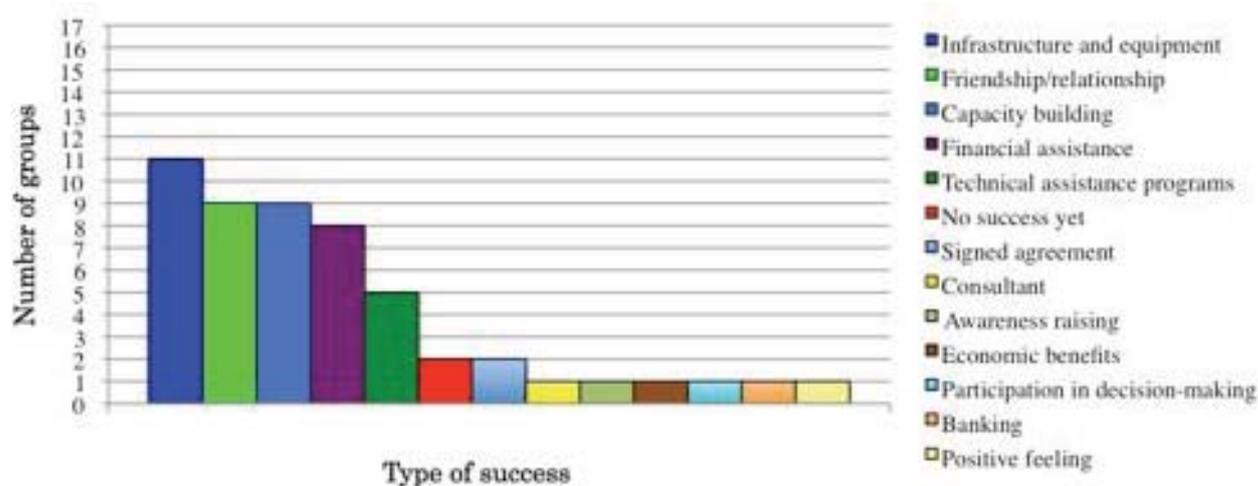


Figure 9.1 Group responses about the successes of the Friendship Agreements from 17 Timorese committees (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

Both groups that stated that their agreements were not yet successful had received money and/or goods from their linked Australian group. For example,

We have not really had successes yet but we want to recognise what has been given, as a first step in the relationship. We got help with carpentry equipment to help with the repair of the school. We have received help from the Friendship City of \$500 to repair a school. **(Group KN)**

The process through which Group KN arrived at this answer showed that the group was reluctant to criticise the Australians. The focus group was divided into three smaller groups with each group writing down answers to specific questions. These answers were then presented to the whole group for ratification or amendment. When the group, that had attempted to answer the question about the successes of the agreement, presented their answers to the whole group for ratification, one member of the focus group stated “Susesu? Seidauk!” (meaning “What successes? We have not had any successes yet.”). The focus group participants agreed with this assessment. However, they felt it was important to

¹⁰⁸ The unit of analysis in Figure 9.1 is the group. If a group mentioned a particular success, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned that type of success once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 11 means 11 groups mentioned a particular type of success rather than a few groups mentioning that success 11 times in total.

acknowledge the first steps taken towards building a relationship. In other words, the receipt of money and/or equipment alone did not classify as a success. Their comments indicated that success required the building of a relationship between the linked communities.

The success discourses of the other fifteen groups appear to support the importance of building the relationship (with 9 of the 15 groups stating that one of the main successes has been the strengthening of the relationship between the two communities). Prior to being asked about the successes of their Friendship Agreement, the focus groups were asked, “What have been the outcomes of the agreement so far?” Outcomes included financial assistance, provision of equipment, rehabilitation of premises, training of personnel, the running of courses, exchange visits, comparative studies, etc. Many groups listed some or all of their stated outcomes, as well as the strengthening relationship, as successes. However, despite providing long lists of outcomes to the first question, 3 groups described their successes solely in terms of the relationship.

We have created a friendship between the people from Y and the people from X. **(Group KA)**

The main success is the development of community people through an increased awareness and a change of mentality and good relationship. **(Group HB)**

The main success that we have observed is the openness of the community to other people from different cultures and backgrounds. It is the friendship itself. **(Group CB)**

Another common success discourse of the focus groups was the construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure and the provision of equipment.

They delivered clothes – through each Sub-district – 4 boxes to each Sub-district. In Agriculture – they provided 1 or 2 hand tractors for Y. Gave a car for the community centre. Gave 100-200 bicycles for school students. Provided material for the hospital – clothes, wheelchairs, beds, mattresses and medical equipment. Rehabilitated primary

school and built a kindergarten. Provided assistance with media equipment e.g. camera and computer (**Group DK**)

Provided materials for sports equipment (**Group CF**)

The provision of sports equipment (balls, shoes, training clothes, socks, uniforms, etc), school equipment (tables, chairs, books, blackboards, whiteboards, chalk, pens, pencils, etc), mattresses for community members, sheets, uniforms, and mosquito nets for the hospital. Rehabilitated a place for training (**Group TG**)

Although the provision of equipment was generally perceived as a success, the equipment that was sent had not always been asked for or, if it had been asked for, it was not always listed as a priority. For example,

They provided thousands of small, black, thick plastic buckets (and lids) and we find them useful (for carrying water or carrying food when we go to the gardens). (**Group YL**)

Community X sent 40 bicycles for students who live far from the school. (**Group YL**)

In spite of the fact that Group YL had not put in a request for buckets, having received them, they found a use for them, and while they appreciated receiving the bicycles, they stated that the bicycles had not been high on their priority list.

The bicycles were not a really high priority but they had the bicycles and could send them, so that was great. (**Group YL**)

However, the provision of equipment was not always problem-free for the Timorese. For instance,

We received about 110 sewing machines. However, the problem with the sewing machines is that they are electric and so when they are sent to the villages they just sit there, looking nice, but can't be used. (**Group HB**)

We have to pay tax when they send things and they often sit in the port for a long time and it can be frustrating getting things. (**Group KA also expressed by Group KN**)

When the medicines were sent they should have gone to the hospital but they went to an NGO and sat there. **(Group HC)**

Many of the resources that come are in English but not many people here understand English. Some of the hospital equipment we don't know how to use so it is still stored. **(Group KJ)**

So, while the provision of equipment can be beneficial, when the needs of the Timorese communities receiving the goods are not taken into account, equipment sent from Australia can create a burden for the Timorese.

The other common success discourses of the focus groups match what the recent literature claims are the expected successes for a Southern community (capacity building, financial assistance and technical assistance programmes) under the *assisted development* model. For instance, many groups maintained that capacity building is a successful outcome of the agreements:

The important successes that we see are to improve literacy amongst the women. **(Group LZ)**

The main success is the development of community people through English Courses. **(Group HB)**

Provided training to teachers **(Group CF)**

Financial assistance was also mentioned in relation to success:

Financial assistance to support students with scholarships. **(Group VY)**

Financial support total AUD\$10,000 to rehabilitate youth centre and community radio. Assistance for attending conference and course. **(Group XS)**

20 students from the orphanage have scholarships (10 females and 10 males) **(Group HC)**

And a variety of technical assistance programmes were given as examples of successful outcomes:

Agricultural project – coconuts, papaya and other seedlings planted and delivered to people. **(Group HC)**

A community has access to a clean water supply. **(Group WY)**

They provided glasses for people who couldn't see. **(Group KJ)**

Although the Timorese are able to prioritise what they would like to achieve through the Friendship Agreements, the outcomes do not always match their priorities. Outcomes depend, to a certain extent, on the capacity and interests of their linked Australian community. As one group stated,

The decisions about what was important and the list of priorities were made in a participatory way. Teams include the District Administrator, the Sub-District Administrator, the heads of the villages and people on the committee – we all walk around and see what the needs are. We met for two days to set the priorities. We (the decision makers in Y) decide what is the priority and then we give X the list and it is up to the capacity of that community what happens. **(Group YL)**

This is the same group that was sent thousands of unasked for plastic buckets. Other groups stated that,

Communities in Australia and Y have different standards of living, life-styles and different cultures. The difficulty is when we ask for something that is important for the people of Y it is not necessarily seen as important in Australia. The needs are different between the 2 communities so we don't know what to ask from our friends. **(Group XS)**

Recently, a family from Australia came to Y to help the community learn how to make bread. However, there is already a lot of bread made in Y and the market for bread is not good so we would rather have a programme for planting vegetables. **(Group WY)**

So, although the ability of a Timorese community to achieve action on their Friendship Agreement priorities is linked, in part, to their own determination to do something, their willingness to work with others, and their ability to communicate well with their Australian

counterpart, it is linked to a number of factors outside their control, including: the ability of the Australian group to really listen and the Australian group’s capacity and interest in the stated priority areas.

Government officials’ success discourses

The most common success discourse among the six government officials that were interviewed¹⁰⁹ related to the capacity building (training) of Timorese participants (see Figure 9.2 below)¹¹⁰.

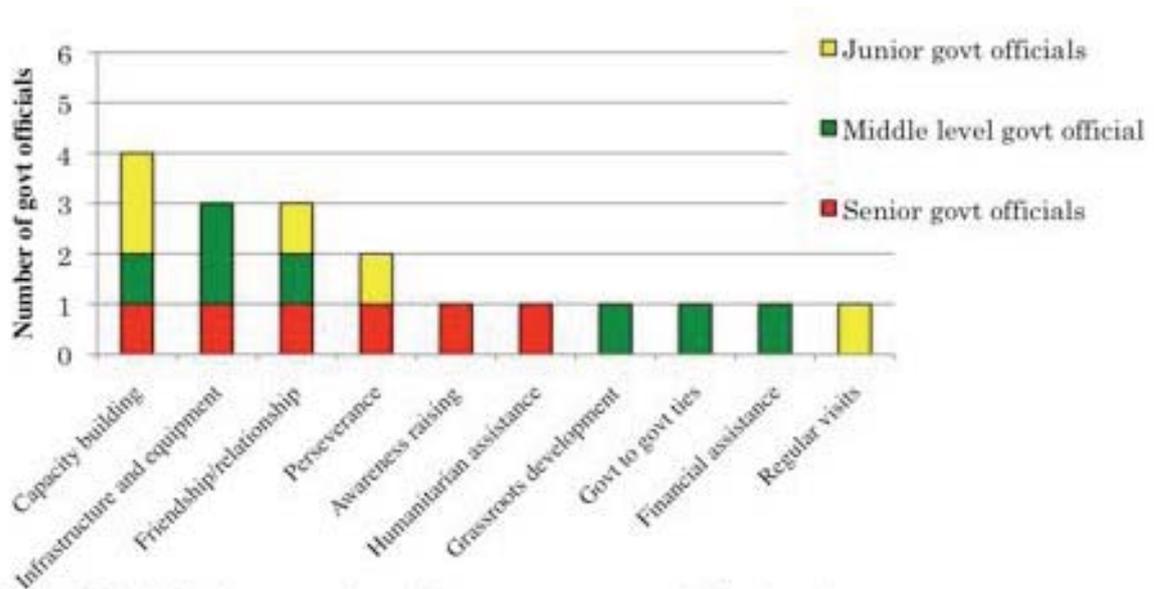


Figure 9.2 Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials about the successes of the Friendship Agreements

While some of the government officials’ capacity building success statements referred to building the capacity of the Timorese participants either generally (e.g. “If you’re talking about general community education – I guess [this] has been a success as well.” **DP**,

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix 15 for a full breakdown of the individual government officials’ success statements.

¹¹⁰ The unit of analysis in Figure 9.2 is the individual. If an individual mentioned a particular success, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned that type of success once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 4 means 4 individuals mentioned a particular type of success rather than one individual mentioning that success 4 times in total.

interview) or in specific areas (such as education, agriculture or local government), the most common capacity building success topic mentioned by the government officials was the availability of English language training.

Oh, the training – the capacity building – because ... ah ... since we build the relationship more people already went to Australia to do the training. So, like, education, agriculture, English and so ... develop ... their skill development. That's more important. That's what [we] see at the moment. Any others? I think I've mentioned development ... the skill development. **MX**, interview

Education - if I send one to Australia will not do some things but one from Australia can give English language to 100 people. That is one thing that is good for our future. **TX**, interview

English language training ... And the other aspect is to do with some training for the local district officers. Some have been trained. **BB**, interview

One of the officials explained in great detail why the Timorese place such a strong emphasis on learning English from the Australians through the Friendship Agreements.

East Timor would need to adapt to the English language as soon as possible simply because we will become a member of ASEAN and its official language is English. Portuguese is the official language now but it is for domestic purposes. But in terms of dealing with trade ... business ... all that is done in English. Therefore we have no choice. Now, there is a potential within the near future, or maybe [the] next 20 to 30 years, ASEAN will have become a common market. That means ... open borders, right? When it's open borders that means the labour forces have to compete. Now, if our people don't have the English language knowledge, then we're way behind and we will have no hope of competing in the region. And that's one element that everybody is thinking hard on. And so, when we talk about English language, where do we get it? Well, Australia and New Zealand are next door - the English speaking countries. And so we will ... we hope that the friendships can help provide that. **BB**, interview

So, the government officials view the Friendship Agreements as a good avenue through which Timorese participants can learn English and increase Timor-Leste's ability to compete economically within the region.

The next most commonly mentioned successes of the Friendship Agreements, according to the government officials, were the construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure/provision of equipment (e.g. “If you’re talking about ... solar panel projects, if you’re talking about school rehabilitation, I guess those have been successes as well.” **DP**, interview) and friendship (e.g. “One point also that now they know that “I have a friend”. We make friendship.” **SB**, interview).

Although two government officials mentioned perseverance, the reason that perseverance was required appears to differ in each case.

We found some difficulty at the start, but we still continue, we still continue. I’m sure that these [difficulties will] discontinue. I believe we are on the right road, going the right way. **SB**, interview

Just recently we had a few problems but doesn’t mean that everyone is bad. We appreciate it when people from your country still come here. **TX**, interview

Whereas the perseverance referred to in **SB**’s comment appears to refer to persevering through teething problems in establishing the agreements, the perseverance referred to in **TX**’s comment appears to refer to persevering through the civil unrest of 2006/7. However, the central sentiment in both statements appears to be an appreciation of the fact that Australian communities did not give up on the relationship with the Timorese communities when faced with difficulties.

The fact that senior government officials mentioned awareness raising and humanitarian assistance, middle level government officials mentioned grassroots development, government-to-government ties and financial assistance, and a junior official mentioned regular visits as successful outcomes of the Friendship Agreement may relate to the sort of

position they hold in relation to the Friendship Agreements (i.e. national-level overview, middle management or peripherally involved). However, the differences may simply be a result of personality differences.

Differences in discourses

The same sort of factors mentioned in the contributions section could have caused the differences between the focus group's success discourses and the government official's success discourses. These include: data methodology issues (discussed in chapter six); respondent's position in relation to the Friendship Agreements; and the timing of the interviews.

While the people in the focus groups were often involved with the day-to-day practical application of the Friendship Agreements, the government officials tended to have a broad overview of the agreements and their influence over the country as a whole. This could explain why most of the success discourses that were mentioned by the focus groups and not mentioned by the government officials appear to relate to the practical application of the agreements (such as the technical assistance programmes in areas such as agriculture, water and health; signing the agreement; having a consultant come; participating in decision-making; opening a bank account; and experiencing positive feelings) and why some of the success discourses that were mentioned by the government officials and not mentioned by the focus groups appear to relate more to broad categories (such as grassroots development; regular visits; and humanitarian assistance) or national level outcomes (such as the government to government ties). In regards to when the interviews were conducted, as it was

noted earlier, the timing of the interviews appears to have been influential in at least one of the government officials' statements about perseverance.

Overall success discourses

Despite the fact that there are some differences between the focus groups' and government officials' success discourses (as outlined above), there are also some commonalities (see Table 9.1 below).

Table 9.1 *Timorese success discourses according to seventeen Friendship Agreement committees and six government officials¹¹¹*

<i>Successes according to the focus groups</i>	<i>Successes according to the government officials</i>
Infrastructure and equipment Friendship/relationship Capacity building Financial assistance Technical assistance programmes No success yet Signed agreement Consultant Awareness raising Economic benefits Participation in decision-making Banking Positive feeling	Capacity building Infrastructure and equipment Friendship/relationship Perseverance Awareness raising Humanitarian assistance Grassroots development Government to government ties Financial assistance Regular visits

Although the recommendations discussed earlier indicate that the Timorese would like to see exchanges play a more prominent role in the Friendship Agreements, at the time of this study, very few Timorese had participated in professional or cultural exchanges as a result of the Friendship Agreements, and so, professional and cultural exchanges were noticeably absent from the Timorese success discourses. Neither were the Timorese success discourses articulated in terms of social development projects, environmental improvement or modest scale and bottom-up changes.

¹¹¹ Success discourses that are shared by the committees and the government officials are typed in bold.

Even though the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements were established with the expressed desire that they would differ from other international municipal links, the most frequently mentioned Timorese success discourses are also commonly mentioned success discourses in the international municipal link literature. While some mention was made of “public awareness raising”, the two biggest successes of the Friendship Agreements, according to the Timorese, have been the construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure/provision of equipment and the long-term evolving relationships that have been forged between Timorese and Australian communities. Although specific mention was not made about successes in terms of “people-to-people contact” and many groups would like their Friendship Agreement relationship to become stronger in the future, the many references made to friendships and relationships would indicate that the Timorese consider “people-to-people contact” an important outcome of the agreements. The other commonly cited success discourses match the expected success discourses for the Southern communities of the *assisted development* international municipal links (financial aid, capacity building activities (including the training of personnel) and technical assistance programmes).

Analysing success discourses in relation to MoU rationales

An analysis of success discourses by MoU type was conducted (see Table 9.2 below).

Table 9.2 Breakdown of group success discourses by MoU type

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (2)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
Construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure and provision of equipment (Tangible results) (11)	2	1	2	3	3
Friendship/Relationship (9)	1	1	2	3	2
Financial Assistance (8)	1	1	1	2	3
Capacity building (7)	2	1	1	2	1
Communication benefits (5)	1	1	1	1	1
Comparative studies (4)		1		2	1
Health benefits (4)	1			2	1
Agricultural benefits (2)				1	1
Signed agreement (2)			2		
No success yet (2)				1	1
Water/sanitation benefits (1)				1	
Technical and managerial assistance (1)					1
Public awareness raising (1)				1	
Economic benefits (1)					1
Participation in decision-making (1)			1		
Banking (1)				1	
Positive feelings (1)	1				

Since the most common success discourses were similar regardless of whether a group had signed an MoU (or which type of MoU they had signed if they had), there does not appear to be a link between the type of MoU the groups have signed and the success discourses. Nevertheless, it could be asked to what extent the latest trends in North-South international municipal links have influenced what happens as a result of the Friendship Agreements (which could indirectly influence what was seen as successful). However, regardless of whether the latest ‘trends’ have impacted on the agreements, it is important to note that the Timorese do not classify the receipt of financial aid, equipment, etc, *without the relationship* as a success. So, according to the Timorese success discourses, the building of a relationship between the linked communities is not only one of the biggest successes of the Friendship Agreements, but the most important ingredient for success.

Challenge discourses

Common challenges facing North-South municipal links, mentioned in the international municipal link literature, include: unequal partnerships; a lack of finances; gaining widespread support; being able to implement regular, workable evaluations; maintaining regular communication; committing to a long-term interaction; having clearly defined expectations and objectives; having continuity in the personnel involved; gaining and maintaining strong community support; having women included in the linking process; and ensuring that capacity development is built on existing knowledge, existing resources and existing practices (see for instance de Villiers, 2009; Devers-Kanoglu, 2009; Hewitt, 1999b, 1999c; O'Toole, 2001; Spence & Nannes, 2007; UNDP, 2000).

It was also mentioned in the literature that Southern municipalities faced many additional challenges such as: the tension between centralisation and decentralisation; the tension between the expected organisational model of local government and the traditional forms of societal organisation; having a reputation for political instability and corruption; and coping with a growing demand for services while struggling with the capacity to deliver (Bontenbal, 2009b; Monteiro, 2003). In relation to this study, the relevant research questions that arose from the international municipal link literature were:

What are the main challenges according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main challenges according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about the challenges in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

In order to understand the Timorese challenge discourses in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements seventeen Friendship Agreement committees were asked what they felt were the main challenges of their particular agreement and six individual government officials were asked what they felt were the main challenges of the Friendship Agreements.

Focus group challenge discourses

The focus groups raised a number of different challenges facing the Australian/ Timorese Friendship Agreements¹¹², although communication – which was discussed in detail in chapter seven - was identified as the most pressing challenge (see Figure 9.3 below)¹¹³.

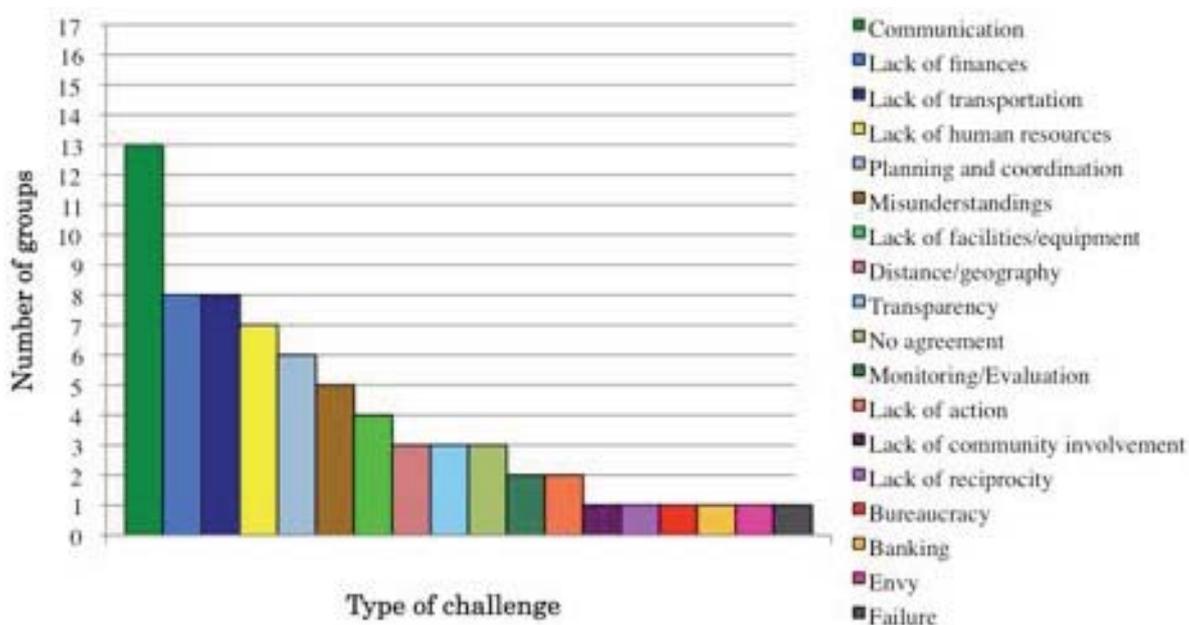


Figure 9.3 *Group responses about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements from 17 Timorese committees (incorporating the views of 154 participants)*

¹¹² See Appendix 16 for a full breakdown of the focus groups' challenge statements.

¹¹³ The unit of analysis in Figure 9.3 is the group. If a group mentioned a particular challenge, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned that type of challenge once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 13 means 13 groups mentioned a particular type of challenge rather than a few groups mentioning that challenge 13 times in total.

As indicated in chapter seven, communication difficulties were multi-faceted. The most commonly mentioned difficulty in relation to communication was the language differences. However, the costs of communicating, the distances involved, and a lack of communication infrastructure were also identified as reasons why communication was so challenging.

While mobile phones have become an important communication tool in Timor-Leste, especially since communities often lack internet, fax machines, and/or a good postal service, even if everybody could afford to purchase a handset and/or phone credit (which many cannot)¹¹⁴, the mobile coverage of the country is incomplete. Mobile phone reception is often unavailable when travelling between towns but generally available in the towns (although not always). At least 3 of the 17 communities that were evaluated for this study lacked mobile phone reception. In order to get phone reception someone from these communities would have to travel long distances (either by car or on foot). One group mentioned that they needed to drive for 20 kilometres before getting phone reception. Another group mentioned that people from their village needed to walk up and over a mountain for about two and a half hours before they were able to get phone reception (field notes). Prior to making a phone call they needed to ensure that they had enough credit on their phone. If they were ringing a landline¹¹⁵ and they had not pre-arranged a contact time, they would have to hope that the person they wished to speak to was there and available to speak to them. However, if they were ringing another person's mobile number, they would have to hope that (a) the person they wished to contact had phone reception, (b) the person's phone was switched on, and (c)

¹¹⁴ See section below under "A lack of finances".

¹¹⁵ Landlines are not very common in Timor-Leste outside Dili because the Indonesians destroyed much of the telecommunications infrastructure in the few weeks before they left the country in 1999 and very little has been replaced.

the person was not in the middle of an important meeting and could take their call. The following excerpt from my field notes highlights the sort of difficulties that can occur in Timor-Leste when using mobile phones:

When we rang the Y District Administrator yesterday he was in a meeting and he asked us to ring him back at 6pm. However, at 6pm we had no [mobile] reception because we were still travelling. When we finally got to Y, we tried to contact him but, at that time, he had no reception.

Also, even though phone reception was generally available to people living in the large towns, the capacity of the phone network was limited. In April and May 2006 while this research was being conducted, the capacity of the mobile network was shown to be too small to cope with large numbers of people trying to get through on the network at the same time. This meant that in times of crisis (such as civil unrest or a tsunami alert), the mobile network became even more unreliable than usual.

However, the difficulties around communication were not limited to communications between the Timorese and the Australians. Several groups pointed out that internal communication (Timorese to Timorese) also needed to improve.

Internal communication is not happening well. Information is not being passed on. It is difficult to communicate with people in the remote areas – many don't have mobiles (even if they could get reception). **(Group KN)**

There is a sub-committee within the 27-strong commission responsible for communication but this sub-committee isn't working well. **(Group KJ)**

In relation to the commission there is a lack of clarity in the function of the commission – because of lack of communication between the people in Y. **(Group LZ)**

Some breakdowns in internal communication became evident while this research was being conducted. For instance, I noted in my field notes that, on four occasions, the person with whom we had arranged the time and place for the focus group meeting had failed to pass on the message to the other committee members. This meant that on the day of the meeting someone had to run around trying to find members of the committee that could attend the meeting at short notice.

It is frustrating that we are giving the [contact person] plenty of notice about the meetings but they are not always communicating with their commissions. It means that when people [from the focus groups] are giving us feedback on our evaluation some of them say, “While the process was very good it was bad that we were not given any notice about the meeting.” Since we felt that it was more important to maintain good relationships with all participants than lay blame, we apologised for the lack of notice about the meeting without revealing who caused the communication breakdown. (Field notes excerpt)

However, although the focus groups’ challenge discourses were dominated by the need to improve communication, a number of other common challenges were identified. Six groups raised the issue of a lack of finances in general, while two groups gave specific examples of how the lack of finances affected their Friendship Agreement.

e.g. Telephone is expensive and there is a lack of financial support to buy phone cards so members of the committee have to pay for the phone cards with their own money and that is limited. (**Group WY**)

Eight groups indicated that the lack of transportation was a real problem.

e.g. People in the remote areas don’t have any transport. The lack of transport leads to difficulties in communicating, a lack of motivation and a lack of monitoring. (**Group KN**)

Seven groups stated that the Friendship Agreements faced many challenges because of the lack of human resources within their community.

e.g. Lack of human resources to plan, monitor and implement all the programmes according to the signed agreement. **(Group DK)**

Six groups highlighted various challenges caused by a lack planning and coordination.

e.g. We have established a commission here and we agree that proposals should come from the villages to the commission but X is still receiving proposals directly from the community and approving them to an NGO in the community and then we don't know what is going on. **(Group HC)**

No commission to coordinate the work and be responsible in Y – Sometimes we are overloaded with work. Lack of coordination (internal and external). No person as liaison officer to link cities. **(Group XS)**

Five groups identified different types of misunderstandings (such as a lack of understanding about why the agreements have been established or cross-cultural misunderstandings) as challenges.

e.g. Some community members have a lack of understanding about what the Friendship Cities are all about. **(Group VY)**

There is also a lack of cultural sense. Our friends have good intentions but they don't always understand our culture. We need to understand each other's culture. **(Group TG)**

And four groups stated that their lack of facilities and equipment create a number of challenges.

e.g. Lack of facilities to support activities **(Group CF)**

Government officials' challenge discourses

The challenge discourses among the six government officials that were interviewed¹¹⁶ were considerably less varied than the discourses from the focus groups (see Figure 9.4 below)¹¹⁷ although communication was again the most commonly mentioned challenge.

Communication is the main challenge, for everybody on *both* sides¹¹⁸. (**BB** interview, also mentioned by **SB, MX, DP and TX**)

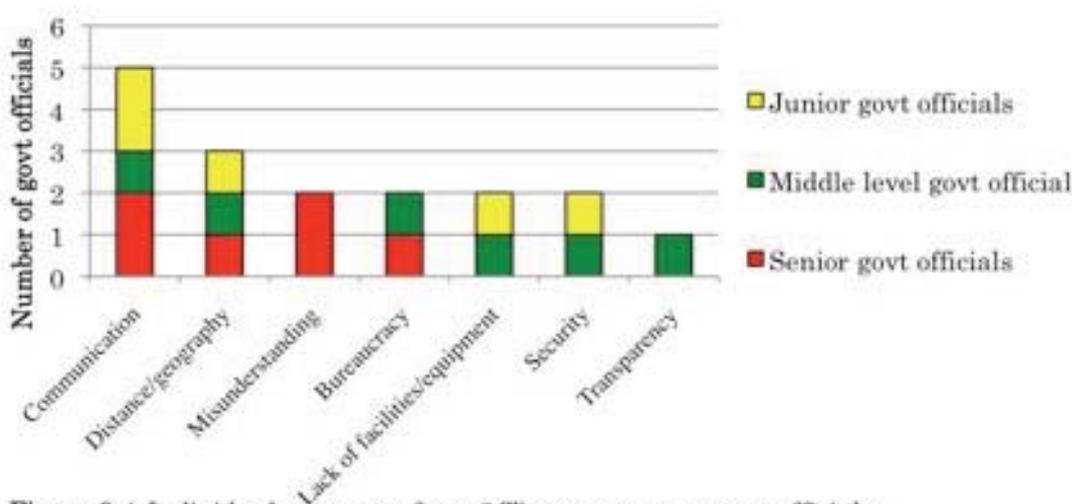


Figure 9.4 Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements

Whereas the focus groups mentioned four issues that affected communication (language differences, the costs of communicating, the distances involved, and a lack of communication infrastructure), while one government official indicated that communication problems were partly caused by a lack of infrastructure (“We don’t have internet in the

¹¹⁶ See Appendix 17 for a full breakdown of their challenge statements.

¹¹⁷ The unit of analysis in Figure 9.4 is the individual. If an individual mentioned a particular challenge, then it scored a 1 (whether they mentioned that type of challenge once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 5 means 5 individuals mentioned a particular type of challenge rather than one individual mentioning that challenge 5 times in total.

¹¹⁸ BB’s emphasis.

districts, telephone – so how can we contact them?” **MX**, interview), the language issue appears to have been their main concern.

[Some] Timorese people speak English but most of them might not. Most of them want to learn but they have not [yet]. (**TX**, interview)

To have that knowledge of the language, to be able to talk freely, laugh together - that is the main challenge. (**BB**, interview)

The challenge is language. (**MX**, interview)

English language. That’s one challenge. (**SB**, interview)

So although the government officials’ success discourses indicated that one of the main successes of the Friendship Agreements is the availability of English language courses for Timorese participants, the challenge of communicating when people speak different languages is far from being resolved.

In addition to the challenge of communication, the government officials mentioned that the Friendship Agreements face challenges in regards to: the logistical difficulties imposed by the rough terrain; misunderstandings (in relation to what the relationship means and how it should be interpreted or the motivations behind establishing the relationships); the need for following bureaucratic procedures; a lack of facilities/equipment; security; and transparency. Just as the middle level government officials had a broader perspective about Timorese contributions in the Friendship Agreements than the senior or junior government officials, the middle level government officials appear to have a broader perspective about the challenges facing the agreements. Again, this may be because middle level government officials are the go-betweens between the high-level policy makers and the district administrations.

Differences in discourses

The same sort of factors mentioned in the contributions and successes sections could have caused the differences between the focus group's challenge discourses and the government official's challenge discourses. These include: data methodology issues (discussed in chapter six); respondent's position in relation to the Friendship Agreements; and the timing of the interviews.

As stated in the previous section, the people in the focus groups were often involved with the day-to-day practical application of the Friendship Agreements. This could explain why most of the challenge discourses that were mentioned by the focus groups and not mentioned by the government officials appear to relate to the practical application of the agreements (such as costs of communicating, lack of communication infrastructure, lack of finances; lack of transportation; lack of human resources; lack of planning and coordination; having no signed agreement; monitoring/evaluation; lack of action; lack of community involvement; lack of reciprocity; banking; envy; and failure).

The fact that two government officials identified security as a challenge was probably influenced by the timing of the interviews, since the interviews were conducted in March 2007 while tens of thousands of internally displaced people were still living in camps after the conflicts of 2006.

Overall challenge discourses

As seen in the success discourses, although the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements were established with the expressed desire that they would differ from other international municipal links, a majority of the Timorese Friendship Agreement challenge discourses are also commonly mentioned challenge discourses in the international municipal link literature (see Table 9.3 below).

Table 9.3 *Comparison of the international municipal links challenge discourses with the Timorese challenge discourses*

Challenges according to the literature	Challenges according to the Timorese groups and individuals
Communication	Communication*
Coping with a growing demand for services while struggling with the capacity to deliver	Lack of transportation Lack of human resources Planning and coordination difficulties Lack of Facilities/Equipment* Distance*
Lack of finances	Lack of finances
Having clearly defined expectations and objectives	Misunderstandings*
Gaining widespread support/ Having strong community support and participation	Lack of a signed agreement Lack of community involvement
Workable evaluations	Monitoring/Evaluation Lack of transparency*
Unequal partnerships	Lack of reciprocity
	Lack of action
	Bureaucracy*
	Banking
	Envy
	Failure of program
	Security†
Need for long-term commitment	
Having continuity in the personnel involved	
Having women included in the linking process	
Having capacity development built on existing knowledge, existing resources and existing practices	
Tension between centralisation and decentralisation	
Tension between the expected organisational model of local government and the traditional forms of societal organisation	
Having a reputation for political instability and corruption	

The challenge discourses identified by just the focus groups have been left unmarked. The challenge discourses identified by just the government officials are marked with a '†' and those identified by both are marked with an '*'.

Of the six most commonly mentioned challenge discourses in the international municipal link literature (unequal ‘partnerships; a lack of finances; gaining widespread support; being able to implement regular, workable evaluations; maintaining regular communication; and committing to a long-term interaction), all except ‘committing to a long-term interaction’ were identified by the Timorese as being challenges for the Friendship Agreements (since the Friendship Agreements have been established as long-term relationships (generally 10 year agreements)).

Although only one group specifically referred to an unequal ‘partnership’ in their challenge discourse (referring to a lack of reciprocity), the main Timorese contribution discourse (“We do not give anything”) discussed earlier in this chapter indicates that most Timorese perceive the Friendship Agreements to be unequal. Participants may have been reluctant to articulate inequality as a challenge because doing so may have been interpreted as a criticism of their Australian friends. However, since reciprocity is considered critical for the sustainability of international links (UNDP, 2000) if the people involved in the Friendship Agreements wish the agreements to continue in the future they will need to change their current practices in order to build the level of reciprocity.

The challenge of ‘coping with a growing demand for services while struggling with the capacity to deliver’, identified in the literature as a common challenge for Southern ‘partners’, although not articulated in these exact words, was present in the Timorese challenge discourses. For instance, Group DK stated that, “We have a lot of needs and sometimes it is difficult to prioritise”. In addition to the lack of finances (which negatively impacts on their ability to implement changes), the Timorese identified five other reasons

why they struggled to provide the services that their communities desired – a lack of transportation, a lack of human resources, planning and coordination difficulties, a lack of facilities/equipment and the long distances/mountainous terrain. This indicates that, similar to other North-South international municipal links, Friendship Agreement activities that are built on existing knowledge, existing resources and existing practices are more likely to succeed in the long run. For example, Group KN explained that their community had received some Australian-made motorbikes from their linked Australian community. However, despite the fact that other types of motorbikes are commonly repaired in Timor-Leste, none of the motorbikes that they were sent can be used now because spare parts for those types of motorbikes are unavailable in Timor-Leste and the Timorese do not have the capacity to make them (field notes).

Although few women participated in the focus groups, the Timorese did not see the lack of female participation as a challenge. This is likely to have been influenced by the fact that Timor-Leste is a strongly patriarchal society. Since men have been traditionally placed in positions of power within Timor-Leste, participants were unlikely to see the imbalance between male and female participation as a problem. However, the differences between Australian and Timorese perceptions of gender issues are likely to impact on their Friendship Agreement relationship in some way. For example, the Australian community that is linked to the Timorese community (HB) have implemented several programmes for women in the HB community. However, one member of HB's Friendship Agreement committee complained that so much attention was being paid to women's issues. He didn't feel that women's issues were important (field notes).

Analyzing challenge discourses in relation to MoU rationales

Table 9.4 (below) shows the breakdown of the Timorese challenge discourses by MoU type.

Table 9.4 *Breakdown of group challenge discourses by MoU type*

Type of MoU →	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (2)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
Communication (13)	1		2	6	4
Lack of finances (8)	1		1	4	2
Lack of transportation (8)	1		1	3	3
Lack of human resources (7)	2		2	3	
Planning and coordination (6)	1			2	3
Misunderstanding (5)	1	1			3
Lack of facilities/equipment (4)	2		1		1
Distance (3)			1	2	
Lack of transparency (3)				1	2
Lack of signed agreement (3)				2*	1
Monitoring/evaluation (2)					2
Lack of action (2)				1	1
Lack of community involvement (1)					1
Lack of reciprocity (1)	1				
Bureaucracy (1)				1	
Banking (1)				1	
Envy (from other sub-districts) (1)	1				
Failure of program (1)					1

*Two groups with signed agreements stated that one of their problems was the lack of a signed agreement. However, one group had signed an agreement in 2004 and the other in 2005 well before the evaluation. The district administrators connected to these two groups were absent from the meeting, so it appears that the members of the committees that were present were unaware that an agreement had been signed.

It can be seen in this table that the group that had signed a *political activism*-type of MoU only identified one challenge (misunderstanding). This could be interpreted as meaning that the *political activism*-type of MoU provides the fewest challenges. However, as there were only three members of their large committee present for the interview and it is the only *political activism*-type of MoU identified, it is impossible to draw this sort of conclusion from this one response. It was noted in chapter seven that Timor-Leste being the poorest nation in Asia impacts on the Friendship Agreement relationships in terms of: communication, transport, finances, frequency and reciprocity of visitations, and choices about, and participation in, specific Friendship Agreement activities. Since the most common

challenge discourses related to these specific issues and they were similar for groups that had not signed an MoU as well as for groups with different types of MoUs, the challenge discourses appear to be linked more to the economic situation in Timor-Leste than to the type of MoU the groups have signed.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed the ways in which the Australia/Timorese Friendship Agreements relate to North-South international municipal links. In particular, it has discussed how the success and challenge discourses of the Timorese participants relate to similar North-South international municipal link discourses and examined the impacts of the different types of Friendship Agreement MoUs on these discourses.

There seems little in the success discourses to differentiate between the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements and other North-South international municipal links. The importance of building strong relationships (evident in the contribution discourses) is supported by the success discourses. However, no apparent link was found between the type of MoU a group had signed and the Timorese success discourses. The Timorese indicate that the building of a relationship between the linked communities is not only one of the biggest successes of the Friendship Agreements, but the most important ingredient for success.

The Friendship Agreements also face similar challenges to other North-South international municipal links. The majority of these challenges appear to be linked more to the economic situation in Timor-Leste than whether or not they have signed an MoU or what type of MoU

they have signed if they have. However, the overarching challenge appears to be communication, not simply because of a lack of infrastructure, and the costs and distances involved, but because the linked communities speak different languages.

The implications of the findings in this chapter are discussed further in chapter eleven. The next chapter presents and analyses ‘partnerships for development’ discourses in relation to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements and explores and analyses the relationship between those discourses and the discourses of international municipal links and friendship discussed in this and the previous chapters.

Chapter 10

Partnerships and the Friendship Agreements

This chapter presents and analyses documents, and speeches and statements made by Timorese participants, relating to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements in relation to the 5 research questions that arose from the partnerships for development literature review (see chapter five).¹¹⁹ In particular, this chapter considers (1) Timorese agendas that underpin the Friendship Agreements; (2) the types of partnerships portrayed in the written agreements and how they relate to MoU types; (3) the terminology used by the Timorese in relation to the Friendship Agreements (also broken down by MoU type); (4) how the Friendship Agreements relate to other models of North-South partnerships; and (5) whether the Friendship Agreements face similar challenges to other North-South partnerships.

It was noted in chapter five that, over the past two decades, many people that provide development assistance have become increasingly aware of the danger of paternalism. They have tried to move from ‘working for’ others to ‘working with’ others. This shift in awareness has brought about a change in the way in which people receiving aid are portrayed – from ‘victims’, ‘recipients’, ‘beneficiaries’, ‘counterparts’, ‘participants’, and ‘clients’ to ‘partners’ (M. B. Anderson, 2001; Blagescu & Young, 2005; Edwards, 2000). In the case of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, since the MoUs use the terms ‘friendship’ and/or ‘partnership’, the recipients of aid (the Timorese) are being portrayed as a friend

¹¹⁹ The documents analysed in this chapter are the same documents that were analysed in chapter seven. The speeches and many of the statements that are analysed in this chapter were made by Timorese and Australian participants at the “Timor-Leste – Australia Friendship conference: Strengthening communities through international friendship” held in Dili, Timor-Leste 18-20 June, 2008. This conference will hereafter be referred to as the 2008 Friendship conference.

and/or a partner. The relationships between the Timorese groups and Australian groups are called ‘Friendship Relationships’ (for instance, “... we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between ...” MoU C)¹²⁰ and/or ‘partnerships’ (for instance, “We ... declare our joint commitment to a productive partnership ...” MoU B)¹²¹. Whereas chapter seven analysed the agreements in terms of friendship and chapters eight and nine analysed the agreements in terms of international municipal links, this chapter analyses the agreements in terms of partnership.

Agendas

As mentioned in chapter five, there are usually multiple competing, and often contradictory, Northern and Southern agendas that underlie North-South¹²² partnerships (see for instance Alan Fowler, 2000c; Makuwira, 2006a; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). In the context of this current study, the relevant research questions from chapter five are:

What Timorese agendas underpin the Friendship Agreements? How might these agendas affect the ‘partnerships’?

Since a Friendship Agreement is a type of North-South partnership that involves multiple levels of interaction (see Figure 10.1 below), there are likely to be different levels of agendas that influence the Friendship Agreements.

¹²⁰ All thirteen MoUs refer to a Friendship Relationship in some way.

¹²¹ All except one of the thirteen MoUs refer to a partnership in some way.

¹²² It was pointed out in chapter one the problems associated with dividing the world into ‘North’ and ‘South’. Within this chapter, where possible, reference will be made to ‘Australian’ or ‘Timorese’ rather than ‘North’ or ‘South’ but when relating ideas from the partnership literature, the terms ‘North’ and ‘South’ will be used.

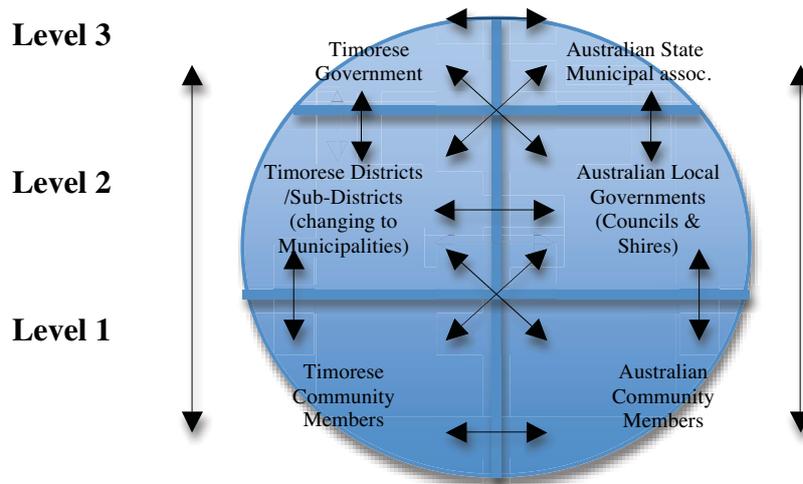


Figure 10.1 *The levels of involvement in the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements*¹²³

This section concentrates on exploring the Timorese agendas that impact on the Friendship Agreements from level 3 (national) and level 2 (District/Sub-district). It is possible to identify a number of different (and sometimes competing) agendas by examining official Friendship Agreement documents and speeches made by government officials.

Timorese agendas

Many people working at the national level in Timor-Leste have publically expressed their support for the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. This was particularly evident at the 2008 Friendship conference. The Prime Minister (Xanana Gusmão) stated that

While national governments will at times disagree, for they have their own agendas and interests, friendships between people and communities can create strong and lasting bonds and transcend political differences. This is an important reason why the Timor-Leste Government is such a strong supporter of the Australian Friendship Relationships. They recognise the human dimension of friendship between our countries and promote mutual respect, tolerance and understanding.

¹²³ As the arrows indicate the Friendship Agreements may involve interactions between people from the same and/or different levels. The long arrows on the left and right of the circle indicate that interactions can occur between levels 1 and 3.

Another key principle is that any material contributions from Australia are best provided in accordance with consultation and cooperation with the people of Timor-Leste. Through adherence to this principle, we can ensure that support is provided where local communities decide they need it most. It acknowledges that the Timorese know best the support they need to build their communities. (H. E. K. R. X. Gusmão, 2009: 16-17)¹²⁴

And yet, the principle which Gusmão refers to in the previous paragraph, states that,

Material contributions by local governments in Victoria to the re-building of the nation of East Timor shall most effectively be provided in consultation and co-operation with the local as well as national representatives of the people of East Timor. (Statement of Principles, dot point 5)

This means that, although the agendas and interests of Timorese local people underpin the Friendship Agreements, the agendas and interests of Timorese national representatives can also underpin and affect the Friendship Agreements. At the 2008 Friendship conference, many Timorese national representatives made speeches about the Friendship Agreements. Some of the national agendas influencing the Friendship Agreements that were identified in these speeches include diplomatic, constitutional, economic, and political agendas.

Diplomatic agenda

On the diplomatic front, it appears that Friendship Agreements are an important diplomatic tool for maintaining a good relationship with a neighbour.

We can seek friends but neighbours we inherit. So whether we like it or not we must have a good relationship with Australia. It is a neighbour and a large country. (Senor A Caetano 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)¹²⁵

Timor-Leste is a small country – it is a small island, only part of a small island – only 1 million people. Indonesia and Australia are big neighbours. What is our strategy to keep

¹²⁴ Senor Xanana Gusmão, Timorese Prime Minister

¹²⁵ Senor Abilio Caetano, Timorese Director of Local Government

our sovereignty? We use diplomacy to create friends. We don't have physical power so these Friendship Agreements are very important. (Senor A Guterres 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹²⁶

They are considered so important that the Timorese Consul-General to Australia was given a target to reach.

I told him a few years ago, I don't know if he remembers, your target, your mission; I want one hundred friendship city arrangements with Timor. If you don't get them, you're fired! Well I left the foreign ministry two years ago so I can't fire him now. (Ramos-Horta, 2009: 11)¹²⁷

Although Ramos-Horta is no longer in a position to fire the Timorese Consul-General to Australia, this remark shows that the Timorese Consul-General has been, and continues to be, under considerable pressure to find more and more Australian communities that are willing to participate.

Constitutional agenda

Since the Timorese constitution stipulates that the Timorese government must decentralise power through the creation of local governments, the Friendship Agreements are considered important for providing 'local government' learning opportunities for the people in charge of the new municipalities.

The constitution clearly states that they have to devolve power to local government. Two-tier government ... [So,] we hope to engage more with the Australian local government (Senor A Guterres, interview 2007).

We recognise that this process of decentralisation is not an easy one, especially in a new country like East Timor, which has many limitations, for instance in terms of human resources, finance, etc ... Our friends from Australia, we know that many of you have wide experience regarding local government. That's why we ask that, through this friendship agreement, and also through government-to-government channels, we can

¹²⁶ Senor Abel Guterres, Timorese Consul-General to Australia

¹²⁷ Senor José Ramos-Horta, the President of Timor-Leste

learn from you and learn from your experience, and this can become a good guide for us in East Timor. (Leite, 2009: 21-22)¹²⁸

The Timorese national decentralisation programme places increasing pressure on the Friendship Agreements to provide municipal training opportunities for Timorese municipal officials (Level 2 interactions)¹²⁹ rather than providing connections between ordinary Australian and Timorese community members (Level 1 interactions). It was noted in chapter five that, although people-to-people programmes have been generally positive, people in the aid industry tend to move away from “facilitating relationships between groups and communities in the North and South, and allowing them to explore what such relationships might mean” because they feel that too many mistakes will be made (A. F. Fowler, 1998: 152-153).

This may be one of the reasons why a suggestion was made at the 2008 Friendship conference that Friendship Agreements should be ‘standardised’ to “ensure some degree of consistency across the *programmes*” (D Kingsbury 2008, pers. comm., June 19). Participants in the Friendship Agreements may need to question whether the creation of a standardised Friendship Agreement is the best option. Adopting a standardised agreement would lead to a patronising control by a ‘ruling elite’ (those individuals who had the opportunity to have input into the wording of the chosen agreement) and would remove the opportunity for community members from both Australia and Timor-Leste to have their views expressed in an agreement that not only affects the community members but is meant to be inclusive of the ‘grassroots’. It appears, therefore, that there is a tension between standardisation and

¹²⁸ Dr Arcangelo Leite, Timorese Minister for State Administration

¹²⁹ See Figure 8.1

contextualisation. However, if Friendship Agreements adopt a standardised agreement they will lose the opportunity for each agreement to be contextualised to the specific needs and the understanding of the communities involved.

Economic agenda

Besides being seen as a diplomatic tool that can provide good learning opportunities for local governments, Friendship Agreements are also sometimes seen as a way through which the Timorese national economy can be improved. Despite being established as community-to-community partnerships, several national Timorese representatives at the 2008 Friendship conference raised national economic agendas in their speeches. These included investment, tourism and business development, and export restrictions.

Investment

Australia is also a spring for investment. How can we get investment and development from them? There are over 650 multinational companies based in Sydney. Do we want to get the money from the leaves or from the trunk? (Senor A Guterres 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)

Tourism and business development

Now that this country is set on the path of peace and development, we hope to share the rewards with you. We want you to see that your faith in us was well founded. You have helped us to move towards a better future for our country, for the generations to come. Now the prospects are there to speed up our economic development and to develop trade and tourism. You have already done so much for this country but could I ask you to help us in a new way? When you go back to Australia, will you go as Ambassadors for our tourism and trade? ... When you visit your friends in the districts, you could help them to identify the potential each community has in developing trade and industry. Make partnerships in Timor-Leste and in Australia, so that our businessmen can enter the market and begin to build our economy from the grass roots level upwards. (Alves, 2009: 19-20)¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Dr Gil Alves, the Minister for Tourism

Export restrictions

What else could you do? Australia and the European Union are countries that have granted the so-called LDCs, least developed countries ... export rights to Australia without tariffs. But we actually have very little to export besides coffee ... But besides Timor coffee, you can help other developed products here ... like bananas, and so on. We know it is far more complicated than that – you need availability, you need enough quantity, and quarantine, and all of that. But one frustrating thing about Australians ... the officials always talk about quarantine, public health measures ... and so on. And so make it impossible for countries to meet those quarantine and public health demands. (Ramos-Horta, 2009: 12-13)

Exactly how the Friendship Agreements might lead to multinational investments within Timor-Leste or bring about changes to Australian import restrictions was not mentioned but, the discussion of national economic agendas in relation to the Friendship Agreements, indicates that some Timorese national representatives believe that Friendship Agreements may have the capacity to influence national-level economic agendas.

Political agenda

The Friendship Agreements have been created without any alignment to either Australian or Timorese political parties. However, the Statement of Principles¹³¹, as stated earlier, stipulates “material contributions ... shall most effectively be provided in consultation and co-operation with the local *as well as* national representatives of the people of East Timor”¹³². Since this principle appears to give equal weight to the consultation and co-operation with Timorese local and Timorese national representatives, political disagreements and tensions between local and national Timorese representatives may impact on the Friendship Agreements. An example of differences between local and national political

¹³¹ Dot point 5

¹³² My emphasis

views could be seen when the Timorese Prime Minister (Xanana Gusmão) used his speech at the 2008 Friendship conference to put forward some of his political views.

To my friends from Australia, I can assure you that since February 11 [2008] we have been striving to strengthen stability in our country. And we in the government don't want our people to suffer. We, the politicians, did wrong. We incited our people. And so, your activities that reach the local level will help ease these wrongs that happened in the past. (Prime Minister X Gusmão 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹³³

He urged District and Sub-district administration staff to leave party politics out of local government.

And also to the Timorese leaders who are sitting in your midst ... We need to show we love the people, to watch over them. Don't wait for an early election. If you work in the government you need to work for the people. If you want to work for a political party, then resign and work for your party. Don't play around. We don't want any more house burning, any more violence. (Prime Minister X Gusmão 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)

Some local Timorese Friendship Agreement representatives did not respond warmly to the views expressed by the Prime Minister.

It did not escape me, however that while the entire auditorium responded to Xanana Gusmão's speech (which encouraged Sub-District & District Administrators to leave Party Politics out of Local Government) with loud, extended applause, the Venilale contingent were unimpressed. This is just one indication of the political under current that pervades all aspects of life in Timor-Leste particularly in Fretilin strongholds such as Venilale where Fretilin supporters retain strong ties to the Fretilin of pre-independence days and in some cases see Gusmão's move away from this party as a betrayal. (Smethurst, 2008)¹³⁴

If political differences occur between local and national Timorese representatives, Australian groups that have signed MoUs “in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’” are placed in a difficult position. Whose views take

¹³³ The speech delivered by H. E. Xanana Gusmão at the Timor-Leste – Australia Friendship Conference in Dili in June 2008 was substantially different from the written version of his speech, which is reproduced in the ‘Report on the Timor-Leste Australia Friendship Conference’. This extract is taken from notes made of the speech presented at the conference. The date referred to in this quote was the date on which the President (José Ramos-Horta) was shot and wounded by rebel forces, the Prime Minister (Xanana Gusmão) was ambushed by rebel forces but not wounded, and the rebel leader (Alfredo Reinado) was shot and killed.

¹³⁴ One of the Australian participants at the conference.

precedence – the local or the national? It may be necessary to clarify it and write a new Statement of Principles to eliminate any confusion between the national and the local level of influence over the Friendship Agreements.

District/Sub-district level agendas

The Timorese national level agendas however, are not the only agendas affecting the Friendship Agreements. Since the written agreements have been signed between Australian communities and/or councils/shires and Timorese Districts or Sub-Districts, they are also influenced by District/sub-district level agendas. Some of the agendas identified at the District/Sub-district level include: who should be involved; and the focus of the agreement.

The ‘Involvement’ agenda

Some Timorese people at the District/sub-district level want more central co-ordination and government (level 3) involvement in the Friendship Agreements.

We should have a planning committee to supervise all the activities of Friendship Agreements ... We would like the support of the government. This will make it better if the government gives support. (Senor M Matos 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹³⁵

In order to strengthen the relationship between 2 Friendship Cities we ask that the leaders of the 2 nations (Australia and Timor-Leste) have a good relationship and work well together and we ask that they support Friendship City relationships between Australia and Timor-Leste. **Group NQ (Also expressed by Groups KA, KJ, KN and WB)**

On the other hand, others stress that the relationships must not depend on government involvement. However those that argue for less government involvement do not specify

¹³⁵ Senor Martino Matos, District Administrator

whether they want less central government (level 3) involvement or less district government (level 2) involvement.

This relationship must not depend on the government. As good citizens we must strive to live with one another. This initiative allows us to show our solidarity with each other. We hope this solidarity is non-conditional – given with joy and open heart and mind by people from Australia or Timor-Leste. This is not a political relationship. (Senor A Caetano 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

It is important to remember that this is not a proposal from Government to Government but from community to community – from people to people. **Group HB**

Keep politics out of the Friendship Agreements so they can be long term. (Timorese delegate S from community XS 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

The disagreements about increasing (or decreasing) involvement in the Friendship Agreements by people from levels 3 and/or 2 are similar to the disagreements about increasing (or decreasing) the participation of people from levels 1 and/or 2. Some Timorese involved in the Friendship Agreements at the District/sub-district level (level 2) want more involvement by community members in the Friendship Agreement (i.e. they want more level 1 involvement).

Our human resources are limited. Sometimes we have to use public servants but we want people from the community to do the work with the support of public servants. So the grassroots people feel that it is their friendship and not just a relationship between government officials. (Senor O Monteiro 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹³⁶

Others lament that there is not enough involvement by the local government authority (Level 2).

The structure of the commission has to involve the representatives from the local authority and the community. At least we have to organise together – Do we need the support of the local government or NOT? If people come with money, they can run a project but this is different. **Group HB (also expressed by Group CF)**

¹³⁶ Senor Olavio Monteiro, District Administrator

It appears, from the statements above, that there are a variety of disagreements about who should be involved and to what extent they should be involved. Questions that the Timorese may wish to address in relation to these disagreements include: to what extent are the Friendship Agreements a community-to-community link? To what extent are they a municipal-to-municipal link? Would increasing the involvement of people at the national and/or the District/sub-district level lead to an increase or decrease in community-level involvement? Should Friendship Agreements become standardised or should each Friendship Agreement be allowed to develop uniquely?

‘The focus of the agreement’ agenda

It was noted in chapter seven and chapter eight that many Timorese District/sub-district level participants argue that these agreements are all about building and maintaining relationships. While they acknowledge that their communities have benefited economically through the Friendship Agreements, they stress that relationship building is more important than money.

Firstly we can meet and get to know each other [but] I don’t want to say how much money [we have received] because friendship is not about money. I hope you will keep visiting us and later, hopefully, we will be able to visit you. (Senor E Bonaparte do Rego 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹³⁷

Our business is to be friends with each other. (Timorese Delegate T from community HB 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

It is important to strengthen our relationship first ... if we want things to go well in the future. **Group CB**¹³⁸

However, it can be seen in the various comments made by people at the national level that diplomatic and economic agendas, as well as the constitutional needs of the Timorese

¹³⁷ Senor Elvino Bonaparte do Rego, District Administrator

¹³⁸ For more quotes on this topic see chapter seven at the end of the ‘Choice’ section.

Districts to adjust to the new power sharing roles, place pressure on District level Friendship Agreement participants to extract more than friendship from the agreements.

This pressure to extract more than friendship from the programmes is similar to the pressures exerted on other people-to-people programmes. It was mentioned in the partnership literature that, people-to-people programmes have not become mainstream within the development field partly due to the demand for technical management within the aid industry and partly due to the vested interests that are tied to project-based development work (A. F. Fowler, 1998).

Four Timorese national (level 3) agendas and two Timorese District/sub-district (level 2) agendas have been discussed. However, although not analysed here, it must be noted that the agendas of Timorese community members as well as the agendas from all 3 Australian levels also influence the Friendship Agreements. Although Friendship Agreement MoUs are signed at the District/sub-district level in Timor-Leste, they have the capacity to involve community, district and national level participants. However, the grassroots community connections, which the Friendship Agreements aspire to, may be placed under pressure if the views of national representatives take precedence over the views of the local community members. After the decentralisation of power has become a reality within Timor-Leste, it may be necessary to rethink the level of involvement of Timorese national figures in the Friendship Agreements. This issue may need to be addressed in future written agreements.

In the same way that the partnership literature identified that there is often a mixed reaction to the receipt of aid, there are mixed reactions about the Friendship Agreements from the

Timorese. The individuals and groups that state that building a relationship is more important than money appear to be competing with economic agendas such as increasing investments and expanding business development. There also appears to be a tension between increasing the involvement of people at the grassroots and providing municipal training for the new municipalities.

Type of Partnership?

It was noted in chapter five that even though many organisations set out goals, objectives and mission statements outlining equal partnerships based on mutual respect, shared values and goals, mutual learning, self-reliance and people-centred processes, the reality often reveals socially-constructed, unequal partnerships that are centred around money from the rich North being sent, with strings attached, to the poor South (Ashman, 2001; Drew, 2003; Engel, 2003; Nyamugasira, 2002; Sorj, 2005; Vincent & Byrne, 2006).

In the context of international development, partnerships tend to draw from one of two different conceptualisations – ‘the functional versus the authentic partnerships’ (Brehm, 2004a; Alan Fowler, 2000b) or ‘the actual versus the ideal partnerships’ (Drew, 2003). The research questions pertinent to this study that arose from the review of literature on partnerships for development were:

How are the Friendship Agreements portrayed in the written memoranda? Do these portrayals reflect a functional or authentic concept of partnership? Do the memoranda identify specific roles for the Timorese and Australian groups? How do these roles relate to Drew’s (2003) ideal versus actual types of partnerships?

Functional or Authentic?

The functional concept of partnership relates to creating alliances for the sharing (allocation) of resources and the distribution of responsibilities to achieve a common goal (Brehm, 2004a). An authentic concept of partnership not only implies a shared commitment to a common goal, but also implies reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities, equality, mutuality, a balance of power, and a joint commitment to long-term interaction (Brehm, 2004a:18; Alan Fowler, 2000b: 4).

Each Friendship Agreement MoU analysed here includes a statement about a commitment to a common goal. For example, MoU A states

We agree that we will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. (1st dot point paragraph 6)

MoU B declares

We, 'The Parties' declare our joint commitment to:

1. a productive partnership built on mutual respect and friendship
 2. furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both 'parties'
- (1st paragraph in boxed declaration)

Eight MoUs assert

It is envisioned that this partnership ... will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities. **MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L, M** (paragraph 2)¹³⁹

¹³⁹ This quote can be found in paragraph 4 in MoU G

MoU D proclaims

The primary goal of the relationship is friendship and mutual respect between the two communities. (paragraph 3)

MoUs E and N state

It is intended that this partnership will be at both the local government and community levels and will result in improved understanding and appreciation of the cultures and experiences of the communities of Y and X. **MoUs E and N** (paragraph 3)

This “common goal” characteristic is common to both functional and authentic partnerships.

The other eight partnership characteristics mentioned by Brehm (2004a) can be used to classify MoUs into those emphasising functional characteristics (the allocation of resources and distribution of responsibilities) and those emphasising authentic characteristics (long-term commitment; mutuality; a balance of power; shared responsibilities; equality; and reciprocal obligations).

The MoUs vary in their inclusion of functional and authentic statements and these are summarised in Table 10.1¹⁴⁰ (see below).

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 18 for a full breakdown of the authentic/functional statements.

Table 10.1 A breakdown of the number and type of authentic and functional statements found in the MoUs and how they relate to MoU type

MoU	Number and type of statements found	Authentic/Functional Characteristic	MoU type according to rationale statements
B	6 authentic	Mutuality ¹⁴¹ Long-term commitment Balance of power Shared responsibility Equality Reciprocal obligations	<i>Peaceful relations</i>
A	4 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment Balance of power Shared responsibility	<i>Political activism</i>
D	3 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment Balance of power	<i>Peaceful relations</i>
E, N	2 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment	<i>Relational assistance</i>
C, F, G, H, J, K, L, M	2 x functional 2 x authentic	Allocation of resources ¹⁴² Distribution of responsibilities Mutuality Long-term commitment	<i>Assisted development</i>

Although MoUs A, B, D, E and N do not use functional statements, only one of the thirteen memoranda (MoU B) includes statements covering all six authentic characteristics. Table 10.2 (below) shows how all these characteristics can be included within one MoU.

Table 10.2 Extracts from MoU B

Authentic characteristics	MoU (B) extracts
Mutuality	We, 'The Parties' declare our joint commitment to: 1. a productive partnership built on mutual respect and friendship 2. furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both 'parties'
Reciprocal obligations And Balance of power	This MoU commits the two parties to: 1. an exchange of knowledge and skills; 2. exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; 3. continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange; 4. maintaining frequent communication between the parties; 5. consulting widely with their community.
Shared responsibilities And Equality	The underlying principles of the partnership are: 1. building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties; 2. acknowledging and respecting the different cultures while aiming to find a way of working that makes each party feel comfortable and inspired; 3. understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities ...
Long-term commitment	The commitment to this relationship was originally for a ten-year period ...

¹⁴¹ Authentic characteristics are shown in green.

¹⁴² Functional characteristics are shown in blue.

Eight MoUs (C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M) include functional statements about the allocation of resources ...

It is envisioned that this partnership ... will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ... **MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M**¹⁴³

and the distribution of responsibilities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes* and should take account of the capacity of X, to resource and support them^o. **MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M**¹⁴⁴

* = Timorese responsibility

^o = Australian responsibility

Although the MoUs that include two functional statements also include two authentic statements (mutuality and long-term commitment), the four authentic characteristics that are not addressed within these MoUs are the characteristics to do with the two parties being equal (reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities, equality and a balance of power). So, of the thirteen MoUs examined, one MoU appears to reflect an authentic concept of partnership, eight MoUs appear to reflect long-term functional concepts of partnerships and the other four MoUs, while not functional, appear to be partly authentic.

Examining the Friendship Agreement MoUs in relation to the authentic/functional partnership types helps identify how each partnership is expected to be manifest as well as

¹⁴³ Most of the MoUs that include this statement include the clause “in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’, of 4 May 2000 ...” which states that, “Local governments and organisations at a community level have expertise and experience in caring for and developing local communities. The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor.” This indicates that the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources is one-way (from Australia to Timor-Leste). Although MoU D states that, “... the Friendship Relationship will support the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources”, it is not included here because the paragraph in which this statement is made uses the term “exchanges” in a way that indicates the “transfers” could be two-way.

¹⁴⁴ MoUs F and M changed “We recognise ...” to “It is recognised ...”.

the sort of impacts that may result from it. It was noted in chapter five that while Northern groups that adopt an authentic approach to partnership tend to concentrate on relationship building, Northern groups that take a more functional approach to partnership are more likely to concentrate on achieving specific development goals without explicitly concerning themselves with the long-term impact they have on their partners' autonomy (Brehm, 2004a). This appears to be supported by the analysis of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs summarised in Table 10.1.

It can be seen in Table 10.1 that the eight MoUs that reflect long-term functional concepts of partnership exactly match the *assisted development* MoUs identified in chapter eight. Although one of the identifying factors for both functional partnerships and an *assisted development*-type of MoU is the inclusion of statements that indicate a one-way (North to South) transfer of funds, it must be stated that functional partnerships also contain a separation of responsibilities while *assisted development*-types of MoU also emphasise measurable outcomes.

While one *peaceful relations*-type of MoU included all authentic characteristics, MoUs that were identified as partly authentic were spread across 3 different types of MoUs (*political activism, peaceful relations and relational assistance*). This means that, while it is possible to include all of the authentic partnership characteristics in an MoU, no particular type of MoU is guaranteed to include all authentic characteristics. This suggests that groups need to consciously address particular issues if they wish to create an authentic partnership. In regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, while mutuality and long-term

commitment were found in all MoUs, groups wishing to create an authentic partnership need to pay particular attention to the balance of power, shared responsibilities, equality and reciprocal obligations.

Roles/Responsibilities¹⁴⁵

In addition to being analysed in relation to the functional and authentic concepts of partnership, the Friendship Agreement MoUs statements identifying specific roles for the Timorese and/or the Australians were examined in more detail. These roles were analysed in relation to Drew's (2003: 5) ideal and actual types of North-South partnerships (see Figure 5.1 on page 83).

Just as the Friendship Agreement MoUs vary in their use of functional and authentic characteristics, the Friendship Agreement MoUs also vary in the sort of statements they include about specific roles for the Timorese and Australian participants¹⁴⁶. According to Drew (2003), actual North-South partnerships tend to view the Southern partner's roles as implementation, auditing and reporting, and the Northern partner's roles as policy, strategy, planning and decision-making, international contacts, resources, security and credibility, and monitoring and evaluation. On the other hand, Drew (2003) argues that ideal North-South partnerships have partners with the same levels of authority, responsibility and working prestige.

¹⁴⁵ Hereafter referred to as roles.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 19 for a full list of the statements relating to roles.

Actual roles

Very few of the actual North-South partnership roles listed by Drew are mentioned in the MoUs. The MoUs do not include statements identifying which partner is responsible for implementation, audit, reporting, policy, international contacts, security and credibility, and monitoring and evaluation. However, many MoUs include statements that relate to Drew's actual partnership roles of decision-making and resources (see Figure 10.2 below).¹⁴⁷

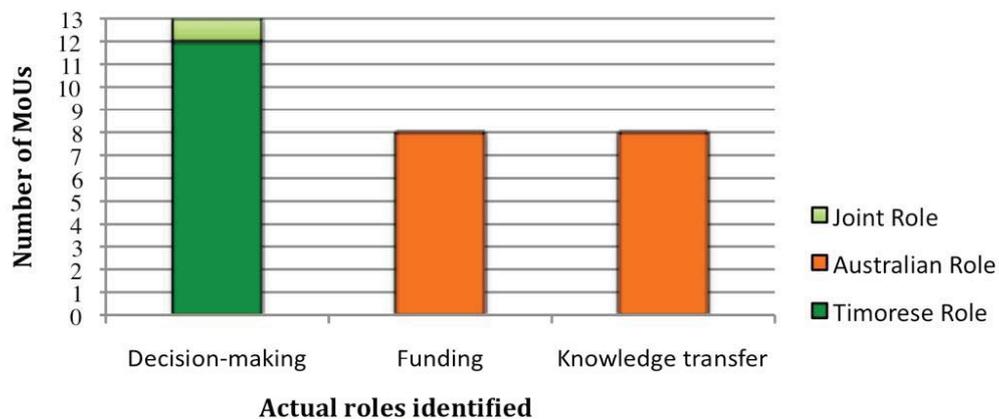


Figure 10.2 Actual roles identified within the Friendship Agreement MoUs

Unlike Drew's model of actual North-South partnerships, where decision-making is given as a Northern role, twelve of the thirteen MoUs identify decision-making as a Timorese role and one MoU identifies decision-making as a joint role.

We will base all of our activities on the principles of ... local decision-making. **MoU A**

It is recognised that ... any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes. **MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L, M**

¹⁴⁷ The unit of analysis in Figure 10.2 is the MoU. If an MoU included a statement about a particular role, then it scored a 1 (whether they include statements about that role once or several times). Hence, in the graph, 12 means 12 MoUs included at least one statement about that role rather than a few MoUs including 12 statements in total.

Local decisions must inform the strategies and projects developed under the Friendship Relationship, and must respect the aspirations and capacities of the communities that adopt them. **MoU D**

It is understood that any project will take into account the National Development Plan and District Development Plan for Y as well as other priorities identified through local decision-making processes. **MoUs E and N**

The underlying principle of the partnership [is] building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties. **MoU B**

Although MoUs C, G, H, J, K and L state that “any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes”, they are signed “in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’” which, stipulates that the Australian groups will respect the decision-making processes of both local *and* national Timorese representatives. Either way, however, decision-making appears to be in the hands of the Timorese.

On the other hand, eight of the thirteen MoUs specify that the provision of resources is an Australian role. MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M indicate that funding and knowledge transfer are Australian responsibilities. For example:

We recognise that ... any strategy or project should ... take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them. **MoUs C, H, J, K and L**

The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor; (Statement of Principle) In accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’ of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y and X ... It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ... **MoUs C, G, H, J, K and L**

Ideal roles

In contrast to Drew’s actual North-South partnerships, Drew argues that ideal North-South partnerships have partners with the same levels of authority, responsibility and working prestige. MoU D includes a statement about an exchange of knowledge and skills, which indicates the same level of working prestige.

The initiatives created under the Friendship Relationship will promote educational, cultural, economic, humanitarian and sporting links. These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y. **MoU D**

MoU A includes a statement about shared work, which indicates the same level of responsibility.

We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. **MoU A**

However, only MoU B includes statements that cover all aspects of Drew’s ideal partnership (see Table 10.3 below).

Table 10.3 *Ideal partnership statement extracts from MOU B*

Ideal attribute	Role	Joint role statements
Same level of working prestige	An exchange of knowledge and skills (2 statements)	This MoU commits the two parties to an exchange of knowledge and skills; exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange. MoU B Understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities. MoU B
Same level of authority	Planning and decision-making (1 statement)	The underlying principle of the partnership [is] building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties. MoU B
Same level of responsibility	Communication (2 statements)	This MoU commits the two parties to maintaining frequent communication between the parties. MoU B We ‘The Parties’ declare our joint commitment to furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both ‘parties’. MoU B
	Community consultation (1 statement)	This MoU commits the two parties to consulting widely with their communities. MoU B

Since MoU B includes statements covering all aspects of Drew's (2003) ideal partnership model, MoU B, at least on paper, could be considered to be an ideal partnership. In regards to the other twelve MoUs, although only a few roles are mentioned, it appears that the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements differ from Drew's (2003) Actual North-South partnership model in at least one aspect: planning and decision-making have become the role of the 'Southern' partner. However, since the most commonly cited problem for building authentic/ideal North-South partnerships is the transfer of finances (A. F. Fowler, 1998), the inclusion of specific statements relating to the one-way provision of resources in some of the MoUs may make building authentic/ideal partnerships difficult.

Terminology

Even though the meaning of partnership is unclear, the discourse among Northern partners (who tend to be donors) appears to be very positive. There appears to be consensus within Northern groups that North-South partnerships are important and that these partnerships should be Southern driven (King & McGrath, 2000). From a Southern perspective however, there does not seem to be a corresponding Southern consensus about the desire for partnerships. While the term partnership is widely used by Northern partners, Southern partners rarely use it (Lister, 2000). The research question on this issue that arose in the review of the partnerships for development literature was:

Do the Timorese use the term 'partnership' in relation to the Friendship Agreements'?

As part of the evaluation of the Friendship Agreements, sixteen of the seventeen Timorese Friendship Agreement committees were asked, "What do you feel that you offer to the

Australians in this partnership?”¹⁴⁸ Since this question includes the term ‘partnership’ it could be expected that written responses would be likely to include references to either a ‘partner’ or a ‘partnership’. However, the majority of responses to this question (12 out of 16) did **not** include the term ‘partner’ or ‘partnership’. **Groups VY, NQ, TG and LZ** referred to the Australians as ‘our partner’ but other responses included ‘our friends’ (**Groups HB, VY, KJ, DK**), ‘the people of X’ (**Group KA, XS, DK**), ‘part of our family’ (**Group HC**), ‘the Friendship City’ (**Group KN**) or ‘them’ (**Group WY**). Continuing the analysis of the answers to this question, **Group VY** was the only group to make any reference to a ‘partnership’ whereas several referred to a ‘relationship’ (**Groups KA, WB, XS**) and/or a ‘friendship’ (**Groups WB, CB**). Two groups did not make any reference to the Australian group in their answer but just listed what it was they offered (such as security, gratitude, etc). There does not appear to be a link between the type of MoU a group has signed and the reference terms used by the Timorese in response to this question (see Table 10.4 below).

Table 10.4 Breakdown of reference terms used by the Timorese in response to the question “What do you feel that you offer to the Australians in this partnership?” by MoU type

	Peaceful relations (2)	Political activism (1)	Relational assistance (1)	Assisted development (8)	No MoU (4)
‘Our partner’			1		2
‘Our partner’/ ‘partnership’/ ‘friends’		1			
‘Our friends’				2	
‘Our friends’/ ‘The people of X’	1				
‘The people of X’/ ‘relationship’				1	1
‘Part of our family’				1	
‘The friendship city’					1
‘Friendship’				1	
‘Relationship/Friendship’				1	
‘Them’				1	
No reference term used	1			1	

¹⁴⁸ This question was written in both English and Tetum. The Tetum version also referred to ‘parseiru’ or partnership. “Sa ida de’it ma’ak imi sente (hanoin) katak imi fó ba ema Australianu sira iha imi nia parseiru ne’e?” One group did not get to respond to this question because of time constraints.

The 158 Timorese Friendship Agreement commission members that participated in the evaluation were also asked to write individual recommendations about how to make the Friendship Agreements stronger in the future. An analysis of the 345 recommendations was made to see how the Timorese refer to the connection between the Australian and Timorese communities. Most of the recommendations are written in a style that already assumes a connection between the two communities, such as:

We would like to ask both committees to establish joint fund raising for the development. **Group HC**

However, of the 55 recommendations that include a specific word referring to the connection between the communities, 52 recommendations refer to it as a relationship¹⁴⁹, 3 as a friendship¹⁵⁰ and none as a partnership¹⁵¹. Typical examples were:

In order to have a more effective relationship we need ... **Group VY**

... to strengthen the friendship relationship ... **Group LZ**

As friends we have to increase and strengthen our relationship ... **Group KA**

To promote the friendship through ... **Group WB**

It was mentioned in chapter five that recent research highlights the fact that Southern partners tend to place a higher value on the *quality of the relationship* between the partners rather than the *purpose* of the relationship and the quality of the *work* carried out¹⁵² (Brehm, 2004b; Vincent & Byrne, 2006). It seems apparent from these findings that the Timorese,

¹⁴⁹ These include 35 references to Relasaun or Relação (relationship), 9 references to Relação cidade amiga (Friendship city relationship) and 8 references to Relação de amizade or Relasaun amizade (Friendship relationship).

¹⁵⁰ Amijade or Amizade (Friendship)

¹⁵¹ Tetum, Portuguese, Indonesian and English (the languages, or combination of languages in which the recommendations were written) all have a word for 'partnership'.

¹⁵² My emphasis

like other Southern ‘partners’, while rarely using the term ‘partnership’ in reference to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, place a high value on the quality of the relationship.

Models

According to the degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance

It was noted in chapter five that the term ‘partnership’ is used to describe a wide variety of relationships. Leach (1997) identifies six models of partnership that vary according to the degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance. In a ***Contracting model***, the Southern partner is paid by the Northern partner to perform a set of tasks that are determined by the Northern partner. In a ***Dependent franchising model***, the Southern partner acts as a local field office, operating independently from the main office but dependent on the Northern partner for direction and finances. The ***Spin-off NGOs model*** is where the Southern partner field office is expected to become independent over time. In a ***Visionary patronage model***, the Northern and Southern partners have a shared vision and joint goals. The Southern partner implements the plans and the Northern partner provides funding and other resources. The ***Collaborative operations model*** is where there is shared decision-making power over programmes and planning. The Southern partner implements the programmes and the Northern partner provides financial and technical support. In the ***Mutual governance model***, the Southern and Northern partners both have substantial decision-making powers at the organisational and programme levels and, to a certain extent, influence each other’s policies and practices (Brehm, 2004a; Leach, 1997; Makuwira, 2006a, 2006b). In relation to this study, a relevant research question that arose from the partnerships for development literature was:

What models of 'partnership' are emerging from the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs?

An analysis of the thirteen MoUs reveals that most of the Friendship Agreements do not fit neatly within Leach's (1997) partnership models. For example, since the Timorese are expected to make strategic decisions about how the agreements should be manifest within their communities rather than just follow directions from the Australians, the Friendship Agreements do not fit within either the *Contracting* or the *Dependent franchising* model. Neither do they fit within the *Spin-off NGO* model since the Friendship Agreements are considered long-term community-to-community relationships rather than a Timorese replication of an Australian partner organisation that is expected to become independent over time.

In the case of a *Visionary patronage* model, if it is defined as a partnership where the partners share visions and goals while the Southern partner has the role of implementation and the Northern partner has the role of providing the finances and resources then, at first glance MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M might appear to fit within this model. This is because within these MoUs there are statements that deal with a shared vision, goals, a Timorese role and an Australian role (see Table 10. 5 below).

Table 10.5 *Statements from MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M as they relate to the Visionary patronage model*

MoUs	Shared vision	Goals	Timorese role - decision-making	Australian role - funding and resources
C, F, G, H, J, K, L, M	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor ... we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.	X and their communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y Any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes ...	Any strategy or project ... should take account of the capacity of X and their communities to resource and support them.

However, the ‘goals’ statements within these MoUs appear to be written from an Australian perspective rather than a joint perspective. Although both parties have signed these MoUs, the goals statements appear to create an impression of ‘us’ (Australians) and ‘them’ (Timorese’). Also, although decisions about strategies and projects are in the hands of the Timorese, these MoUs do not include any statements about who is responsible for their implementation. Consequently, if Leach’s *Visionary patronage* model requires *joint* goals rather than just goals and a clear indication that the Southern partner (in this case the Timorese) *implement* the plans rather than just make the plans, then, these MoUs would not fit within this model.

Another example of the difficulty faced by using Leach’s models to classify the Friendship Agreements can be seen when an analysis is made of the MoUs that do not include statements about financial aid. Although MoUs A, B, D, E and N do not include statements about financial aid, this does not preclude financial assistance being provided. All of the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees that were interviewed indicated that their communities had benefited financially from the Friendship Agreements. For instance:

Y district has got a lot of support from Friendship City in Australia including Scholarships for 25 students (10 secondary, 15 university). The money for the scholarships comes to the committee account and then it is given to cover the costs of the 25 students. **Group VY**

Helped students with money for computer training. **Group DK**

Money for kindergarten playground equipment. **Group TG**

However, since both the *Visionary patronage* and the *Collaborative operations* models assume that the Northern partner will provide financial aid to the Southern partner, without clear evidence in the MoUs that financial aid is part of the structure of the Friendship Agreements it is not possible to classify them as belonging to either of these models.

In Leach's (1997) *Mutual governance* model, as stated earlier, the Southern and Northern partners both have substantial decision-making powers at the organisational levels and programme levels and, to a certain extent, influence each other's policies and practices. MoU B is the only MoU that specifies that decision-making within the Friendship Agreement is a joint role.

The underlying principle of the partnership (is) building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties.

Although it is difficult to gauge to what extent the Australian policies and practices are influenced by the Timorese policies and practices and vice versa by reading an MoU, the inclusion of a statement in MoU B which stresses that "both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities" seems to indicate that policies and practices may be influenced, to a certain extent, by the other party. So, MoU B appears to fit within Leach's (1997) *Mutual governance* model.

Although when all Friendship Agreements are put into practice they may mimic one of Leach's (1997) partnership models, according to the statements made within the MoUs, most Friendship Agreements do not appear to fit easily into these models. Most of the agreements appear to fall into what could be called a *Supportive patronage* model. In a *Supportive patronage* model the Northern and Southern partners have agreed goals and the Southern partner is paid by the Northern partner to perform tasks that are determined by the Southern partner and supported by the Northern partner. However, it must be stated clearly that only the MoUs have been analysed in relation to these partnership models. Further investigation would be necessary to determine whether an analysis of the practical application of the Friendship Agreements would elicit the same or different results.

In contrast to Leach's (1997) partnership models which vary according to the degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance, Brehm (2004a) highlights the differences in the depth and quality of the North-South partnerships in the three areas of funding, capacity and trust (see Figure 10.3 below). Brehm (2004a) maintains that North-South partnerships fall somewhere between the extremes in each category.

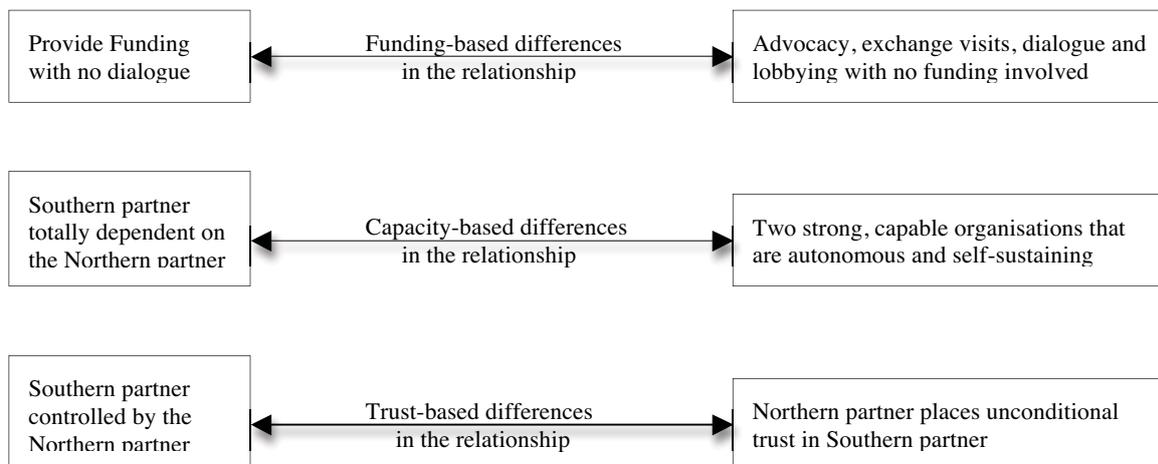


Figure 10.3 Brehm's (2004a) partnership categories¹⁵³

Funding-based differences

As shown earlier, MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M include a statement indicating that it is the Australian role to provide finances and resources to their Timorese partner. However, this financial aid appears to be provided with dialogue. These MoUs state

It is envisioned that this partnership ... will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

Since it is difficult to maintain a long-term relationship without some level of dialogue, these MoUs do not appear to fit within the *funding-based differences in the relationship* extreme of 'providing funding with no dialogue'. However, neither do they fit within the *funding-based differences in the relationship* extreme of 'no funding involved' since they clearly provide funding. They are somewhere between the two extremes.

¹⁵³ In pictorial form

MoUs A, B, D, E and N, on the other hand, do not include statements indicating that it is an Australian role to provide finances and resources to their Timorese partner. So they appear to fit into within the extreme of ‘*advocacy, exchange visits, dialogue and lobbying with no funding involved*’. However, as noted in the discussion of Leach’s (1997) *Visionary patronage* and *Collaborative operations* models, each Timorese Friendship Agreement committee that was interviewed indicated that their communities had benefited financially, in some way, from the Friendship Agreements. This means that, although these MoUs could theoretically fall within the ‘no funding involved’ extreme, in practice they are also somewhere between the two extremes.

Capacity-based differences

Statements included in twelve of the thirteen MoUs appear to indicate a difference in organisational capacity between the Australians and the Timorese.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y ... **MoUs C, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M and N**

Local decisions must inform the strategies and projects developed under the Friendship Relationship, and must respect the aspirations and capacities of the communities that adopt them. **MoU D**

We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. **MoU A**

By stating that the initiatives should aim to ‘*build*’ capacity, *build* democracy and/or ‘*advance*’ self-sufficiency, or that “projects must respect the capacities of the communities that adopt them”, it can be deduced that the people of Timor-Leste are not lacking in organisational capacity and so are not completely dependent on the Australians. However,

by working with the Australians to build capacity, democracy and self-sufficiency they are also not placed at the other *capacity-based differences in relationship* extreme of ‘being autonomous and self-sustaining’.

MoU B, which has been shown earlier to be built on a relationship of equality, does not include statements about a difference in capacity. So, theoretically at least, this MoU appears to fit within the *capacity-based differences in the relationship* extreme of ‘two strong, capable organisations that are autonomous and self-sustaining’.

Trust-based differences

Since twelve of the thirteen Friendship Agreement MoUs state that decision-making is in the hands of the Timorese and the other MoU states that decision-making is a joint role¹⁵⁴, none of the agreements could be placed in the *Trust-based differences in the relationship* extreme of ‘the Southern partner being controlled by the Northern partner’.

On the other hand, ten of the thirteen MoUs (C, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M and N) include “principles on which all initiatives should be consistent” (i.e. environmental sustainability, social sustainability, cultural sustainability, gender equity, etc) which could lead to conditions being attached to the receipt of aid¹⁵⁵. Since these principles are subjective and open to interpretation they lead to the possibility of conditions being placed on the receipt of aid. This means that these Friendship Agreements could not be placed in the *Trust-based*

¹⁵⁴ See ‘Type of partnership - Actual roles’ section in this chapter for quotes about decision-making.

¹⁵⁵ See ‘Partnership challenges – Conditions attached’ section of this chapter for further discussion about these conditions.

differences in the relationship extreme of the ‘Northern partners placing unconditional trust in the Southern partner’.

Although MoUs A, B and D do not include a list of subjective principles which could lead to conditions being attached to the receipt of aid, neither do they include statements that proclaim unconditional trust. So, according to the Friendship Agreement MoUs, the Friendship Agreements would be placed somewhere between the *two trust-based differences in relationship* extremes.

It seems apparent from these findings that most of the agreements fall (as Brehm (2004a) predicted for North-South partnerships) somewhere between the two extremes of her (2004a) *funding-based differences in relationship, capacity-based differences in relationship and trust-based differences in relationship*’ categories of partnerships. However, an analysis of the statements in the MoUs shows that some agreements are closer to one extreme than the other. The implications of these findings will be discussed in chapter eleven.

Partnership challenges

The partnership literature identifies a number of different challenges facing North-South partnerships including inequality between the partners (see for instance Abbott, et al., 2007; Van Huijstee, et al., 2007); partnerships being difficult to criticise (A Fowler, 2002; Hately, 1997); conditions being attached to aid (Brehm, 2004a; Takahashi, 2006); consultation on the basis of prepared documents (Maxwell & Riddell, 1998) sustainability (Makuwira, 2006a); and, accountability and reporting issues (Ashman, 2001). On the whole, Friendship

Agreements, as depicted in the MoUs, appear to face the same ‘partnership’ challenges. The research questions on this issue that arose in the review of the partnerships for development literature were:

*What are the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement ‘partnership’ challenges?
How might the MoUs impact on these challenges?*

Inequality

The inequality between the partners is the most commonly cited challenge for North-South partnerships - particularly in regards to giving/receiving aid and the control of finances. Anderson (2001) points out that, by its very nature, the relationship between those providing aid and those receiving aid is unequal. In the case of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, the wording of a Friendship Agreement MoU is likely to impact on the sense of equality felt by the ‘partners’.

Three of the principles on which MoU B has been established deal with the issue of equality.

The underlying principles of the partnership are:

1. building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties;
2. acknowledging and respecting the different cultures while aiming to find a way of working that makes each party feel comfortable and inspired;
3. understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities ...

Whereas MoU B, which includes all authentic and ideal partnership characteristics within its statements, could be considered (at least on paper) to be an equal partnership, some of the other MoUs appear to have embedded inequalities into their Friendship Agreements (i.e. those that include one-way aid provision statements).

X and their communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y ... It is envisioned that this partnership ... will involve the transfer

of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ... and should take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them. **MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M**

It was noted earlier that even organisations that set out goals, objectives and mission statements outlining equal partnerships sometimes become socially implemented, unequal partnerships centred on the transfer of money. However, it is most unlikely that partnerships that begin life as socially implemented, unequal partnerships (centred on the transfer of money) will ever become equal partnerships. A Timorese participant in the 2008 Friendship Conference spoke succinctly about the issue of inequality when he stated:

Walk beside us.
If you walk behind us, we will not see you.
If you walk in front of us, you will not see us.
So, walk beside us.
(Timorese delegate V from community HC 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

If the people involved in Friendship Agreements really want equality within these ‘partnerships’ then the wording of many of the written agreements may need to be changed with input from both communities.

Difficult to criticise

Although it would probably be difficult for Australian Friendship Agreement participants to voice criticisms to their Timorese counterparts, the Australians need to be aware of just how much more difficult it would be (because of the perceived or real power imbalance) for a Timorese Friendship Agreement participant to voice any sort of criticism to their Australian counterparts. MoU B addresses the issue of communication in general by committing “the two parties to maintaining frequent communication”. It also appears to tackle the more

difficult issue of communicating perceived problems by making a joint commitment to “furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both ‘parties’” and by “aspiring to a commitment to honest and open communication”. None of the other MoUs address the issue of communication at all.

Conditions attached

Although assuming a top-down North-South power dynamic is, as Brehm (2004a) states, “an oversimplification of complex interactions”, Northern partners often control the resources. Aid often comes with strings attached. Conditions for the receipt of aid may be tied around issues such as gender, environment, democracy, administration, planning, accountability and monitoring and evaluation (Brehm, 2004a; Takahashi, 2006). Although the MoUs do not include specific conditions per se, some of the MoUs include a list of principles on which all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be consistent, thereby opening the door for conditions to be applied (see Table 10.6 below).

Table 10.6 *Principles on which all initiatives should be consistent*

MoU	All initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be consistent with the following principles:
C, F, G, H, J, K, L	Environmental sustainability Social sustainability Cultural sustainability
E and N	Cultural diversity Religious diversity Gender equity Ecological sustainability Open, transparent and accountable decision-making
M	Environmental sustainability Social sustainability Cultural sustainability Gender equity

However, the MoUs that stipulate these general principles (such as environmental sustainability, social sustainability, cultural sustainability, gender equity, etc) do not specify on whose terms these principles are going to be measured. Are they going to be measured by what happens normally in the particular Timorese community? Are they going to be measured by what happens normally in the particular Australian community? Are they going to be measured by a standard set by the Timorese Friendship Agreement committee (usually dominated by men)? Are they going to be measured by a standard set by the Australian committee? Take for instance gender equity. If an activity proposed by a Timorese community entailed the participation of a group comprising mainly of men, would the Australian community set up the condition that more women would need to be included before the activity could be supported? If so, then a condition has been attached for their support and if not, then gender equity as a principle has been ignored.

Prepared documents

According to the partnership literature, Northern partners often consult their Southern partners on the basis of prepared policy papers and documents. In the case of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, some of the MoUs appear to fall into this category. Although it can be seen that MoUs A, B and C are completely different to each other¹⁵⁶, when examined closely it can be seen that MoUs D through to N are either close copies or modified versions¹⁵⁷ of MoU C. MoU C seems to have become the unofficial

¹⁵⁶ MoUs A, B and C were the first three MoUs written. However, it cannot be ascertained from just examining these documents how much input into the wording of these documents came from the Timorese communities involved.

¹⁵⁷ In the case of MoU D the text has been so dramatically modified that at first glance the two MoUs appear to be unrelated. However, after close examination traces of MoU C can still be found within the text of MoU D.

Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement pro-forma MoU. Australian Friendship Agreement groups have obtained copies of MoU C in at least two different ways. Either they asked a group that had already signed an MoU for a copy of theirs and then altered it for their needs (as in the case of MoU M¹⁵⁸) or they were told they had to use a copy of MoU C (as in the case of MoU H¹⁵⁹). In the former case, the views of the Timorese community are not represented. In the latter case the views of both the Australian and Timorese communities are not represented. However, if the Timorese and Australian participants from linked communities, after extensive consultation, decided that they wished to use a pro-forma MoU then it should be asked whether MoU C is the best agreement to use as a pro-forma. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter eleven in the “Implications for policy and practice” section.

Sustainability

North-South partnerships often face the challenge of sustainability. Makuwira (2006a) claims that, while Southern partners remain financially dependent on donations from Northern partners, pressure can be put on particular programmes if the focus of a Northern partner changes over time. The Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs have been signed as long-term agreements¹⁶⁰, (which gives protection against a short-term focus). However, according to one Australian delegate at the 2008 Friendship Agreement conference, groups “have to contend with waning interest by Australians who tend not to

See Appendix 20 for a paragraph-by-paragraph comparison. MoU E, which appears to be an amended version of MoU C, is actually a copy MoU N which was amended from MoU C.

¹⁵⁸ Council member Q 2007, pers. comm., 2 July

¹⁵⁹ Australian mayor R 2008, pers. comm., 18 June

¹⁶⁰ Some MoUs have been operating for more than 10 years. Although most MoUs do not give a specific time period under which they will operate they all state that they are a long-term relationship.

stay committed to things for longer than 2 years”. (Australian delegate P 2008, pers. comm., 19 June)

Accountability and reporting

Ashman (2001) argues that the main barriers to effective North-South partnerships can be found in the Northern partner’s internal systems (such as their policies, procedures and cultures associated with financial and management control). In regards to the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, the Timorese delegates at the 2008 Friendship conference were told:

For money we [the Timorese] have received we need accountability. This is what we received and this is what it was spent on. We need to send reports. If they [the Australians] don’t receive reports they get discouraged. (Senor A. Guterres 2008, pers. comm., 18 June)¹⁶¹

It would seem from this statement that the Timorese groups are held financially accountable to the Australian groups. However, the MoUs do not include specific statements about financial accountability. Accountability is dealt with in two different ways in the MoUs. Whereas MoUs A, C, D, F, G, H, J, K, L and M do not raise the issue of accountability and reporting at all, MoUs B, E and N include statements that indicate a broad-based, two-way accountability that could include financial accountability without specifically mentioning it.

[An] underlying principles of the partnership [is] transparent processes that ensure that both parties keep the Y Community Collective and the X Friends of Y taskforce continuously informed of all developments and activities that occur between the two parties. **MoU B**

Decision-making under the Friendship Relationship will be open, transparent and accountable. **MoUs E and N**

¹⁶¹ Timorese Consul-General to Australia

Overall challenges

The Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements face the same sort of partnership challenges that other North-South partnerships face. The wording of an MoU could possibly exacerbate or ameliorate the partnership challenges (i.e. inequality, being difficult to criticise, having conditions attached to the receipt of aid, prepared documents, sustainability, and accountability and reporting). Take for example inequality. In order to eliminate inequality within an MoU all statements need to be relevant to both parties. Since the term ‘we’ in English can be either inclusive or exclusive, care would need to be taken to ensure there is no confusion over who is being referred to in each statement. In order to eliminate the challenge of ‘prepared documents’, Timorese and Australian community representatives would need to write their particular Friendship Agreement MoU together. This would not only remove the inequality and/or voicelessness associated with establishing a ‘partnership’ using a prepared document but both communities would gain a sense of ownership over the agreement. Each of the North-South partnership challenges listed above need to be addressed when an MoU is written.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed partnership from a Timorese perspective in relation to the Friendship Agreements, and looked in particular at how partners’ agendas, partnership types, Timorese ‘partnership’ terminology, partnership models and partnership challenges impact on the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. The analysis in this chapter shows that the Friendship Agreements are affected by numerous (and sometimes competing) interests and agendas of people from community, district and national levels from both

Timor-Leste and Australia. A majority of the written agreements were found to reflect long-term functional concepts of partnership rather than authentic partnerships, which according to Brehm (2004a), is likely to lead to groups concentrating on achieving specific development goals while placing less emphasis on building relationships and the long-term impact of the partnership.

The majority of written agreements appear to reflect a *Supportive Patronage* model of partnership. In this type of partnership the Australian and Timorese partners have agreed goals and the Timorese are paid by the Australians to perform tasks that are determined by the Timorese and supported by the Australians. This means that, while decision-making has been placed more into the hands of the Timorese, like many other North-South development partnerships, the Australians continue to control the finances.

This research has shown that the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements face the same sort of challenges as other North-South development partnerships. The implications of the findings in this chapter and how they relate to the Friendship Agreements in practice will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

The focus of the study

This thesis is an exploration of Timorese perspectives of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. These agreements, which vary in their level of formality, municipal involvement and the sort of activities that they have undertaken, have been growing in popularity since 2000. This study analyses Timorese perceptions (gathered by way of focus group interviews, individual interviews, participant observation at a conference and document analysis) in relation to three relevant bodies of literature – friendship theories, international municipal links, and partnerships for development.

As a qualitative study that draws on elements of critical modernist, poststructuralist and postcolonial frameworks, this research was never designed to elicit a singular ‘truth’ about Friendship Agreements. Rather, it was designed to explore Friendship Agreements’ various ‘truths’ and the knowledges and practices on which these ‘truths’ are based and suggest possible alternatives for some of the current practices. By situating the Friendship Agreements in their historical context, analysing and challenging their dominant discourses, and looking at questions of inclusion and exclusion this study reveals a number of important findings.

Major findings

This research has resulted in four major findings. The first major finding is the great importance that the Timorese place on reciprocity within friendships. The Timorese participants' desire for reciprocity, which appears to be a core value of friendship within Timor-Leste, was particularly underscored by the sense of shame that was articulated by the Timorese participants because of the lack of reciprocity found within the practical outcomes of the Friendship Agreements. As stated in chapter eight, agreements that leave one party feeling inferior should be brought into question. However, since the Timorese communities would like the connections between the Australian and Timorese communities to continue into an untimed future, this does not mean that the connections should be broken. What it means is that they need to (re)consider how to bring about genuine reciprocity within each Friendship Agreement. The findings of this research indicate that the most significant changes would need to be made by the Australian groups that have adopted the one-way *assisted development* model (in other words, the Australian groups that view their friendship simply "as an act of giving material assistance to people who [have] less access to resources and skills" (Spence & Ninnes, 2007)). The nature of these changes will be discussed later in this chapter under 'Implications for policy and practice'.

The second major finding is that, despite the fact that Friendship Agreements were established with the desire that they differ from other international municipal links such as sister cities, the rationale discourses that are found in the Friendship Agreements are the same rationale discourses that have been, and still are, used in establishing other North-South

international municipal links¹⁶². None of the MoUs include any discourse about how the Friendship Agreements will differ from other types of international municipal link. Similarly, a comparison of the Friendship Agreement discourses with other North-South international municipal link discourses in the areas of successes and challenges shows that it is difficult to distinguish the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements from other types of North-South international municipal links. This means that ‘Friendship Agreements’ may have simply become another label in an already multi-labelled programme (in other words, Friendship Agreements, sister cities, twinned towns, municipal partnerships, etc, may be just different names for the same thing). This implies that the value of the Friendship Agreements being different to other North-South international municipal links has not been articulated well enough to change actual practices and that changing the name of the agreements, without changing the concepts on which they are built, is not enough to create something unique.

The third major finding is that the majority of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement written agreements (MoUs) fail to incorporate many acknowledged best practices of North-South partnerships. Recent partnership literature identified best practices of North-South partnerships to be those that create authentic/ideal partnerships. Authentic/ideal partnerships are long-term connections, where the partners not only share a commitment to a common goal but they have the same level of authority, the same level of responsibility, the same level of working prestige and set in place reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities,

¹⁶² North-South international municipal links have been called twinning, town twinning, twinned towns, cooperation twinings, international twinning, jumelage, friendship link, friendship city, partnerships for development, linking for development, decentralised cooperation, international municipal cooperation, city-to-city cooperation (C2C cooperation), joint local action, sister cities, city networks, city partnerships, and municipal partnerships.

equality, mutuality and a balance of power (Brehm, 2004a; Drew, 2003; Alan Fowler, 2000b). Only one of the MoUs that were analysed for this research incorporates all these features. Four other MoUs incorporate many of these features. However, despite the fact that decision-making is generally placed in the hands of the Timorese, this research identified that the majority of MoUs, including the MoU that has become the unofficial pro-forma MoU, fail to incorporate most of these best practices — particularly the practices that relate to the two partners being equal (i.e. the same levels of authority, responsibility and working prestige, reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities, equality and a balance of power). This means that most of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs set up clear inequalities between the Australian and Timorese participants – with the Australians depicted as ‘experts’ and the ‘provider of resources’ and the Timorese depicted as ‘people who have nothing to offer’.

The fourth major finding is the extra problems that are faced by the groups that have signed their Friendship Agreements “in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’”. First, the Statement of Principles dot point 3¹⁶³ sets up the Australians as the “experts” instantly creating the sort of inequality that was discussed in detail in the previous paragraph. Second, since the Statement of Principles dot point 5¹⁶⁴ indicates that the Australian groups need to consult and cooperate with the local *and*¹⁶⁵ national Timorese representatives, the groups that have signed these types of MoUs are

¹⁶³ The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor.

¹⁶⁴ Material contributions by local governments in Victoria to the re-building of the nation of East Timor shall most effectively be provided in consultation and co-operation with the local as well as national representatives of the people of East Timor. (Statement of Principles, dot point 5)

¹⁶⁵ My emphasis

placed in a difficult position when the desires of the local and national Timorese representatives are different. This research exposed just some of the many different, and often competing, Timorese agendas that can impact on these agreements. For example, many Timorese Friendship Agreement participants at the community level indicated that building a strong relationship was more important than receiving goods and money. However, national level economic agendas, as well as the constitutional needs of the Timorese Districts to adjust to the new power sharing roles, place pressure on District level Friendship Agreement participants to extract much more than friendship from the agreements. For the groups that have signed their agreements in accordance with the Statement of Principles it is unclear, when there are disagreements between the local and national representatives, which views take precedence – the local or the national.

Theoretical implications

This study drew on several theoretical perspectives in its analysis of Timorese perceptions about the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. First, it examined the agreements through the theoretical perspective of friendship. Western friendships are generally portrayed as informal, personal, non-hierarchical, voluntary relationships between two individuals (see for example Allan, 1989; Badhwar, 1993b; Lynch, 2005; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Silver, 1989, 1990). This study adds to the existing theories of friendship by confirming that it is possible for long-term friendships to be formed between two separated groups of people (where the groups have fluid membership and may speak different languages) and not just between individuals. These fluid group friendships tend to differ from most individual friendships because (a) people make a conscious decision to form a friendship with strangers

and then hope to meet; (b) the friendships can be formalised with a written agreement; (c) incompatibilities need to be worked through because the friendship has been established for a period of time; and (d) participants need to seek approval from a committee prior to finalising any decisions about the friendship.

Friendship, a prototype concept that has a ‘fuzzy’ set of attributes rather than a clear-cut set of features, can mean different things to different people (Fehr, 1996; Gratz, et al., 2004; Lynch, 2005; Rawlins, 1992). Idealised forms of friendship are developed in the public domain at particular historical moments in particular cultures and people are socialised into an understanding of the ‘ideal friend’ and what is acceptable within the practices of friendships (Rawlins, 1992). This study contributes to the theories of friendship by examining friendship from a particular cultural perspective in a particular time period – a Timorese perspective in the early 21st century. Given the number of responses about relationships, reciprocity and support, as stated previously, having a reciprocal, supportive relationship is the most common and significant meaning given to friendship in Timor-Leste, particularly in relation to the Friendship Agreements.

The second theoretical perspective through which the Friendship Agreements were examined was derived from the literature on North-South international municipal links (see for instance Bontenbal, 2009a; Bontenbal, 2009b; Bontenbal & van Lindert, 2006; Cremer, et al., 2001; Hewitt, 1999a, 2000, 2002, 2004; Schep, et al., 1995; Shuman, 1994; Spence & Ninnis, 2007; UNDP, 2000). This study contributes to the theories of North-South international municipal links by identifying the most common North-South international municipal link

rationale discourses in the literature – *peaceful relations*, *political activism* and *assisted development* as discussed in chapter four.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs also use these rationale discourses. However, two of the Friendship Agreement MoUs differ from the other MoUs in the way they utilise two of the three rationale discourses within the same document. Since these two MoUs were adapted from the unofficial pro-forma MoU that utilises the *assisted development* rationale discourse, the fact that they have also included a *friendly relations* rationale appears to be an attempt to move away from focusing only on development outcomes.

Nevertheless, the similarities between the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement rationale discourses and other North-South international municipal link rationale discourses show that the rationale discourses of the Friendship Agreements have tended to be conceptualised along the same lines as other North-South international municipal links. This could be because Australian municipal personnel (that have become involved in the Friendship Agreements) have transferred a municipal discourse, with which they are familiar and comfortable, to the Friendship Agreements. Yet Friendship Agreements were established to differ from other international municipal links such as sister cities. Adopting already existing municipal link rationale discourses for the Friendship Agreements is likely to lessen the opportunities for Friendship Agreements to actually be different. Given that simply changing the name of something does not change the underlying ‘product’, more theoretical work needs to be carried out to conceptualise Friendship Agreements as a unique entity.

Since ‘friendship’ appears to be the key feature in the naming of these agreements, and a feature that the Timorese emphasise, one possible way of reconceptualising the agreements could be to theorise them solely in terms of ‘friendship’. Since friendships tend to be non-hierarchical (see for instance Allan, 1989; Lynch, 2005), there is more likelihood that the two parties could be equal. It would also mean that, prior to linking, communities would need to understand their potential friend’s meaning of friendship and work out reciprocal and constructive ways of implementing and maintaining long-term friendships between the two separated groups of people. The main advantage of conceptualising the Friendship Agreements in this way is that the Timorese are more likely be placed on an equal footing with their Australian counterparts.

The final theoretical perspective through which the Friendship Agreements were examined was partnerships for development, particularly drawing on partnership theories that were developed by Brehm (2003, 2004a, 2004b), Fowler (1991, 2000b; 2002), Drew (2003), and Leach (1997). In order to analyse what type of partnership model (if any) the Friendship Agreements have adopted, Leach’s six models of partnership (*Contracting, Dependent franchising, Spin-off NGOs, Visionary patronage, Collaborative operations* and the *Mutual governance models*)¹⁶⁶, which vary in their degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance, was a useful place to start. However, the results of this study indicate that most of the Friendship Agreements fit into a new type of partnership model. I call this a *Supportive patronage* model. The *Supportive patronage* partnership model is one in which the Northern and Southern partners have agreed goals and the Southern partner is paid by the

¹⁶⁶ See chapter ten

Northern partner to perform tasks that are determined by the Southern partner and supported by the Northern partner. This model differs from any of the other models by creating a situation in which the Southern partner has a greater say in decision-making while at the same time the Northern partner has the final say in what programmes will be supported and maintains control of the finances.

Studying the Friendship Agreement MoUs through Drew's (2003) theories on actual versus ideal partnerships and Brehm's (2004a) partnership continuums was less useful in distinguishing one type of Friendship Agreement from another (see chapter ten for a detailed discussion). However, studying them through Brehm's (2004a) and Fowler's (2000b) theories on authentic versus functional partnerships was useful because working out whether the Friendship Agreements are functional, partly authentic or authentic provides clues to the sort of relationship they are likely to have created as well as the possible impacts of the relationship.

This study contributes to the theories of partnerships by showing (1) that the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements differ from many other North-South partnerships by placing most of the decision-making processes in the hands of the Timorese rather than the Australians; (2) an analysis of the Friendship Agreement MoUs in relation to their degree of equality, mutuality and shared governance showed that, although one of the Friendship Agreements appears to fit into Leach's (1997) *Mutual governance* partnership

model¹⁶⁷, most of the agreements fall into the *Supportive patronage* partnership model that was discussed earlier; (3) an analysis of the Friendship Agreements in relation to Brehm's (2004a) *funding-based differences, capacity-based differences and trust-based differences in the relationship* found that, as Brehm predicted, most of the Friendship Agreements fall somewhere between the extremes in each category although some appear to be closer to one extreme than the other; and (4) since the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements also faced the same partnership challenges that were discussed in the partnership literature (i.e. 'the inequalities between the partners', 'the difficulty of criticising a partner', 'conditions being attached to aid', 'consultation on the basis of prepared documents', 'sustainability', and 'issues of accountability and reporting'), this list of challenges was a good place to start the analysis of the Friendship Agreement partnership challenges. Nevertheless, it was shown in chapter nine that the Friendship Agreements also face many practical challenges (such as communication, transport, finances, lack of facilities, etc). It could be argued that these practical issues are a result of the inequalities between the partners. However, in order to ensure that the practical challenges faced by North-South partnerships are not overlooked, an additional partnership challenge category called '*issues that need to be addressed in regards to the practical application of the partnership*' could be usefully added to the list of partnership challenges.

¹⁶⁷ The *Mutual governance* partnership model is one in which both the Southern and Northern partners have substantial decision-making powers at the organisational and programme levels and, to a certain extent, influence each other's policies and practices.

Implications for policy and practice

This study has several major implications for the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements. First, the Statement of Principle (on which many Friendship Agreements are built) portrays the Australians (and not the Timorese) as experts, sets up the expectation of an un-reciprocal relationship which is in stark contrast to the first major finding of this thesis (i.e. the importance of reciprocity within Timorese friendships), and is not clear about whose decisions take precedence (the Timorese community members' decisions or the Timorese central government officials' decisions). In order to open up a constructive discussion about the empowerment of friendship groups and facilitate their movement towards more effective and fulfilling partnerships, I offer two possible solutions to the problems presented by the Statement of Principle. One possible solution would be to eliminate the Statement of Principle as the foundation of the agreements. Another possible solution would be to amend the Statement of Principle. For example, the statement "The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor" could be re-written to say "Both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged for the benefit of both communities."¹⁶⁸

Similarly, the sense of shame that was articulated by the majority of Timorese interviewed for this study is unlikely to diminish while the Friendship Agreement MoUs also incorporate inequalities and ignore the need for reciprocity. Since reciprocity is not only a central concept within Timorese perceptions of friendship but is considered an essential ingredient for successful North-South international municipal links (UNDP, 2000), the importance of

¹⁶⁸ A statement copied from MoU B

reciprocity needs to be acknowledged and incorporated within the structure of the MoUs. This can be done by (1) eliminating any references to one-way giving and (2) making sure that every sentence of an agreement is applicable to both partners equally.

Each Friendship Agreement MoU is a policy document that outlines the structure and central focus of the relationship and needs to be used as the basis for ongoing action and evaluation. If the Timorese and Australian participants really want the Friendship Agreements to become equal partnerships that foster long-lasting reciprocal relationships, then each statement within an MoU needs to reflect these desires. This could be accomplished by ensuring that all sentences reflect the best practices of North-South partnerships that have been identified in the literature (i.e. long-term partnerships that incorporate the same levels of authority, responsibility and working prestige, reciprocal obligations, shared responsibilities, equality and a balance of power) (Brehm, 2004a; Drew, 2003; Alan Fowler, 2000b). The results of this research indicate that this would entail all except one of the MoUs needing to be rewritten with input from both communities. However, it must be stated that simply changing the wording of an MoU is unlikely to bring about changes in the way Friendship Agreements function unless the attitudes and behaviour of the people involved reflect similar changes.

The Timorese desire that the Australian groups that have signed an *assisted development/functional partnership* type of MoU build stronger relationships (rather than simply supplying financial aid and material goods) implies that the central focus of these groups needs to move away from a handout mentality to become a collaborative relationship

between equals — in other words — a friendship. This leads to the following questions: What would it mean for development practices world-wide if the main focus of development partnerships were changed from ‘the one-way¹⁶⁹ provision of training and financial aid’ to the two partners becoming friends? How would that change the way that people ‘do’ development? In the past many development practitioners felt that such general programmes would be too risky and too many mistakes would be made. This has meant that development and aid has tended to move further and further away from the general population at both ends (A. F. Fowler, 1998). However, the results of this study indicate that local ownership, which is not only central to the success of development outcomes but difficult to achieve in practice (Buis, 2009; Makuwira, 2006b), would be enhanced if the relationship between the partners became a collaborative relationship between friends rather than a relationship between ‘experts’ and ‘recipients’. This is supported by previous research¹⁷⁰ that found that people-to-people programmes were generally positive because they were not based solely on financial transfers and had the potential for learning and sharing through interaction (A. F. Fowler, 1998). However, since the literature on friendship clearly shows that friendship can mean different things to different people (Bruckner & Knaup, 1993; Rawlins, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1997), linked Timorese and Australian communities are likely to benefit from having open discussions to find out what each group means by the term ‘friendship’. If, during these discussions, groups discovered that they held completely different views on the meaning of friendship (such as an Australian group thinking that friendship is all about giving and their Timorese partner thinking that friendship is a reciprocal relationship) then these groups

¹⁶⁹ North-South

¹⁷⁰ See chapter five

would need to devise strategies for actually implementing a friendship that (a) was acceptable to both parties and (b) left neither party feeling ashamed.

Related to the issue of creating more equal and reciprocal relationships is the need to improve communication between the linked communities. The results of this research suggest that improvements in communication between the linked Friendship Agreement communities are a priority for the Timorese participants and could be facilitated by (1) instigating regular two-way visits; (2) at least one person from each of the participating Australian communities learning Tetum and at least one person from each of the participating Timorese communities learning English; (3) establishing fast, reliable and cheap internet access in each of the linked Timorese communities; (4) budgeting each month for some Timorese mobile phone card use; and (5) sharing information about important cultural practices (such as the importance for Australian groups to follow the Timorese protocol of working with the Timorese Friendship Agreement committee rather than working directly with different community groups).

However, Australian and Timorese groups should be aware that the differences between Australian and Timorese perceptions of gender issues are likely to impact on their Friendship Agreement relationship in some way. For instance, an Australian committee with a particular concern for women's issues may find working with a male dominated Timorese Friendship Agreement committee problematic but avoiding Timorese protocol can cause unintended problems within the Timorese community. On the other hand, if Timorese women find it difficult to get their voices heard in a male dominated committee, women's issues may not

be given the attention they deserve. The importance for the Friendship Agreements of regular and clear communication suggests that the negative impact of gender differences between the groups may lessen if (1) all the members of the Australian and Timorese Friendship Agreement committees became aware of how gender issues are dealt with in their own as well as their partner community, (2) the differences in gender perceptions and the possible impacts they could have on an agreement are openly discussed between the Timorese and Australian committee members, and (3) all participants adhered to jointly agreed plans.

In terms of the challenges surrounding the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, it is apparent from this research that they face not only similar challenges to other North-South partnerships (e.g. inequality, being difficult to criticise¹⁷¹, having conditions attached to the receipt of aid, using prepared documents¹⁷², sustainability, and accountability and reporting), they also face similar challenges to other North-South international municipal links (e.g. communication, coping with a growing demand for services while struggling with the capacity to deliver, a lack of finances, gaining widespread support, implementing workable evaluations, and inequality). Groups need to actively find solutions for these challenges. This research indicates that the sustainability of Friendship Agreement links are likely to be enhanced for the groups that jointly and actively work at solutions for each of these challenges. For example, using a pro-forma written agreement has the potential to reduce local ownership and implies that Friendship Agreements will become standardised with little

¹⁷¹ As stated in chapter ten, although it would probably be difficult for Australian Friendship Agreement participants to voice criticisms to their Timorese counterparts, the Australians need to be aware of just how much more difficult it would be (because of the perceived or real power imbalance) for a Timorese Friendship Agreement participant to voice any sort of criticism to their Australian counterparts.

¹⁷² An example of using a prepared document for the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements is when an Australian group use an already-existing Friendship Agreement MoU, substitute place names, and then get the Timorese people to sign it. This means that one party has had no input into the wording of the document.

flexibility to incorporate the particular desires of the linked communities. In order to minimise the problems associated with 'using prepared documents', Timorese and Australian community representatives would need to write their particular Friendship Agreement MoU together. This would allow the agreement to be more relevant for the needs and desires of the linked communities, remove the inequality and voicelessness associated with establishing a partnership using a prepared document, and increase the sense of community ownership (Buis, 2009). Local ownership is a critical issue for the Friendship Agreements which this study and recent literature show cannot be ignored (Buis, 2009).

If, however, the Timorese and Australian participants from linked communities decided, after extensive consultation, that they wished to use a pro-forma MoU, then the results of this study show that, for groups aspiring to create an authentic and ideal partnership, the current unofficial pro-forma (which is an *assisted development/functional partnership*-type of MoU) is not the most appropriate agreement to use as a pro-forma. The analysis of the thirteen MoUs examined in this study shows that MoU B, which includes all aspects of an authentic and ideal partnership in its wording, would make a better pro-forma than MoU C. Unlike MoU B, MoU C is neither authentic nor ideal. So, if Friendship Agreements really aspire to mutuality, long-term commitment, balance of power, shared responsibility, equality and reciprocal obligations between the partners with the two parties having the same level of working prestige, the same level of authority and the same level of responsibility, then MoU C is not the best agreement to use as a pro-forma.

Further research

As the first major exploration of Timorese perspectives of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, this study has identified a number of areas that could benefit from further research. First, since Friendship Agreements were established with the express desire that they differ from other municipal links (such as Sister Cities), a comparative case study of Friendship Agreements and other types of North-South municipal links could be helpful in clarifying whether the community members' involvement in the Friendship Agreements differs in some way to the community members' involvement in other types of North-South municipal links.

Further research that incorporates the views of a broader cross-section of participants from Timorese communities involved in a Friendship Agreement (i.e. the Friendship Agreement commission members, illiterate people, students and youths, more women, etc) could provide useful information about the extent to which the views of each commission match the views of its community members; the extent of communal support for, communal understanding about and communal involvement in a community's agreement; and, the impacts (both positive and negative) that an agreement has had on its community.

An exploration of the similarities and differences between the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements that have been formalised through the signing of an MoU and those that have remained informal agreements would be a useful study in the future. Such a study could explore (1) whether the formal and informal agreements utilise different discourses, (2) whether community involvement is higher in the communities with a formalised

agreement or those that have remained informal, and (3) whether they are perceived differently within the Timorese community.

A longitudinal study of a new Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement relationship that utilised the results of this research would be a useful future study. For instance, such a longitudinal study could investigate the long-term consequences for the linked Timorese and Australian communities of (1) writing an agreement together that utilise partnership best practices, (2) establishing and regularly using good forms of communication, and (3) implementing genuine equality, reciprocity and local ownership. Another useful longitudinal study would be a study that investigated the impacts of changing an assisted-development type of MoU to a jointly developed MoU that included partnership best practices. For instance, such a longitudinal study could investigate (1) whether the sort of programmes that were undertaken were different after the MoU changed, (2) whether people's attitudes about the Friendship Agreement had changed, (3) whether local ownership of the Friendship Agreement increased, and (4) whether local participation in the activities organised because of the Friendship Agreement increased or not.

Summary

The people of Timor-Leste are working hard to recover from the damage caused by years of colonial neglect by Portugal, the occupation by the Japanese during World War II, the 24-year occupation by Indonesia and the violent withdrawal of the Indonesians in 1999. This has meant that the Timorese have been working at many different levels (national, district and local) with many organisations (such as the U.N., national governments, NGOs, community groups, etc) from many different countries (e.g. Portugal, Cuba, Australia, Japan,

Brazil, and USA to name just a few). The implementation of the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements is one of a variety of peacebuilding and development activities undertaken by the Timorese.

Since Timorese communities are directly affected by the implementation of Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, exploring Timorese perspectives about the agreements is, and will continue to be, important to ensure that Timorese views are understood, acknowledged, valued, respected, and incorporated into the way the agreements are conceptualised, implemented and evaluated. This will ensure that the agreements become a means of Timorese empowerment rather than Timorese disempowerment. The results of this study indicate that (1) the Timorese want the Friendship Agreements to continue into an untimed future, (2) the connections built because of the Friendship Agreements can help strengthen the relationship between Timorese and Australian people at an individual, community and national level, (3) the agreements have the potential to contribute positively towards community development in Timor-Leste, and (4) the agreements could be improved.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Questions for East Timorese focus groups

(Pergunta ba Grupu Timorensen sira)

1. What have been the outcomes of the friendship agreements so far (e.g. What has been happening under the friendship agreements?)

Saida de'it maka halo daudaun ona tuir Akordu Amizade ne'e nian to'o agora?

2. Have any of you been to Australia? What was the purpose of the visit? What has happened since you came back?

Emas ruma husi imi nia grupu/komunidade ne'e ba ona Australia? Se emas ruma ba ona, rasaun saida maka imi ba vizita Australia? Saida maka imi halo ona bainhira fila fali hosi Australia?

3. If none of you have been to Australia, are there any plans for any people in the community to go?

Sekarik emas ruma sidauk ba Australia, iha ona planu ruma iha komunidade atu ba?

4. How many Australians have been over?

Emas Australianu nain hira maka mai ona iha imi nia komunidade ne'e?

5. What activities did they do?

Atividade saida de'it maka sira halo ona?

6. What do you see as the main successes of the agreement? (What have been the best things about the agreement?)

Susesu importante saida maka imi hare (hetan) husi akordu ne'e?

7. What have been the challenges?

Relasaun ho akordu ne'e, dezafiu saida de'it maka imi hasoru?

8. How do the activities of the friendship agreement fit in with the national development plan priorities?

Oinsá atividade sira husi akordu ne'e responde ba prioridade sira ne'ebé iha Planu Dezenvolvimentu Nasionál nian?

9. Why is it called a friendship agreement? What does it mean to you?

Tanbasá maka hanaran ka bolu akordu amizade? Ida ne'e signifika saida ba imi?

10. What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?

Sáida de't maka intensaun husi Sidade Amiga nian?

11. What do you feel that you offer to the Australians in this partnership?

Saida de'it maka imi sente (hain) katak imi fó ba ema Australianu sira iha imi nia parseiru ne'e?

12. What do you want to see happen in your Friendship agreement in the next 10 years?

Saida de'it maka imi hakarak atu hetan (hare) iha tinan sanulu mai kona-ba imi nia Akordu Amizade ne'e nian?

13. Do you have a strategic plan?

Imi iha planu estratéjiku nian?

14. Is the community being funded by just the friendship agreement or are other groups working here?

Iha comunidade ne'e hetan ajuda osan husi de'it Akordu Amizade ne'e ka hetan mós ajuda osan husi grupu sira seluk?

APPENDIX 2

Interview questions for individuals

1. Why is it called a friendship agreement?

Tanba sa mak hanaran ka bolu Akordu Amizade?

2. What does friendship mean to you?

Tuir ita bot nian hanoin, amizade ka belun-malu dehan saida?

3. What do you think are the most important features of friendship in Timor-Leste?

Tuir ita bot nian hanoin, saida deit mak buat importanti liu kona ba amizade (belun-malu) iha Timor-Leste?

4. What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?

Saida deit mak objetivu no intensaun hosi Relasaun Amizade (Belun-malu) nian?

5. What do you think the Timorese offer to the Australians in these partnerships?

Saida deit mak, tuir ita bot nian hanoin, katak ema Timor oan sira fo ema Australianu sira tanba parseiru sira ne'e?

6. What do you think are the main successes of the Friendship Agreements?

Tuir ita bot nian hanoin, saida deit mak susesu importanti sira hosi Akordu Amizade?

7. What do you think have been the main challenges?

Tuir ita bot nian hanoin, saida mak desafiu no susar sira?

APPENDIX 3

A full list of research questions by topic:

The research questions in relation to ‘Friendship’

Who chooses to make these friendships? How are they implemented? Do the Friendship Agreements vary from each other? If so, how? What are some of the influences that could impact on the amount of choice within the Friendship Agreement friendships?

What do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees mean by friendship? What do the National Timorese government officials involved in the Friendship Agreements mean by friendship? Do the meanings differ?

How has the historical background between Australia and Timor-Leste affected the Friendship Agreements? What are the Timorese expectations and values of the Friendship Agreements?

How have the economic and social backgrounds of the Timorese communities impacted on the Friendship Agreements?

Have good, open communication channels been established between Friendship Agreement participants? What are the difficulties faced in creating good, open communication channels? What are some of the strategies suggested and/or used by the Timorese to overcome these difficulties?

Are the Friendship Agreements friendships private or partly public? What do the people in authority think of these friendships? How might they change community attitudes and behaviours?

The research questions in relation to ‘International Municipal Links’

What rationale discourses are found in the signed Friendship Agreement Memoranda of Understanding? How do these discourses relate to the international municipal link discourses? What consequences (either intentional or unintentional) could result from the use of these discourses?

What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What do the Timorese offer the Australians according to the national Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the

Timorese discourses about their contributions relate to the discourses about contributions in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

What recommendations do the Timorese Friendship Agreement committee members make about strengthening their Friendship Agreement relationship? How do these recommendations relate to the international municipal link sustainability discourses? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

What are the main successes according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main successes according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the successes of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about successes in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

What are the main challenges according to the Timorese Friendship Agreement committees? What are the main challenges according to the National Timorese government officials involved in the agreements? Do their discourses differ? How do the Timorese discourses about the challenges of the Friendship Agreements relate to the discourses about the challenges in the international municipal links literature? What are the implications of any commonalities, differences and gaps?

The research questions in relation to ‘Partnerships’

What Timorese agendas underpin the Friendship Agreements? How might these agendas affect the partnerships?

How are partnerships portrayed in the written MoUs? Do these portrayals reflect a functional or authentic concept of partnership? Do the MoUs identify specific roles for the Timorese and Australian groups? How do these roles relate to Drew’s (2003) ideal versus actual types of partnerships?

Do the Timorese use the term ‘partnership’ in relation to the Friendship Agreements?

What models of ‘partnership’ are emerging from the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement MoUs?

What are the Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreement ‘partnership’ challenges? How might the MoUs impact on these challenges?

APPENDIX 4

Schedule of Friendship Agreement meetings April – May 2006¹⁷³

Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	2	3 Ministry of State Admin meeting for 1.5 hours	4 Driver organised. DAs contacted about dates	5 Bought supplies	6 Manatuto 2.30pm	7 Natarbora 11.30am
8	9	10 Ermera 2pm	11 Dili 3.00pm	12 Aileu 10am	13 EASTER	14 BREAK
15 EASTER	16 BREAK	17 Baucau 9am Venilale 2.30pm	18 Viqueque 9am	19 Baguia 9am	20 Los Palos 9am	21 Iliomar 9am then return to Dili
22 Arrive Dili 1am	23 Leave Dili 3pm	24 Same 9am	25 Suai 9am	26 Ainaro 10am	27 Liquiça 9am 4pm Boat to Oecusse	28 Arrive 6am Oecusse 9am
29 (Originally planned to return to Dili) ←	30 (Stuck in Translated	May 1 <i>Oecusse due Data</i>	2 <i>to conflict in</i>	3 <i>Dili</i> 4pm Boat to Dili →	4 Arrived Dili 9.30am ←	5 Translated Data
6 Translated Data →	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20 Maliana group in Dili 4.30pm	21	22 Translated Maliana info				

¹⁷³ Times shown on this timetable show the times that the meetings were scheduled to start rather than the times that the meetings actually started. In the majority of cases the meetings started approximately 1 to 2 hours after the time shown on the schedule.

APPENDIX 5

Why is it called a Friendship agreement? What does it mean to you?

Group responses from 16 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 144 participants)

Relationship (13)	<p>Group VY It is named Friendship City because it strengthens the friendship relationship between two countries and between two communities.</p> <p>Group NR We would like to make the relationship and strengthen the friendship.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To make an intimate relationship between groups in order to create a family. - To create a relationship. - We can complete each other as a family. <p>Group HB The working relationship between people from the 2 cities makes the 2 cities and 2 peoples close to each other, understand each other.</p> <p>Group CB It is called Friendship agreement because it is a relationship between people, groups of human beings.</p> <p>Group HC It means city to city, friends to friends and partners to partners.</p> <p>Group WY The word friendship creates a friendly relationship between the two cities.</p> <p>* It is important to build a relationship over a long time.</p> <p>Group TG It is called Friendship city to create a friend</p> <p>Group NQ It is called Friendship City because we need the 2 communities to have a good working relationship.</p> <p>Friendship for us means strengthening the relationship between the two communities.</p> <p>Group XS Friendship City means the creation of a relationship between 2 cities based on their interests and necessities.</p> <p>Group LZ Much of the plan hasn't been implemented yet but we are willing to do things – we want to keep the relationship.</p> <p>Group DK It is called Friendship City – it means that the people establish a relationship.</p> <p>Group CF Friendship is about making friends with each other and making connections with each other.</p> <p>Group KN It means a Friendship relationship between the Australian government and Timor-Leste.</p>
Reciprocity (12)	<p>Group NR in order to help each other in all areas.</p> <p>Group HB The working relationship between people makes 2 peoples close to each other, understand each other and support each other and the two communities are able to become healthier, similar to each other, and nice to each other.</p> <p>Group DK It is called Friendship City help each other according to their capacity.</p> <p>In reality, we don't give anything back but as friends, it should be both ways.</p> <p>Group KN It is because 2 cities can help each other.</p> <p>Group TG To help each other</p> <p>Group WB Friendship City means helping each other move into the future according to the situation and the conditions within both places.</p> <p>Group NQ It is called Friendship City because we can help each other.</p> <p>Group KA Friendship means thinking about, and giving help to each other.</p> <p>Group WY When we talk about friends it comes from the inside. We are friends – we are supposed to help each other but we feel that we are receiving more than we give.</p> <p>Group LZ When we establish friendship with another city it means we share with each other what we have.</p>

	<p>Group KJ 1 We need each other. - It means that, we need to look after each other well - like brothers.</p> <p>Group CF It means helping each other.</p>
Development (8)	<p>Group HB The two communities are able to become healthier, similar to each other.</p> <p>Group HC It is called Friendship City because we would like to create a good friendship relationship in the future in terms of development.</p> <p>Group WY It also signifies to us a desire to increase the development in our district to be like the city of X.</p> <p>Group CF It is called Friendship City because a good relationship between 2 cities means coming together and establishing development and progress. * It means helping each other in various development areas based on the needs of each city.</p> <p>Group TG It is called Friendship City because there is a relationship specifically about development programs between the cities. - To help each other in terms of development.</p> <p>Group KA Friendship means strengthening unity in order to achieve success in development issues.</p> <p>Group KN It means a partnership in development</p> <p>Group XS It signifies that 2 cities become partners in the areas of development</p>
Support (4)	<p>Group HB To create 2 cities that are close to each other, understand each other and support each other.</p> <p>Group KA Friendship means informing the others of our difficulties and letting them know about the things that we don't have, in order to get help and support.</p> <p>Group KN Since we are in a post conflict situation we need a good partner like the Friendship City Australia in order to help our district based on our priorities.</p> <p>Group DK Although many of the recommendations sound like demands, we do not make demands from our friends. We hope that they will be able to support us in whatever capacity they are able to.</p>
Shared activities (2)	<p>Group WB Friendship City means working together as two friends.</p> <p>Group HB At least we have to organise together – Do we need the support of the local government or NOT? If people come with money they can run a project but this is different.</p>
Loyalty/ Steadfastness (2)	<p>Group KJ It is called Friendship City because the Australian nation feels that Timor is their good friend from a long time ago (from the time of the Japanese war) and now they have their friends back again.</p> <p>Group WY* It is important to build a relationship over a long time.</p>
Utility (1)	Group HC It will provide benefits to our community.
Similarity (1)	Group TG One of the places in Australia has the same name as our city and that is why they have made the agreement with this particular city.
Harmony (1)	Group KA Friendship means creating a sense of harmony (between people and people, group and group, nation and nation).
Respect/Equality (1)	Group CB For us it means that we are recognised and considered as human beings as they are!
Solidarity (1)	Group XS It signifies that 2 cities form solidarity.

APPENDIX 6

Why is it called a Friendship agreement? What does it mean to you?

Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials

Support	<p>(BB) Help us with the knowledge and we stand on our own feet. That's what friendship is. Don't give us the fish but give us the net. Help us with the knowledge and we stand on our own feet. That's what friendship is.</p> <p>- You know, when your friend is down, I mean, that is when you're supposed to, as a friend, give a helping hand and we're going through our troubles now.</p> <p>Yeah, and so we need that friendship – to standby and encourage, you know – because having people around, coming to visit in the difficult times, it shows that unique aspect of friendship, you know.</p> <p>You feel that – Oh wow, my friends really do think of me! Even though I'm in a very difficult stage, you know, but they still think of me and they still come and visit. I mean that's the kind of, oh I don't know ... I feel in Australia, for example, if your friend is down and you make an effort to go and visit, they'll appreciate it, you know.</p> <p>(SB) And also I think that, in reality our colleagues from Australia know no real thinking about the community. How about the life, how about the situation – the economic situation in the grassroots. Maybe you can give some attention, specially how to change the life here.</p> <p>And also give some training, workshops, something like that.</p> <p>- The Australian communities want to give support, want to give the support that they can give to their friendship city but support that can change lives.</p> <p>But that does not mean that you must give money to them, no, no. Don't give in order to make the Timorese dependent on the Australians but, help for them in order that they can change their thinking, change their life.</p> <p>(MX) So, if I have a friend and if I need help I will ask a friend! If they can help me, it is really appreciated. So, friendship is something that is more than friendly-like. For me, it's like just ... my personal friendship is like when I don't have anything, I will ask them. And that's friendship. And whenever I have difficulty I will ask them because of the friendship.</p> <p>- The most important thing is that friends can share their knowledge and their skill with us. We are thirsty for skill, knowledge, so one day we can build our country, like Australia or whatever the country, developed country. That's what we really need - the skill. They can pass us the skill, the knowledge, the ... everything they know to us – that's what we really want. The important thing, at the moment, is support. Like whatever the support they can get - materials, or whatever they can give. That's important. So, if anybody, somebody can support us to make us strong to deal with situations like right now ...</p> <p>... I think that is the friendship that we want. If they can support us – however they can – that's a friendship!</p> <p>(TX) Friendship for me, you know, is someone who can share. Share in everything. For instance, if I have some difficulties in my life I probably share my days with my friend ... she'll give me the way to ... how to think about the future. For instance, I get stuck somewhere else. Can you show me what I can do? "Oh", she says, "Turn right, turn left, go straight". Boy, that's a friend.</p> <p>(FP) Basically, if you see your friends need your help, as a friend, you're willing to help. Yeah, you're willing to help. No limitations! No limitations for you to help your friend as long as you can help them with what you have and what they need.</p> <p>- When two parties agree to do something based on the friendship, you know, they are willing to help each other - support each other.</p> <p>(DP) It's about supporting each other.</p>
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Reciprocity	<p>(BB) And, of course, it is reciprocated by the other side. And I mean that is friendship!</p> <p>(SB) And open ... very open between you and us, yeah. Very open. We can share. Very open to share ideas, share opinions, something like that, yeah?</p> <p>(DP)* It's about supporting each other.</p> <p>(FP)* When two parties agree to do something based on the friendship, you know, they are willing to help each other - support each other.</p> <p>(SC) Friends help each other.</p>
Loyalty/ Steadfastness	<p>(BB) When you are a friend, you are a friend for life. So bad times and good times you're still friends. Not only when there's good times you can be friends and in the bad times you take off. You know, well ... that's not friendship. Friendship means, you know, you can be friends at all times.</p> <p>- So I mean then that when we are talking about friendship ... there is friendship ... money cannot buy ... That kind of friendship. Not to be given away to, to the Japanese. I mean that's the friendship! That [sort of friendship] money cannot buy.</p> <p>- And in friendship there are certain loyalties.</p> <p>- Friends depend on loyalty</p> <p>- That's why the second world war was the absolute example. I mean the Aussies, the diggers had nothing! They had nothing but their body and themselves ... their body only. And they live in what they wear. They need food, they need shelter and they need to be protected. Not to be given away to the Japanese. I mean that's friendship!</p> <p>- And then out of that friendship, of course, we lost about 40,000 people.</p> <p>Killed in the reprisal because we were supporting the Aussies. Yeah. So, I mean, that is friendship.</p> <p>(SB) Secondly, I think we must continue. We must continue our relation[ship] between the two sides, the communities.</p> <p>- Today I say, firstly, when we started we had many difficulties (such as interpretation and negative thinking) but, you know, now we still manage to continue our relationship. And I hope that it must continue.</p> <p>(TX) Some friends only show up when we are rich people. But some friends are true friends ... true to friends. Wherever we are, in whatever position, they are always as a friend. That's what friendship is.</p> <p>So, they don't care about the circumstances. They're always by our side. So, that's what I mean about friendship.</p> <p>- In East Timor, sometimes friends are known as brothers, Maun Boot, brothers. And sometimes friends become family. For instance, if I make good friends with someone, my son or my daughter can marry with them. So, we want to make continuation, want to renew our friendship from 100 years ago. So that's the one thing that we mean about a friend here.</p>
Respect	<p>(SB) But I think what is also important is that we must consider the local authority. Yeah, the local authority. We must avoid this division between community against government policy.</p> <p>(DP) I guess friendship is based around mutual respect - mutual understanding, respect for each other, respect for each other's political, social and cultural beliefs.</p> <p>(FP) And, of course, they will always have consideration, respect and collaboration.</p>
Relationship	<p>(SB) Maintain our relation[ship].</p> <p>- And also, one most important thing that we need some ... how should I put it ... not that you give some things ... that is not important, but good relations, good relations, Yeah?</p> <p>- First, we should maintain this relation[ship]. Maybe we have found some obstacles, some difficulties but that's no reason to not continue our tradition.</p> <p>-* We must harmonise the relations, Yeah? That is very important to avoid miscommunication and misunderstanding.</p> <p>(MX) Friendship means we try to build a relationship – a good relationship.</p> <p>- If you build a relationship and then we know each other well, then, if we have difficulties we can ask [for help].</p>

Shared activities	<p>(BB) You know, either you're talking, smiling, sharing a cup of coffee, you know, talking to each other about something that they have a common interest in. I think that's the kind of, you know, friendship, you know.</p> <p>(SB) Friendship [is] like I found you ... we spoke, we talk [about] something, we smile and [I] eat together with you, and say hello anytime we found each other on the road, or something like that.</p>
Solidarity	<p>(SB) First, I think one of the very important [things is] that we make solidarity between [the] communities.</p> <p>- Friendship is also, like, if I have difficulty in my life, you can ... you give your attention. Attention - not like you give something – your attention, you give your solidarity, that's our experience.</p> <p>But also, this is our tradition here and I consider that is our meaning about friendship.</p>
Harmony	<p>(SB) We must harmonise the relations, Yeah? That is very important to avoid miscommunication and misunderstanding.</p>
Honesty	<p>(SB) You speak honestly.</p>
Trust	<p>(DP) Friendship's about trust.</p>
Similarity	<p>(FP) Friendship means to me that the people have the same idea ... same needs and same perspective of life. Of course, it is easy to have a difference between them but they have to have mutual similarity - their instincts or feeling things or ... some others.</p>
Pleasure	<p>(SB) We are happy if we have contact with the Australian community. Contact that is very strong, very positive. We are very, very happy if we have colleagues from another country.</p>
Chemistry	<p>(BB) Well friendship, friendship means that you meet the person you got that automatic chemistry that you want to be friends with that person. And something that you, either out of whatever circumstances you are in ... you make friends!</p>
Goodwill	<p>(BB) But again, friendship is to do with goodwill, you know. It cannot be forced in any way.</p>

APPENDIX 7

What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?

Group responses from 17 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

Relationship/ Friendship (10)	<p>Group VY The intention is to establish a good relationship</p> <p>Group KA* To strengthen the friendship relationship that exists through establishing various activities (such as physical projects, capacity building, comparative studies and exchanges).</p> <p>Group NR* To help each other to strengthen the unity between groups through the interest of the groups. - To create friendship</p> <p>Group DK The hope for the Friendship City is to complete each other as a friend - To create a good familiar relationship between the 2 cities - To create friendly feelings and a strengthening of the friendship between the 2 cities ... and to feel that the communities of the 2 cities are one (a sense of oneness between the 2 cities)</p> <p>Group CB To strengthen the bonds between the people of X and Y</p> <p>Group CF* With a good relationship and collaboration between 2 cities we are able to develop better.</p> <p>Group WY* We don't know what the purposes of the Friendship Agreement are but we see it as people being good friends and helping and caring for each other. To re-establish the relationship that existed in World War II. - Australia and East Timor had a good relationship during WWII so we are happy to rebuild this relationship. Australia is a well-developed country and we are an underdeveloped country and I think that the Friendship Agreement has been set up partly because of this history.</p> <p>Group NQ To create a strong relationship between 2 communities in order to develop our life.</p> <p>Group XS The intention is to strengthen friendship, solidarity, unity, equality, justice and peace.</p> <p>Group HB It is important to remember that this is not a proposal from Government to Government but from community to community – from people to people.</p>
Cooperation in development (9)	<p>Group KA* The intention of the Friendship City is cooperation in order to see the development of the nation in the future.</p> <p>Group LZ The intention of the Friendship City is to assist the local government according to each other's ability and to diligently work together.</p> <p>Group DK To involve the 2 cities in development together. To build up and promote the living standards of the 2 cities even though we are starting from a very low base. To develop the human resources capacity in 2 cities especially in specific areas.</p> <p>Group CB* To work together to promote positive development in (Timorese place) X.</p> <p>Group HC* The intention of the Friendship City is to give attention, support and cooperation.</p> <p>Group KN* The intention of the Friendship City is to cooperate in development areas such as: Education, Health, Agriculture, Infrastructure, etc</p> <p>Group CF* With a good relationship and collaboration between 2 cities we are able to develop better.</p> <p>Group WB* The purpose/objective written in the MOU is to assist with projects based on the needs and priorities of the people in the community. The local [Timorese] people make the decisions.</p> <p>Group YL It is not a 'project' as there is a negative connotation with 'projects'. With 'projects', you pay people for the work they do. Many 'projects' are not well done so</p>

	our community sees the friendship agreement as being different and more positive. It is a community-to-community link – we are aware that it is not Government-to-Government.
Support/ Help (7)	<p>Group VY The intention is to get financial, material and humanitarian support</p> <p>Group NR To Minimise the difficulties</p> <p>Group HC* The intention of the Friendship City is to give attention, support and cooperation.</p> <p>Group TG To identify, with the community, the obstacles in various sectors and to give support with the things that are needed in answer to the difficulties related to all sectors.</p> <p>Group KJ To give help to their friends in Timor so that we can become like our brothers in X.</p> <p>Group HB Help from people in Australia to the people of Timor-Leste.</p> <p>Group WY* We don't know what the purposes of the Friendship Agreement are but we see it as people being good friends and helping and caring for each other.</p>
Activities (3)	<p>Group KA* To strengthen the friendship relationship that exists through establishing various activities (such as physical projects, capacity building, comparative studies and exchanges).</p> <p>Group NR* To help each other to strengthen the unity between groups through the interest of the groups.</p> <p>Group CB* To work together to promote positive development in (Timorese place) X.</p>
Reciprocity (3)	<p>Group NR* To help each other to strengthen the unity between groups through the interest of the groups.</p> <p>Group CB* To teach one another about Timorese/Australian culture</p> <p>Group WY* We see it as people being good friends and helping and caring for each other.</p>
Share knowledge (2)	<p>Group KJ To know the problems that appear in our sub-district.</p> <p>Group CB* To teach one another about Timorese/Australian culture</p>
Trust (1)	Group NR To give trust to each other

APPENDIX 8

What are the purposes of the Friendship Relationship?

Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials

Relationship	<p>(SB) First, I can say that now we are independent. We are ... uh ... an independent country. But that's not mean that we must isolate ourselves. Keep ourselves to ... No! We must have a relationship with all nations. Many countries have government-to-government relationships - much better community and community. We have a historical background and ... geographically, you know, we ... our position is a bit in ... um ... Indonesia and Australia, yeah. No reason to object ... to object if we ... if community from both sides want to make good relations.</p> <p>(MX) The main purpose is, as I told you before, that we don't want ... ah ... like the friendship that we feel in the Second World War is disappeared.</p> <p>(DP) And, I guess, a close neighbour ... a strong bond between two neighbours would be some of the purposes, I guess. I guess, the short-term purpose would be building relationships.</p> <p>(FP) The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is ... to maintain a good relation[ship] and to develop a good relation[ship].</p>
Support/ Help	<p>(MX) Second, is from the friendship that we feel, we can get more support. That's the main point. Especially for the lack of skill and the knowledge of how to build. Because everything that we have now, the skill that we have now, we all learn by experience only. So we don't have any course to attend, whatever. That's why, people that already have the knowledge, they can come and sit with us and lead us in that area.</p> <p>(DP) I think the purpose would be ... support. Supporting Timor in regards to this ... um ... economic, social development. I guess, the short-term purpose would be ... supporting development - grassroots development projects but the long-term purposes would be on a greater scale [i.e.] economic support.</p> <p>(FP)* The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is to help each other.</p>
Cooperation in development	<p>(FP)* The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is to help each other ... and to coordinate and to promote the interests of both parties.</p>
Solidarity	<p>(SB) Sometimes ... the government, politically they make decisions, they make decisions between ... Timor-Leste government and Australia government ... they make decisions. But these decisions [sometimes] give negative impact to our community. Who can help? Who can help, yeah? If there is in fact a negative impact effect [on] our community here in Timor-Leste, I think, who can raise this issue in Australia. Maybe I think the Australian community can raise this issue... to build some pressure to your government [while] in Timor-Leste we give some pressure to our government. That's maybe very political.</p>
Reciprocity	<p>(FP)* The purpose of the Friendship Agreements is to help each other ... and to coordinate and to promote the interests of both parties.</p>
Share knowledge	<p>(BB) OK the purpose here is – the bottom line ... is sharing knowledge. Knowledge, knowledge can be ... any form of knowledge. It can be planning knowledge, it can be government knowledge, political knowledge, democracy knowledge, knowledge to grow food better and knowledge to clean better. We need help in every aspect of knowledge. And that's what people are here seeking. Yeah ... sharing information ... uh, a programme for having our future, potential local government officials to go and have internships in the local governments there, to learn how you run the system, how you make the towns look beautiful, nice gardens, you know, make sure you water them, make sure the rubbish is collected.</p>

	<p>Make sure you know, um, how to deal with the public when they come in. Don't tell them off. I mean, many of these aspects people here need to learn because it's a new thing – a new thing for the country. And we need to learn – and people in East Timor do learn better if they're exposed to it.</p> <p>A physical exposure.</p> <p>You kind of think – Wow, My God – this, this is what it is. So you learn. You learn. But it's not, you cannot, use it as a replica – it doesn't work.</p> <p>But if you take the base elements to adjust – to the local needs, the culture, the customs and so on. And at the top there are things that are universal, you know – management issues, non-corrupt practices, you know – these are universal values.</p>
Cultural exchange	(DP) I think the purpose would be cultural exchange, cultural understanding.
Trade	(DP) The long-term purposes would be on a greater scale [i.e.] economic trade.
Raise awareness	(TX) First, we have to have a code of conduct. That's the one thing we have to clarify – what is the purpose. We document the friendship. And the second, is the awareness of the people ... to introduce what it means.
Social change	(DP) The long-term purposes would be on a greater scale [i.e.] social change.

APPENDIX 9

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

FOR VICTORIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WORKING IN EAST TIMOR

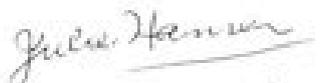
In recognition of East Timor as an independent nation and in acknowledgment of the struggles of the heroic people of East Timor, the people of Victoria through their representatives in local government and the people of East Timor through their representatives in the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) hereby agree that:

- ◆ A lasting friendship shall be built on a partnership of mutual respect, this friendship shall at all times respect and value local as well as national cultures and decision-making processes.
- ◆ Local governments and organisations at a community level have expertise and experience in caring for and developing local communities.
- ◆ The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor.
- ◆ This agreement welcomes East Timor as a close neighbour of Australia at all levels of democratic government.
- ◆ Material contributions by local governments in Victoria to the re-building of the nation of East Timor shall most effectively be provided in consultation and co-operation with the local as well as national representatives of the people of East Timor.
- ◆ Recognising the need to supplement the contribution of the United Nations, other international agencies and non-government organisations the parties now wish to implement community to community partnerships, and
- ◆ We shall respect and honour the efforts of all those Victorians and East Timorese who in a spirit of democratic endeavour work to improve the quality of life of their communities.

Signed this day 4 May 2000


Xanana Gusmao
PRESIDENT CNRT




Cr Julie Hansen
PRESIDENT VLGA




Cr Brad Matheson
PRESIDENT MAV




Hon Bob Cameron MP
MINISTER FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT
VICTORIA

APPENDIX 10

The wording of the 13 Memoranda of Understanding (with place names removed) that were analysed for this research

MoU A

In recognition of the aspirations of the people of Timor-Leste, and in particular of the District of Y, to build their own democracy and take control of their future, a Friendship Relationship was established between the District of Y and the X Councils on 4 May 2000. Now, five years later, we seek to reaffirm our commitment to that relationship and the principles and values on which it is based.

We recognise the important role of the District Administration in supporting the people of Y and the establishment of the Y Friendship Commission and its role in representing the people of Y in the Friendship Relationship.

We are pleased to acknowledge that other organisations and communities, including Australian Volunteers International, the Shire of X and the Z Community, are committed to working with the people of Y and strengthening the relationship with Y.

We also acknowledge that there are other groups and organisations which are committed to Friendship Relationships with the people of Timor-Leste.

This agreement seeks to guide out organisations, and the communities which they represent, in a further five years' friendship. It is not intended that this agreement will have any legal effect.

Accordingly, we agree that:

- We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future
- We will ensure that our efforts are directed towards working with the people of Y so that they are able to achieve the goals they have for their own community
- We will base all of our activities on the principles of mutual respect, cooperation and local decision-making
- We will ensure that projects and initiatives which we commit to, take account of the capacity of our communities to resource and sustain them
- We will pay particular attention to the needs of young people, who are the basis for the future of both our communities
- We will seek to improve understanding between our communities

MoU B

This MoU aims to formalise the partnership between the District of Y, East Timor and the City of X Council, Australia.

The MoU acknowledges the ongoing community-to-community partnership that is already established through the Y Community Collective and the X Friends of Y taskforce.

The MoU is designed to reinforce the friendship relationship between the District of Y and the City of X. The commitment to this relationship was originally for a ten-year period agreed between CNRT and the City of X Council starting 4th May 2000.

This MoU demonstrates the District Administration of Y and the City of X Council's commitment to principles of human rights, democracy, social justice, environmental sustainability and the importance of community participation.

This agreement is signed on the understanding that it can be re-negotiated at any time at the wish of either the District Administration of Y or the City of X Council.

Declaration

We, 'The Parties; declare our joint commitment to:

1. a productive partnership built on mutual respect and friendship;
2. furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both 'parties'.

The underlying principles of the partnership are:

1. building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties;
2. acknowledging and respecting the different cultures while aiming to find a way of working that makes each party feel comfortable and inspired;
3. understandings that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities;
4. aspiring to a commitment to honest and open communication;
5. recognising, supporting and building on the community-to-community relationships that are already established;
6. transparent processes to ensure that both parties keep the Y Community Collective and the X Friends of Y taskforce continuously informed of all developments and activities that occur between the two parties.

This MoU commits the two parties to:

1. an exchange of knowledge and skills;
2. exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills;
3. continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange;
4. maintaining frequent communication between the two parties;
5. consulting widely with their community.

MoU C

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.

X and their communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognise the strong desire of individuals and organizations in their communities to contribute to the re-building of East Timor, and are committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU D

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation, the peoples of X (Australia) and Y (Timor Leste) affirm their intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between X and Y and all members of these communities.

One sentence omitted because it can identify both X and Y

The primary goal of the relationship is friendship and mutual respect between the two communities. The initiatives created under the Friendship Relationship will promote educational, cultural, economic, humanitarian and sporting links. These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y. The Friendship Relationship will benefit the individuals and their communities, and will further environmental, social and cultural goals. The Friendship Relationship will especially include the young to ensure the lasting future of the Agreement.

The Friendship Relationship provides a forum for links and exchanges between X and Y. Through local government and community partnerships, the Friendship Relationship will support the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources. These exchanges will lead to greater understanding between both communities and will shape rewarding and warm long-term relationships between the residents of the two cities.

Local decisions must inform the strategies and projects developed under the Friendship Relationship, and must respect the aspirations and capacities of the communities that adopt them.

The Friendship Relationship will remain alive and vibrant through periodic review and reaffirmation of the aspirations set out in this Agreement.

MoU E

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.

X recognises the desire of many Australians to contribute to the re-building of Timor-Leste, and learn more about their neighbouring country. In forming a relationship with Y, the Council acknowledges the decentralization priority of the Timor-Leste Government and the needs of more remote areas of the country.

It is intended that this partnership will be at both the local government and community levels and will result in improved understanding and appreciation of the cultures and experiences of the communities of Y and X.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship will aim to build capacity and advance and promote the self-sufficiency of the people of Y. All initiatives will be exercised in a manner that is consistent with and actively promotes the principles of cultural and religious diversity, gender equity and ecological sustainability. It is understood that any project will take into account the National Development Plan and District Development Plan for Y as well as other priorities identified through local decision-making processes. Decision-making under the Friendship Relationship will be open, transparent and accountable.

It is acknowledged that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X is long-term, and may be reviewed and reaffirmed by the administrations which follow those currently responsible.

MoU F

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and Timor-Leste—we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in Timor-Leste and the X community in Australia.

The X community seeks to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognises the strong desire of individuals and organizations in the community to contribute to the re-building of Timor-Leste, and is committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

It is recognised that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of the X community, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the community of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and the X community will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU G

This Memorandum of Understanding is to confirm the already established Friendship Relationship between the City of X and the District of Y in East Timor.

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to continue to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X ... in Australia.

X and its community groups and residents, seek to develop the relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y.

It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

The city of X's role is to act as a coordinator of the projects initiated and led by the community groups of X.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y. Any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes in East Timor and should take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

MoU H

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and Timor-Leste, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in Timor-Leste and X in Australia.

X and its community, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognise the strong desire of individuals and organisations in our community to contribute to the re-building of Timor-Leste, and are committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government, school and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and its community, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU J

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.

X and its communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognizes the strong desire of individuals and organizations in their communities to contribute to the re-building of East Timor, and are committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and its community, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU K

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.

X and its community, seeks to participate in a Memorandum of Understanding to assist in the rebuilding of Y. X recognises the strong desire of individuals and organisations in its community to contribute to the re-building of East Timor, and is committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and its community, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

MoU L

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and Timor-Leste, and in accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in Timor-Leste', of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in Timor-Leste and X in Australia.

X and its community, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognises the strong desire of individuals and organisations in their communities to contribute to the re-building of Timor-Leste, and is committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities within Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU M

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and Timor-Leste we affirm our intention to facilitate a Friendship Relationship between Y in Timor Leste and the community of X in Australia.

The X community X seeks to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognises the strong desire of individuals and organizations in the community to contribute to the re-building of Timor Leste, and is committed to community-to-community links with Y. It is envisioned that this partnership will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

It is recognised that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X to resource and support them. X will liaise with the Y local government, [the] “Y and X Friendship Commission” and other community organizations.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the community of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability and gender equity.

It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.

MoU N

In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.

X recognises the desire of many Australians to contribute to the re-building of Timor-Leste, and learn more about their neighbouring country. In forming a relationship with Y, the Council acknowledges the decentralization priority of the Timor-Leste Government and the needs of more remote areas of the country.

It is intended that this partnership will be at both the local government and community levels and will result in improved understanding and appreciation of the cultures and experiences of the communities of Y and X.

It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship will aim to build capacity and advance and promote the self-sufficiency of the people of Y. All initiatives will be exercised in a manner that is consistent with and actively promotes the principles of cultural and religious diversity, gender equity and ecological sustainability. It is understood that any project will take into account the National Development Plan and District Development Plan for Y as well as other priorities identified through local decision-making processes. Decision-making under the Friendship Relationship will be open, transparent and accountable.

It is acknowledged that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X is long-term, and may be reviewed and reaffirmed by the administrations which follow those currently responsible.

APPENDIX 11

Timorese contributions to Australia

Group responses from 17 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

<p>We don't give anything but ... (8)</p>	<p>In this partnership we feel that we haven't given good things to the Australian people because Timor-Leste just got their independence and just started their development from scratch We give information that can facilitate our partner's understanding and to help them work and finally we express our thanks to our partners with words only. (Group VY)</p> <p>We don't yet give good things but we always give our gratitude and thanks for all the help they give the sub-district of Y and because there are good intentions from our friends in X to the sub-district of Y. (Group KJ)</p> <p>So far we haven't offered anything to the people in Australia apart from informing them of our daily life, our culture, our character and our history, but we give our hearts and minds to continue strengthening our good relationship with the people in Australia. (Group KA)</p> <p>There is nothing that we can give up to now materially to the people of X but now the people of Y can only give all confidence to the people of X and at the same time we give our hope to develop this city. We know the community of X organise the people to give things to us but we in Y, we don't have anything to give to them, but what we can give is our heart and our support as a friend when they come here. We can make time available for them to have a meeting with us. So we will always support them with what we can do. Overall we can give our gratitude to them. (Group DK)</p> <p>Physically we haven't given anything to the people of Australia. In the future we want to contribute the universal values such as opening ourselves to building and strengthening a good relationship, building peace, creating solidarity and cooperating in cultural areas. (Group XS)</p> <p>There are no good things we give to our partners because they are advanced but what we can give are words that have no value and those words are "Thank you". (Group NQ)</p> <p>They bring a lot of things for us. We give nothing to them. We accept each other and work together. We didn't ask them to bring everything, we feel a bit ashamed because we don't want to keep asking everything from them. They always ask us, "What are your priorities?" I don't want to tell them all of them because we have so many. You need to look around and see what the priorities are. (Group WY)</p> <p>We haven't given anything yet. We offer messages, gratitude, presents/gifts, and the experiences and culture. (Group NR)</p>
<p>Strengthen relationship/ friendship (4)</p>	<p>We offer our friendship, experiences, culture and collaboration. (Group CB)</p> <p>What we can give is our support as a friend when they come here. (Group DK)</p> <p>To strengthen the good relationship. To work with them from our heart to have a better friendship. (Group WB)</p> <p>We recognise their generosity so they become a part of our family. (Group HC)</p>
<p>Share feelings (such as gratitude and love) (4)</p>	<p>We give our gratitude to our partner in Australia because they start to think about us and to help our local government especially to the people of Y. (Group LZ)</p> <p>What we give to our friends is our love and our heart. (Group HB)</p> <p>We give our feelings and our spirit of cooperation and our transparency to our partners – that is what we can give. (Group TG)</p> <p>What we can give is our honesty and our spirit of the family to our colleagues. (Group HC)</p>
<p>Provide security (2)</p>	<p>We also offer security guarantees to our friends so that they can come anytime. (Group HB)</p> <p>Security (Group CF)</p>
<p>Provide</p>	<p>Let people know about tourism areas in the Y District when they visit. (Group KN)</p>

information (1)	
Provide comparisons (1)	[We offer] comparative studies between Y and X. (Group WB)
Increase students' knowledge (1)	What we think that we give to the Friendship City is as follows: Pen pals from the schools in the Y District with the schools from the Friendship City in order that children/students are able to develop their knowledge through writing letters in Tetum and the answer comes back in English. (Group KN)
Provide formal support (1)	A formal support (Group CF)
Provide facilities (1)	We can use the facilities we have here to support the agreement. (Group CF)

APPENDIX 12

Timorese contributions to Australia

Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials

Strengthen relationship/ friendship (3)	<p>As a new nation ... I think the most important thing is our relationship. We have to have a good relationship between these two countries, Australia and East Timor, I mean Timor-Leste. TX, Interview</p> <p>... ah ... Australians they have everything! The only thing we can offer is friendship! MX, Interview</p> <p>I don't know what the community of Timor-Leste gives to the Australian community. Maybe ... our community can give ... like solidarity (LAUGHTER). Yeah, like solidarity to the Australian community and also they can give some things if they have, yeah? If we make relations with anyone, we must underline that it's not based on materials. We make it that it's not based on materials (what you give me or what we give you) but based on the spirit of solidarity, yeah? Spirit of solidarity ... spirit of friendship. That I think is very, very important. SB, Interview</p>
Be welcoming (2)	<p>Their behaviour, you know, [the way they] behave to welcome people – behaviour to talk to the people. For instance, if I go to your home – “Hey mate! G'day. What you doing here, mate?” That one thing is not a good ... Not right. “Please come and sit and follow me.” That's only one thing. But I think East Timorese people are very nice people. If you go everywhere in the country, they always say, “Oh, malai, malai!” TX, Interview</p> <p>For the Timorese, we need to welcome all the foreigners, for instance, from Australia our close neighbour, as much as we can. Welcome them because according to history, according to geography, we are close and we are very in touch with each other, even though we're different in culture but we need to develop our own culture and then our market and everything in order to welcome the tourists from Australia. For instance, [we would like] people from Australia to visit and when they visit East Timor they feel comfortable, they feel like they're at home and they can walk freely and there is no concern about foreigners being here in East Timor. FP, Interview</p>
Offer hospitality (2)	<p>Like, when they come, they can stay in our house. Offer them a place for them to stay or whatever, but, because we know Australians have everything already, the only thing they need is a place to stay MX, Interview</p> <p>They can offer hospitality in regards to cultural exchange. DP, Interview</p>
Offer cultural understanding (2)	<p>They can offer cultural understanding. DP, Interview</p> <p>[We can] offer cultural things. I think we have to [be] expert in two countries, you know, especially the culture. TX, Interview</p>
Contribute to a stable political region (2)	<p>But, around self-interest, especially for Australia's interest, is that, if East Timor fails as a state, no one else is going to pick up the pieces other than Australia. So it is best for us to now prevent that scenario. And that is to engage. To nurture this friendship, and to help the country grow. If you have [an] unstable country on your north – you'll have problems. So that's why friendship is worth investing the money, and invest the time and effort. Yeah, because the reward will be greater than the effort you put in. And to become truly a good partner and a good neighbour – that you don't need to worry about them. You know, they stand on their feet, they're good, they're healthy, peaceful. That's what we want because if you have unstable country on your north – you'll have problems. BB, Interview</p> <p>From the small things like a friendship that we build now, I think it can increase the level of peace and stability and to minimise the risk. FP, Interview</p>
Show a sense of community (1)	<p>Well, the things that we offer is – one thing that Australia and many Western societies has lost – is a sense of community. You know, it's too much of the individualism.</p>

	Sometimes you don't know your next door neighbour. And that is very bad! Perhaps one thing that we still have, and I hope we don't lose (and I'm sure we won't) is we live traditionally. We live a traditional socialism. We can never be rich because we're constantly sharing. BB , Interview
Share feelings (1)	What they need from Timorese is ... I think, ... just affection. FP , Interview
Offer loyalty (1)	They can offer loyalty. DP , Interview
Offer commitment (1)	They can offer commitment towards the program. DP , Interview
Provide economic and business opportunities (1)	Economic and business trade is something that the Timorese can offer. Maybe in the long-term, you know, not so much in the short-term. DP , Interview
Provide motivation for bringing Australian communities together (1)	A positive aspect that can happen on the ground in Australia, through local governments and communities, is that when they are focusing on building a friendship with an outside world, it also brings them together as a community. Yeah, because they are coming from business, from pensioners, from unemployed, and, you know, from schools and from professional individuals and groups – they all come together through their local government initiative, from all different political persuasions. And they all come and sit together. That is a positive aspect that brings people, local people together in their common interest in helping someone else, or making friendship with someone else. BB , Interview
Conduct civic education (1)	Short-term, I guess, is based more on development. I think the development would be more in a social sort-of term, ... more of an understanding towards Australians, towards the history. Both [the] history in regards to the relationship Australia played between East Timor and Australia during World War II and the relationship during the Indonesian invasion. And, I guess, through this friendship [the] Timorese will, you know, develop their understanding in regards to Australia's roles and Australia's commitment in the future towards a peaceful neighbourhood, I guess. DP , Interview
Provide security (1)	Whatever they can do here, we can protect them with security and all these things, so they can do something in my country, in East Timor. Like, I think the more important is the security at the moment. They need security for them to stay. MX , Interview
Not able to contribute much (1)	Not Much!! (LOTS OF LAUGHTER!) To be honest – not much! With our condition at the moment it's very hard for us, and I think that the Australian people are a very generous people. FP , Interview

APPENDIX 13

Recommendations about how to make the Friendship Agreements stronger

Group responses from 17 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

<p>Specific requests for achieving tangible results (17 groups)</p>	<p>We would like to ask for support for scholarships for some students to study in Australia. To keep going with the scholarship program in order to increase human resources especially in Y. If it is possible to export local products, especially coffee, to our Friendship City, using the Y label. We recommend to expand Friendship Agreements into all sub-districts in Y. We ask to expand the assistance to other departments. (Group VY – c, d, e, g and h)</p> <p>Provide training for those people to be able to use health equipment from X. Provide spare parts for the health equipment sent from Australia. To train nurses to operate the health equipment sent from X. Would like to ask to our friends from X to assist with the maintenance of the community radio that has just broken. Would like to ask to our friends in X to provide agricultural training for us because, through this, the community in the Sub-District in Y will be as strong as X City in the future. To provide training on the modernization of agriculture, which still uses traditional techniques in Y. (Group KJ – c, d, e, f, k and l)</p> <p>The youth of Y would like to ask our friends in X to establish English and computer courses in order to increase the youth capacity in the future in Y district. (In order to maintain a good relationship with X we would like to ask them to train the members of the commission in technical areas through permanent studies/daily studies of English and computer courses with a proper certificate. [A recognised and continuing course.] We would like to ask our friends to establish a training program in various areas in order to increase the capacity of the youth. To have training in areas such as industry, commerce, infrastructure and others. Youth would like to ask our friends in X to provide training in sport and music to youth in Y district. We would like to ask our friends to provide transport for our police in Y. We would like to ask our friends to provide emergency assistance. [Big winds sometimes destroy electricity supply and houses, etc.] We would like to ask our Friendship City to help our district based on their capacity. We wait and hope that one day this dream will come true. We would like to ask our friends if it is possible to help send medicines and vitamins as well as sports equipment and laboratory equipment. Would like to ask for sports equipment such as balls, uniforms, nets and other things in relation to the sports. We would like to ask our friend in X to support equipment for community radio in Y. We would like to ask for scholarship assistance to bring our children from Y to study in Australia. We would like to ask our friends to establish scholarships for our children. With our whole heart we are waiting for your assistance in the areas of our greatest needs to develop our homeland. We would like to ask for help to fix our infrastructure in Y.</p>
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	<p>To help us in a project of a water supply, fix the clinic and fix the schools in villages and hamlets.</p> <p>Financial assistance for the rehabilitation or construction of a bridge for the access for the people in villages so that communities can bring their products to the market or the consumers can come to buy the products.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friend in Australia to seek potential conglomerate to invest in Y. (Group KA – g, h, i, l, m, q, r, s, t, u, w, x, y1, ab, ac, ad, ae and ag)</p> <p>To help volunteer teachers (financially) and provide school equipment for one secondary school that was established with the initiative of the Y community in 2005.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to provide scholarships to those students whose parents have not got the ability to pay for their education.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to assist those students whose parents cannot afford to send them to continue [with their] study.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to help rehabilitate the health and education centres in Y.</p> <p>From the commission in Y we recommend to the Friendship City in Australia to provide assistance in a form of transportation so that we can easily implement programmes that have been decided on. (Group LZ – d, e, f, g and m2)</p> <p>If it is possible to have our children from Y to study in Australia through a scholarship program especially undergraduate and graduate tertiary studies as it is happening in other Friendship Cities such as Y1 and other places and also scholarships for primary and secondary students who have good grades.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to provide scholarships for final year students in Timor-Leste.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to provide assistance to the youth especially in training for basic needs.</p> <p>To ask for help from our friends to help financially to add more staff for project implementation and for the purchase of office equipment.</p> <p>Create a mechanism to encourage investors from Australia to invest in Yin order to give job opportunities to the people of Y so that they are able to develop their own economy.</p> <p>We would like to ask other cities in Australia to establish Friendship Relationship with other Sub-districts in Y.</p> <p>Ask our friends to support sport facilities and equipment and uniforms.</p> <p>If it is possible to create constant financial support to develop sports in Y – especially football, to be able to participate in competitions in Timor-Leste as well as in other countries.</p> <p>Ask the team that did the feasibility study about the flood protection to implement the plan as soon as possible because people feel that there is still a danger of flooding.</p> <p>To ask our friends from X Friendship City to help one specific secondary or pre-secondary school to provide school equipment (e.g. for library, laboratory etc). (Group DK – c, d, f, g, m, n, o, p, q and r)</p> <p>Would like to ask the Friendship City to provide training to increase capacity in order to be able to identify the needs and to design a program and to do planning. (Group TG – c)</p> <p>We would like to ask to our friends to work with the community and other organisations to improve the quality and the quantity of local products and find a market.</p> <p>Please find a market for our tais.</p> <p>Would like to recommend to have a centre for the victims of domestic violence.</p> <p>Support the students, who have high marks, to study abroad or in Timor-Leste.</p> <p>We would like Friendship Agreements to be set up in all the Sub-Districts of Y. (Group HB – a, b, c, j and x)</p>
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	<p>Would like teachers to be able to do some short course teacher training. Upgrade the teachers' qualifications over time with BAs etc. Scholarships for top students to go on to further study. To create some tourist places to attract tourism. See what already exists in the community and see how we can use it positively. (Group YL – b, c, d and h)</p> <p>We would like some financial assistance given to the local community in order to facilitate organising of projects. (Group CB – i)</p> <p>We would like to ask both local government authorities in Australia and Timor-Leste to work together to find job opportunities or create job opportunities for the people of Y, either in Y or in X. We would like to ask our friends in X to help provide (facilitate) training for the women in this commission especially relating to women's issues. We would like to ask our Friendship City to help establish training in order to increase women's capacity (for example in leadership areas). We would like to ask our Friendship City and local government in Y to work together to establish training in Y. We are very interested about the future of the children. If it's possible we would like to ask our friends in X to create the kinds of conditions in order to accept our students from Y (e.g. to provide Student scholarships for students to study in Australia.) (Group NQ – f, h, i, j and k)</p> <p>Ask their partner to do the training to increase human resources especially in English language. Capacity Building for the district Y staff (e.g. Administration skills and English language). Capacity Building in planning and development. We ask our partner to have a plan to send public servants from Y to attend training in Australia in order to increase their knowledge and capacity so we can develop this nation, especially Y. We hope that the support from the Friendship City will provide the facilities in areas such as infrastructure, technology, economy and education (training and English course etc) to develop our capacity in the future. To make the relationship more significant we need to have concrete activities achieved so that people can see what has been done and the activities will benefit the community. In order for people to stay committed to the partnership we need the projects to be implemented because people will be able to see what's happening. We have signed the agreement and put forward proposals and announced to the people (of Y) about these proposals so they need to be realized in order for trust to be maintained. To give the opportunity to Timorese to work in Australia as they are in Britain and Ireland. Ask their partner (X) to promote tourism places in Y in order to attract the tourists to come to Timor-Leste especially Y. We hope that our Friendship City collaboration will support (us) financially to develop the city of Y better in the future, so that in 10 years time we can reduce poverty in Timor-Leste. In order to strengthen the relationship between 2 cities we would like to ask the assistance in various areas such as Education, Infrastructure and sports. (Group CF – a, b, c, d, f, i, j, k, s, t, u and w)</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to help us set up a centre for the Friendship City. It is necessary to have support to create a website of Y district. We would like to ask our friends in the Friendship City to help set up an internet line in Y.</p>
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	<p>We would like to ask support for internet access. Would like to ask our Friendship City to keep the relationship especially through promoting the traditional tais. To provide a possible facility to help/increase knowledge through learning English. We ask our friends to support us financially, based on the priority needs we identify in the community, through the commission. (Group XS – b, c, d2, e, k, t and v)</p> <p>We would like to ask to repair the telephone line. We would like to ask to X, if it is possible, can they help send or buy a truck in order to collect the waste in Y and to facilitate the transportation of the youth’s musical equipment when they want to have a concert. To send a volunteer medical doctor to train and help Y nurses and doctors. Send specialists from different sectors to do the training for people in Y. We need to collaborate with each other through training. We would like to ask to the Friendship City to help provide administration equipment for the Friendship City Y such as 5 computers, 2 photocopiers and a printer. The relationship between Friendship City Y and X needs to improve its implementation in the future through concrete and sustainable activities eg. Education, health and administration. We would like the Friendship City to extend their assistance in Education for elementary up to tertiary education to improve the quality. (Group WB – b, d, g, h, i1, k, p and r)</p> <p>Would like training for capacity building especially in management and technical things (for Y). It is good if the training happens in Y but it is also good if some people receive training in Australia. Rehabilitation of all village centres so every village has a place to hold meetings. (Group WY – e and f)</p> <p>Would like to ask for support for equipment for administration such as computer, tables, chairs, photocopier. To ask our friends to help us in administration equipment such as computer. Would like to ask X Friendship City to give support on equipment for administration and communication. Would like to ask Friendship City X to support financially the members of the commission in Y to have training in Australia in technical areas as well as in development areas. Would like to ask our friends to provide opportunities for some youths to be trained in the tourism area, by studying in another country. (Group KN – g, h, i, l and p)</p> <p>My greetings to the Friendship Cities in Australia. To strengthen the relationship between the communities [in] Y. With each objective to develop the physical and non-physical activities of our Y District in the future. Thank you for your assistance. Computer training for youth. Our community in Y District needs the Friendship City to assist our youth in relation to sports materials and computers. Would like to ask [for] computers for OPMT organisation. Youth groups would like to ask to the Friendship City to help with an agricultural tractor, for musical instruments (e.g. guitar, organ and violin), and balls. For help with money for the youth groups for income generation. Help also the fishermen from the sea. Need computers to increase youth capacity. We need the Friendship City to assist the children of widows with scholarships. We would like our friends of the Friendship City if they are able to help our children whose parents have a small income (or no income) [Student scholarships] Scholarships so that students can finish school.</p>
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	<p>Provide student scholarships. Scholarships for those students who are bright. Help with scholarships for the children who have good marks after finishing their secondary school. A good relationship between Friendship Cities in order to improve education sectors in Timor-Leste through scholarships. Need sewing machines to increase women's capacity. Would like to ask for sewing machines for OPMT to do the training for women to increase their income generation. Need solar panels in isolated villages. Help [with] solar panels for the communities who live in isolated mountains. The activities of the Friendship City that will be implemented to help people – don't create in the cities only, but also it must reach villages and hamlets that really need assistance. Need to provide assistance in fisheries equipment for the fishermen. Ask help from the Friendship City to help with fisheries equipment for the fishermen (fishing boat). We need our friends from the Friendship City to help provide a milling machine in the villages of Y. Would like to ask for one mini-tractor for OPMT to increase their economy. In this relationship we would like to be able to improve in agricultural sector in order to improve the life of the people in Friendship City in Timor-Leste especially with tractors. To provide help in agricultural equipment through the farmers such as hand tractors. We as the farmers from the District of Y would like to ask our friends in Australia to provide equipment such as tractor ("Kubota") and a machine to separate the rice from the stalks. Friendship City to help with agricultural equipment such as tractor. We need help with seeds and fertilizer in order to increase the quality of the local products that are not really good. To construct a conference room/meeting room for OPMT (for the women). We would like to ask help with agricultural breeding of animals such as pigs (big varieties). Establish a youth centre in the Sub-districts that haven't got any in order to do training. Sports equipment such as footballs, volleyballs, nets, etc for the youth. (Group NR – d, e, f, g, h1, h2, h3, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, aa, ab, ac, ag, j, af, ak and al)</p> <p>We would like to ask for assistance in sending medicine to Y. We would like to ask, if possible, to establish scholarships, not only for secondary school but also for university. We would like to ask, if it is possible, to establish scholarships to study in Australia in the areas of nursing and agriculture. We would like to ask to our friends in Australia, if it is possible, to accept our nurses and doctors to study there. We would like to ask our friends in Australia to accept our nurses to increase their knowledge and also receive medical doctor students in Australia. Would like to ask our friends, if it is possible, to add more scholarships for our students in the future. We would like to ask our friends to send a specialist from Australia, in relation to health issues, to come and train the nurses and doctors for at least 3 months. Send a specialist in Agriculture from Australia to train the agriculturalists to improve their agricultural system. (Group HC – f, k, k, l, m, n, w and x)</p>
Having regular exchanges/visits/	Ongoing comparative studies To do comparative studies for the police

<p>comparative studies (16 groups)</p>	<p>In order to have a more effective relationship we need regular visits between the two commissions.</p> <p>Cultural exchange visits between Australia and Timor-Leste and Timor-Leste and Australia.</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends in Australia to come and have a social concert in Y. (Group VY – a, b, f, l and m)</p> <p>Do comparative studies To do comparative studies for the commission. To do comparative studies in X especially people in the commission. (Group KJ – a2, m and n)</p> <p>It is necessary to establish a X office in Y. To establish internet in the Y district. To establish a comparative studies program in order to understand culture, history and development. Establish a study tour in X in order for us to go and study and bring back knowledge to Y district. To establish a youth exchange in order to increase the relationship. We would like to ask our friends to establish student exchanges. (Group KA – d, e, n, o, p and y2)</p> <p>Extended site visits (regular visits back and forth) (Group CB – c)</p> <p>From the commission of Y we would like to ask X to establish student exchange so that our children/youth will have a vision [understand] about development and technology. In order to strengthen more our relationship we would like to ask the Friendship City to help our commission to do exchange visits and to gain new experiences in order to be able to develop our land, Y, when we come back. We recommend to our friends in Australia to have regular visits in the Y community. (Group LZ – o, p and q)</p> <p>Youth exchange program. Comparative studies (Group DK – h and l)</p> <p>To invite members of the committee to visit their friends in order to see closely love between 2 people. Our Friendship City also needs to come to their friends place (eg. Regular visits both ways). (Group HB – ll)</p> <p>To establish comparative studies. To establish comparative studies between the 2 cities. Exchanges between the two communities such as: women’s exchanges (a high priority), youth exchanges and cultural exchanges. (Group TG – d, e and p)</p> <p>We would like to ask to our Friendship City to assist us in health areas especially to increase human resource and, if possible, we can exchange information by visiting to health facilities in both countries. To strengthen the relationship between X and Y, we would like to have an exchange of district Y staff with X in order to gain experience and knowledge so that we are better able to serve our district. In the future X and Y should look into exchange visits that might benefit the urban poor, such as small groups running community income generation project involving women. Comparative Studies between 2 countries especially from Y to study what is happening in Australia. In my opinion, in order to strengthen the relationship between 2 cities we have to have regular contacts with them. (Group CF – e, l, m, n and r)</p>
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	<p>Exchange of teachers (Kindergarten, Primary, Pre-Secondary and Secondary) from Australia to TL and TL to Australia during school holidays. In order to strengthen the friendship relationship it is necessary to have an exchange visit To promote the friendship through cultural, sports, music and exhibition exchanges. We would like to ask Friendship City Casy to sponsor people from Y to visit Australia to do comparative studies especially in the development area. (Group WB – a, e1, f and m)</p> <p>More people from Timor-Leste to go to Australia to do comparative studies (to increase understanding, capacity and leadership). Regular visits from our friends in X. (Group YL – e1 and f)</p> <p>We would like to ask the members of the 2 commissions from the 2 cities to have exchange visits at least once a year in order to find out the important necessities that need assistance or need to be fixed. We would like to ask the community in X and the community in Y to establish comparative studies especially in its traditions and cultures which can contribute to the strengthening of the relationship of the 2 cities. (Group NQ – g and m)</p> <p>Regular visits from Friendship City in Australia. Since it is hard financially for us to visit Australia, we would like some people from Australia to visit us at least once a year to keep the relationship strong. (Group WY – a)</p> <p>To do a comparative study in order to increase our capacity. Would like to ask our friends in X to support financially for our local public servants to do some comparative studies. To ask to our Friendship City to help the members of our commission to do a comparative study, in order to increase the members’ capacity in the development area. We would like to create comparative studies between 2 local Friendship Cities. To do this comparative study for the members of the Y commission to Australia. In order to create a good relationship it’s necessary to implement comparative studies, for the members of the local government in Timor-Leste, to Australia, especially in the process of agricultural development in rural areas. We would like to ask our friends in X to help us, from sub-district or district of Y, to do the comparative studies in another country. (Group KN – m, n, o, q, r, s and t)</p> <p>To establish comparative study in order to make us close to each other through Timor-Leste and Australian nations, to the society that has no capability. Send leaders of youth to see/study and to meet people from the Friendship City in Australia [Comparative Study] We would like to ask the Friendship City to establish a comparative study program between the community of Y District and the Friendship City in Australia. (Group NR – c, ad and ae)</p> <p>Friendship sports between the youths from Y and youths in Australia at least once a year. (Group HC – q)</p>
<p>Improving communication (12 groups)</p>	<p>In order to strengthen the relationship in the future we would like to recommend that the members of the commission in Australia learn Tetum to facilitate good communication with Y, Timor-Leste, because the majority of the people on the commission don’t speak English. (Group VY – i)</p> <p>Provide courses for English and Tetum for both sides to help our communication process. Establish an English and Tetum course for the 2 parties in order to facilitate good</p>

	<p>communication between the two commission from X and Y. Ask the people in Australia to consider using Tetum because we don't understand English. (Group KJ – a1, b and o2)</p> <p>To create a centre of information in Y and X (with facilities of internet or phone) to facilitate giving the information to each other. It is important the communication through letters or community radio in Y to keep going, so that people can get information about the Friendship Relationship between Y and X. In order to have good communication between X and Y we would like to ask our friends to provide English and computer courses. We would like to ask for help to spread the information through the radio and TV, which is up to now, Y hasn't got them. In order to have a good relationship in the areas of culture, it is necessary to publish a book with information from both sides, about their culture, to strengthen the friendship. (Group KA – b, c, j, v and ai)</p> <p>Set up a communication system in our community to facilitate communication among us! Preferably internet. Direct lines of communication – telephone if email is not available. Please send members of the Australian Friendship City committee to learn Tetum We would like members of the Y commission to be able to learn English in Australia. We would like to ask the Australians to send volunteers to facilitate communication and facilitation – like the Peace Corps volunteers from America. (Group CB – a, b, d, e and f)</p> <p>We would like to ask our friends to provide a computer course for youths and teachers in order for them to work and communicate better between the Friendship City in Australia and families in Y. We would like to ask them to provide an English course for the English teachers to help them do their job better in Y and in order to be able to communicate better in various work situations. In order to strengthen the friendship relationship in terms of communication we would like to ask help to provide computer and English courses to Y people especially those who sit on the commission and youth. We would like to ask our friend to help set up a phone line in order to facilitate communication in the future. To ask to the Friendship City to help establish communication in order to have a regular communication between 2 cities about what's happening. In order to have a good relationship between 2 commissions it is necessary to have a landline in Y centre. It would also be helpful to have some form of transport for the commission to facilitate communication. From the community of Y we would like to ask for support from the commission in Australia to help set up a communication system in order to facilitate the activities and programs. From the commission in Y we recommend to the Friendship City in Australia to provide assistance in setting up communication so that we can exchange information to each other. We, the people of Y, really need communication so we would like to ask the Friendship City to help establish a telephone line, and a form of transport (eg. One car) in order to facilitate communication. (Group LZ – a, b, c, i, j, k, l, m1 and n)</p> <p>My recommendation to you - through this meeting, we would like to ask you to pass what we have told you to our friends. It is necessary to communicate well between 2 cities. (Group DK – b and j1)</p>
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	<p>Ask our friends to learn Tetum in order to facilitate communication. To establish a communication system such as internet so that the District Administrator and Sub-District Administrator can have access as well. (Group HB – o and p)</p> <p>To establish communication medium to facilitate communication. We would like to ask the Timorese government and the Friendship City to establish a communication system in order to be able to communicate better – e.g. internet and fax in Y. (Group TG – a and b)</p> <p>We need to have a communication internet connection through the DIT university if possible. We have to have internet access in order to communicate between the 2 Friendship Cities. It is necessary to have an English course for the commission in Y and Tetum for our friends in X. (Group XS – f, g and s)</p> <p>I would like to recommend to our friends to set up internet for the office of the commission in order to facilitate communication between the 2 communities. If it is possible, we would like to ask our friends to have a liaison official to work with the Y commission in order to facilitate the communication between Y and X. (Group KN – f and v)</p> <p>Setting up radio communication in villages in order to give access to communication for the communities that need it. Access to communication hasn't reached the ground yet. So we would like to have radio communication installed permanently so that communities can have access to communication. (Group NR – ah and ai)</p> <p>Establish regular communication between Friendship groups in District Y and Australia and between Australia and District Y. Internal and external communication. E.g. regular meetings, regular emails or phone calls. (Group HC – o)</p>
<p>Building relationships/ understanding (12 groups)</p>	<p>Ask the [Australian] commission to socialize to each department in Y and with the leaders. (Group KJ – o1)</p> <p>According to Y custom/culture there needs to be an exchange of land for land between Y and X. On this land, we will build a cultural centre in X and X build a cultural centre in Y as a sign of a concrete friendship relationship. As friends we have to increase and strengthen our relationship between 2 people (Y and X) to come together to face difficulties that 2 nations are going to face in the future. (Group KA – f and z)</p> <p>Just as the relationship was built between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste during WWII, we need to continue to strengthen the relationship between the people of Australia and Timor-Leste if we want things to go well in the future. It is important to strengthen our relationship first and then everything will go well in the future. (Group CB – g and h)</p> <p>It is necessary for both commissions to listen to each other, to understand each other, respect each other and trust each other. To build friendship between the schools in Australia and Timor-Leste – e.g. correspondence/pen pals in order to share their experiences. (Group DK – a and k)</p> <p>We would like to have a liaison officer for Y region to facilitate the relationship between the 2 cities. To promote our culture. (Group XS – h and l)</p>

	<p>We need to establish guidelines between two friendship groups. These guidelines should include things such as cultural information to help us understand each other's culture. An example of the sort of thing that could be included is planning a small (or big) symbolic ceremony that includes the whole community to make the relationship stronger. In WWII they promised to be friends and soldiers made the symbolic gesture of drinking each other's blood to make the relationship unbreakable. The MOU is very formal and it can appear to be just a Govt to Govt link. The ceremony will make it more community to community. It is not that we don't need the formal Govt to Govt link but we need it to go even deeper. The DA met people in X who had been soldiers in WWII and the relationship was still strongly felt. (Group WY – c)</p> <p>I would like to recommend to the Friendship City in Australia to strengthen more the relationship in the future. My greetings to the friends in the Friendship City in Australia who will strengthen unity with a good relationship between [them and] the community Y District. Thank you very much for your assistance and your work together so we'll be better. (Group NR – a and b)</p> <p>We would also like to establish good relationships between women's groups in Australia and women's groups in Y. We would like to ask that our relationship be better in the future. Establish a centre for culture in 2 cities. (Group HC – b, d and t)</p> <p>Visits help to build friendship and understanding. We would also like to invite people from Australia to come and live in our district in order to make the friendship stronger. (Group HB – l2)</p> <p>We ask our friends to understand our actual situation in Y District, especially the facilities that we have, to support the members from the Friendship City. Please consider our culture. (Group CF – q and v)</p> <p>To collect historical books about WWII (in relation to the Australian and Timorese connection) and translate them into Tetum, and put them in the library. In order to strengthen the friendship relationship it is necessary to understand habits, customs, traditions and cultures so that we can respect each other and make our relationship better in the future. (Group WB – j and e2)</p> <p>To increase understanding. (Group YL – e2)</p>
<p>Making internal improvements (9 groups)</p>	<p>If there are a lot of activities implemented we have to have a regular meeting in order to know what is going on. (Group KJ – i)</p> <p>The Y Friendship City commission should organise the community with more initiatives of projects. (Group CB – j)</p> <p>We would like large numbers of people to participate in the election of the representatives on the Y commission. Elect the representatives through the participation of large numbers of people. Recommend to revise/review the current structure. We need the people who go to Australia, when they come back, not to run away from Y (bring the benefits back to our community. (Group HB – f, g, k and w)</p> <p>We would like to recommend to the commission in Y to come together and work together better for the implementation. We have to have an office for the commission in Y district including equipment for</p>

	<p>administration such as internet and fax. Establish a fixed office for the Friendship City in Y. Rehabilitate an office for the Friendship City commission in Y. We would like to ask the Friendship City of Y to have a constitution and regulations for the Friendship City in Y. We would like to ask to review the structures of the committees in Y. (Group TG – f, g, h, i, l and m)</p> <p>It is necessary to have an office in the district level to facilitate the information internally and to publicise and disseminate the information. We would like to ask our government to help set up an internet line in Y. In order to have a strong relationship between 2 Friendship Cities we must have a representative. To have a representative for Y e.g. Youth Ambassador. It is necessary to form/establish the commission for Y. It is necessary to form a commission in Y in order to coordinate and to implement tasks, both within Y or externally. It is necessary to form an executive committee in the district. It is necessary to re-establish a coordination system so that the assistance from the Friendship City in X is well coordinated through a local authority. Opening a bank account for Y Friendship City. (Group XS – a, d1, i, j, m, n, o, p and w)</p> <p>We would like to ask the Timorese Government to reduce taxes or give an exemption for the things that come through the Friendship City, if these things help Timorese people (if the reason that it is sent serves the whole people and the needs of the community). (Group WB – c)</p> <p>Recommend to the Y community that we improve our agricultural products to show that we are being pro-active in developing our agriculture. Civic education (such as sanitation) to improve the health of the community. If we can educate ourselves in better health practices, and educate the people, then when others from the Friendship Agreement come they will see progress in our community. Civic education should come from within Timor-Leste so that there is not a misunderstanding of cultures. Even educating the community that we are friends with these people, (and that is why they come to help us), so we need to participate – this is also civic education. Timor-Leste has come from different colonial experiences of being dominated. First by the Portuguese (do as you are told) and then the Indonesians (we ask and ask and ask and they give) but now we are independent we have to address how we operate and think about how we do things in the future. (Group YL – g and i)</p> <p>Decentralise so that the district government structure (which is now a part of the central government) becomes a Local Government structure. As part of this decentralisation, we would like to ask the Timorese organisation for Sidade Amiga to have a representative in each district – a post such as Sr Jose Mousaco’s - to facilitate communication. Y can provide a space for this person. As the district of Y establishes more Friendship Agreements with other cities communicating through Y will become even more difficult and expensive, so having someone in each district will make it easier and less expensive. Y has people who can speak English so this is not a problem. (Group WY – b)</p> <p>In order to have a good relationship we would like to work with our friends but we have to have a good structure in order to facilitate good communication. (Group KN – w)</p>
Adhering to Timorese protocol (7 groups)	<p>Would like to ask to the community in X to keep supporting the community of the Sub-District of Y in various sectors through the elected commission. All the activities that X Friendship City implemented, the commission of Y must know</p>

	<p>about. If it is possible, the representative of X in Y, make a plan with good coordination with a good elected commission from Y. (Group KJ – g, p and q)</p> <p>Involve local authority such as the District Administrator or Sub-District Administrator. The structure of the commission has to involve the representatives from the local authority and the community. The structure has to include local administration. Ask our friends to keep supporting the people of Y through their representatives in Y (eg include local authority). If there is support from Australia it must be transparent to the Y representatives. We would like 3-monthly Friendship City financial reports to be given to the local government authority in Y because we need transparency in finances – money in and money out. We recommend to make the process very transparent. The approval of the projects has to be decided together with the local authority. When implementing projects within the community, don't do it like it is a private or group business. Include the local authority in decision-making. (Group HB – d, e, h, i, q, r, s, u and v)</p> <p>To have transparency and responsibility between the 2 cities. (Group WB – l)</p> <p>The support from X to Y has to come through the organizing commission. In order to strengthen the relationship in the future we need to have good coordination in National and District levels through the elected commission. In order to strengthen the relationship in the future we would like to ask the Friendship City X that they have to follow the procedures of the Commission - (Coordinate). (Group TG – k, n and o)</p> <p>If it is possible, we would like to ask our friends, could the programs/projects that are going to be implemented in Y come through the existing local government. (Group CF – o)</p> <p>We would like program/project proposals from the communities, youth, women, sub-district etc to come through the commission for approval before sending to X. The design of the plan for development has to come through the commission. (Group KN – j and k)</p> <p>We have to have transparency in all the processes. Accountability for finances and resources. All the support from the Friendship City, don't send it directly to the people. It needs to come through the elected committee. Every support and assistance from the Friendship City to Y Friendship City should come through the coordination of the commission in Y. (Group HC – g, h, u and v)</p>
Being long-term (6 groups)	<p>When the agreement terminates, we would like it to continue in the long term. To prolong the Friendship City Agreement when the current agreement finishes. (Group VY – j and k)</p> <p>Would like to ask the community in X to keep supporting the Friendship City activities. (Group KJ – r2)</p> <p>We would like to ask to the members of the commission to ensure the successes that have happened in the past will be maintained and keep going in the future. We would like to ask our friends to keep going with their support in order to be more successful in the future. (Group DK – e and i)</p>

	<p>We have to continue with activities that have been done in the past and continue to make a new program so that we can develop in other sectors, so that the Friendship Agreement can give common benefits to both cities that are involved in the program. (Group CF – h)</p> <p>To make the relationship not in short time but in the long term. Don't cut our relationship but the relationship has to go on until the end of life. (Group NQ – n)</p> <p>Friendship City of Y and Friendship City in Australia not to cut the relationship in the middle of the journey [keep the relationship long term]. Don't stop the relationship part way through the journey. (Group HC – c and e)</p>
<p>Conducting regular monitoring and evaluation (6 groups)</p>	<p>We have to have evaluation (maybe at least 3 monthly) in order to evaluate the plan that was decided and its activities. (Group KJ – j)</p> <p>To have regular evaluation in order to build trust in the implementation of the project. (Group LZ – r)</p> <p>To do regular evaluation at least once a year. (Group HB – n)</p> <p>It is necessary to have a regular meeting (6 monthly/annually) to discuss about programs and activities in relation to the achievements of the agreement, to identify problems, to make suggestions/recommendations, to do the plan for the future and this evaluation will be within the Y commission as well as in X. It is important to have ongoing evaluation because through regular meetings people can have access to a variety of information about Friendship City activities. (Group XS – q and r)</p> <p>We would like to require to the Friendship Cities (both Y and X) to do regular evaluation on the works of the committee and its activities (6 months or 1 year) in order to see what they have done – whether it is working or not. Require both cities to do the evaluation to the implementation of the activities. (Group KN – a and b)</p> <p>Regular evaluation on the implementation program between the two Friendship Cities. Regular monitoring and evaluation of programmes and projects – success or failure. (Group HC – r and s)</p>
<p>Gaining political support from higher levels of government (5 groups)</p>	<p>Would like to ask to the Australian and Timorese Governments to keep supporting the Friendship City activities. (Group KJ - r1)</p> <p>We would like to ask the Australian and Timorese governments to support the Friendship relationship between X and Y to be stronger in the future. (Group KA – af)</p> <p>We recommend to the Timorese government to support our financial needs for administration for friendship activities. (Group XS – u)</p> <p>We would like to ask both governments (Australian and Timorese) to create a good relationship between them. (Group WB – q)</p> <p>We would like to ask the Timorese and Australian governments to establish regulation to guarantee the relationships between Friendship Cities in Australian and Timor-Leste. In order to strengthen the relationship between 2 Friendship Cities we ask that the leaders of the 2 nations have a good relationship and work well together. We would like to ask the Australian government to support Friendship Agreements between Australia and Timor-Leste.</p>

	<p>We would like to ask the Timorese government and the National Parliament to give strong support to the Friendship City relationships to help strengthen the relationship between Y and X.</p> <p>In order to strengthen the relationship between Y and X in the future we would like to ask the Timorese government, as the people's representatives, to create good conditions for Friendship Cities from Australia and Timor-Leste. (Group NQ – a, b, c, d and e)</p>
Implementing a free flow of info (4 groups)	<p>Students from Y would like to correspond with other students in X in order to share information with each other. (Group KA – aa)</p> <p>To share the information with each other. (Group DK – j2)</p> <p>We need to exchange information and knowledge with each other. (Group WB – i2)</p> <p>Exchange information to each other about the situation in each city. (Group HC – p)</p>
Working collaboratively (4 groups)	<p>I would like to ask both commissions X and Y to establish a proper office for the relationship of Friendship Cities.</p> <p>We would like to ask to establish a language program: our friends from X to study Tetum and provide an English course; and from Y study English and provide a Tetum course.</p> <p>We would like to ask for both commissions to have a representative from the partner community on each commission. (Group KA – a, k and ah)</p> <p>Both Friendship cities must sit together to discuss and identify the problems and areas of need so they can support each other based on the capacity of each city. (Group CF – p)</p> <p>To recommend to X to have a joint committee between X and Y. (Group KJ – h).</p> <p>Would like to ask our friends in X to send one of their representatives or staff to work with the community when they are implementing programs in Y. (Group KN – u)</p>
Having a signed written MoU (3 groups)	<p>Establish a Memorandum of Understanding between the 2 committees for the implementation plan. (Group TG – j)</p> <p>To sign an agreement (MOU) between 2 local governments as a legal relationship (formal relationship)</p> <p>Formalise the agreement between Y and X.</p> <p>In order to have a good relationship between Y and X we have to have a signed MOU between the two cities. (Group KN – c, d and e)</p> <p>We would like to ask to have a Memorandum of Understanding between the Friendship City and the committee (Group HC – i)</p>
Having a development plan (3 groups)	<p>We need to make a plan and identify priority needs.</p> <p>We need to have clear objectives and work on things that we are interested in together. (Group WB – n and o)</p> <p>Stick to our Strategic Plan that we worked out together. (Group YL – a)</p> <p>Keep considering the priorities [in Y]. For example - Ask X in Australia to consider agriculture and fisheries as priorities in Y. To consider the principal sectors that are <u>necessary</u> in communities such as water, markets etc. (Group WY – d)</p>
Building trust (3 groups)	<p>Some organisations have been to our community. Perhaps they have made a promise but they forget to implement. So we would like to ask our Friendship City to inform them of our voice so that they can come back to help us in various areas (eg. Education, Health, etc). (Group LZ – h)</p> <p>To implement the programs that have been chosen by the people. (Group HB – m)</p>

	Ask their partner to continue the projects that they started implementing in 2000 – 2001. (Group CF – g)
Showing appreciation (1 groups)	We would like to thank you very much for all your kind heart that you have done for the people of Y. (Group LZ – s)
Resolving disputes (1 group)	We recognise that there are major issues that need to be resolved so we recommend that we have mediation (from people in Australia/external). (Group HB – t)
Establishing procedures (1 group)	We would like to ask the Friendship City to produce guidelines/manual about their strategic/work plan in order to work better in the future. (Group NQ – l)
Sharing costs	We would like to ask to both committees to establish joint fund-raising for the development. (Group HC – a)

APPENDIX 14

Friendship Agreement successes

Group responses from 17 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

<p>Construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure and provision of equipment (11)</p>	<p>Assistance with setting up solar panels to provide electricity for Police Station, Administration Office, clinic, chapel, and the village centre (meeting place). Our friends have also provided equipment and books for some schools. Commission has free access to the internet. People in the community can use it for a fee of 47¢ per minute. The community in Australia pay for this internet connection because without communication things can't be done. The Australian community pay money to this community to cover the costs of the internet (approx US\$50 per month) (Group VY)</p> <p>Provided materials for sports equipment (Group CF)</p> <p>We received help with 1 laptop, dental equipment for the health centre and sports equipment for the youths. We received help with a satellite dish (so we can get access to information). We got help in the construction of the fence around the kindergarten. (Group NQ)</p> <p>A women's group got the sewing machines, material and typewriters etc. Each village got a typewriter. The typewriters are very useful because they don't have electricity all the time in the villages. One of the big successes has been the rehabilitation of Kindergartens in several sub-districts. (Group WB)</p> <p>We got help with carpentry equipment to help with the repair of the school. (Group KN)</p> <p>They provided a laptop for communication. Internet is available. (Group HC)</p> <p>Community Y sent 40 bicycles for students who live far from the school. The students can only use them while they are still enrolled at school and when they have finished school they return the bicycle so that another student can use it. They provided thousands of small, black, thick plastic buckets (and lids) and we find them useful (for carrying water or carrying food when we go to the gardens). They provided equipment to prune the coffee plants. They assisted us to buy a small hand tractor to assist with ploughing. The rehabilitation of 3 dormitories and the building of a fence. (Group YL)</p> <p>Got assistance with a hearse. Got support with 10 computers for the youth. Support with solar cell panels material (3). Financial support total AUD\$10,000 to rehabilitate youth centre and community radio. (Group XS)</p> <p>The provision of sports equipment (balls, shoes, training clothes, socks, uniforms, etc), school equipment (tables, chairs, books, blackboards, whiteboards, chalk, pens, pencils, etc), mattresses for community members, sheets, uniforms, and mosquito nets for the hospital. Rehabilitated a place for training (Group TG)</p> <p>They delivered clothes – through each Sub-district – 4 boxes to each Sub-district. In Agriculture – they provided 1 or 2 hand tractors for Y. Gave a car for the community centre. Gave 100-200 bicycles for school students. Provided material for the hospital – clothes, wheelchairs, beds, mattresses and medical equipment. Rehabilitated primary school and built a kindergarten. Provided assistance with media equipment e.g. camera and computer (Group DK)</p> <p>They have given equipment for education including: chairs, tables, balls, notebooks, books, and bikes for pre-secondary and secondary schools (2 schools). They have provided lots of equipment for health including: beds, fridge, generator, stethoscopes, EEG machine, needles, computer, cupboards, walking sticks, physiotherapy equipment and more. They did minor rehabilitations of 2 schools (ceilings, windows, doors and 1 library room).</p>
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	(Group KJ)
Friendship/Relationship (9)	<p>Strengthening of our relationship between Y and X. 10 schools in Y have set up a system of pen-pals and students have been exchanging letters with other students in Australia since 2004. (Group VY) We have created a friendship between the people from Y and the people from X. (Group KA) *The main success is the development of community people through an increased awareness and a change of mentality and good relationship. (Group HB) We still have a good, strong relationship between the communities in X and Y. (Group NQ) *We have not really had successes yet but we want to recognise what has been given, as a first step in the relationship. (Group KN) As part of Phase I of the agreement, [2 people from Y] were invited to go to X to help build the relationship. (Group YL) They came to confirm the relationship that had been established between the two communities. (Group TG) The strengthening relationship between the two communities. (Group DK) The main success that we have observed is the openness of the community to other people from different cultures and backgrounds. It is the friendship itself. (Group CB)</p>
Capacity building (9)	<p>English teacher for Pre-secondary and Secondary schools. Comparative Studies between the communities (Group VY) The important successes that we see are to give more motivation to the youth to study better. The important successes that we see are to improve literacy amongst the women. (Group LZ) The main success is the development of community people through English Courses. (Group HB) Provided training to teachers (Group CF) English courses – for Pre-secondary, Secondary and public. Sewing training for groups of women. Mechanics training – automobile workshop for youth. Computer training. (Group DK) They provided training for teachers and students on how to build a fence. (Group YL) An increased capacity within the groups in the community (e.g. in being able to build a water supply). Comparative study done by DA in schools, etc (Group WY) Assistance for attending exchange visit. (Group XS) Comparative studies between students – 3 students from Y went to Australia and 15 students from X came from Australia to Y. (Group KJ)</p>
Financial Assistance (8)	<p>Financial assistance to support students with scholarships. (Group VY) We received financial assistance to do the rehabilitation of the Community Centre. (Group NQ) We have received help from the Friendship City of \$500 to repair a school. (Group KN) *We haven't got success yet except we got the money. (Group NR) *Financial support total AUD\$10,000 to rehabilitate youth centre and community radio. Assistance for attending conference and course. (Group XS) 20 students from the orphanage have scholarships (10 females and 10 males) (Group HC) Money for kindergarten equipment. (Group TG) Helped students with money for computer training. Sent US\$6000 for the celebration of the restoration of independence. Provided money for university student association. Provided money for sports players to attend a competition.</p>

	Assisted with US\$1000+ for the Youth Congress. (Group DK)
Technical assistance programs (5)	Distribution of worm medicine Agricultural project – coconuts, papaya and other seedlings planted and delivered to people. (Group HC) Provided treatment for people with bad eyes – 3 doctors came an NGO from Dili via Friendship City. Established a program ‘Seeds for Life’. (Group TG) Nutrition training program. (Group DK) They provided glasses for people who couldn’t see. The first time they were given free, the second time they cost US\$2 each). They also sent an eye specialist twice – they came to Y to do check-ups and do operations in Y2. They stay 1 week in Y and then go to Y2 to operate. (Group KJ) A community has access to a clean water supply. (Group WY)
Signed agreement (2)	We signed an agreement (Group NQ) Two people came from Australia to set up the Friendship Agreement. The signing of the MoU between Y and X took place in the community of Y and so there is a big support from the local community. (Group YL)
No success yet (2)	*We have not really had successes yet but we want to recognise what has been given, as a first step in the relationship. (Group KN) *We haven’t got success yet except we got the money. (Group NR)
Consultant (1)	Got a technical consultant for the water supply and sanitation. (Group XS)
Public awareness raising (1)	*The main success is the development of community people through an increased awareness and a change of mentality and good relationship. (Group HB)
Economic benefits (1)	The tias from vulnerable women from Y got promotion and access to market. (Group XS)
Participation in decision-making (1)	The decisions about what was important and the list of priorities were made in a participatory way. Teams include the District Administrator, the Sub-District Administrator, the heads of the villages and people on the committee – we all walk around and see what the needs are. We met for two days to set the priorities. We (the decision makers in Y) decide what is the priority and then we give X the list and it is up to the capacity of that community what happens. (Group YL)
Banking (1)	Opened a bank account for money transfers (Group HC)
Positive feelings (1)	Important success is the people who have benefited from projects are very happy. (Group DK)

APPENDIX 15

Friendship Agreement successes

Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials

Capacity building (4)	<p>Oh, the training – the capacity building – because ... ah ... since we build the relationship more people already went to Australia to do the training. So, like, education, agriculture, English and so ... develop ... their skill development. That's more important. That's what see at the moment. Any others? I think I've mentioned development ... the skill development it's already for everything like ... MX</p> <p>If you're talking about general community education – I guess [this] has been a success as well. DP</p> <p>Education - if I send one to Australia will not do some things but one from Australia can give English language to 100 people. That is one thing that is good for our future. TX</p> <p>English language training. East Timor would need to adapt to the English language as soon as possible simply because we will become a member of ASEAN and its official language is English. Portuguese is the official language now but it is for domestic purposes. But in terms of dealing with trade ... business ... all that is done in English. Therefore we have no choice. Now, there is a potential within the near future, or maybe [the] next 20 to 30 years, ASEAN will have become a common market. That means ... open borders, right? When it's open borders that means the labour forces have to compete. Now, if our people don't have the English language knowledge, then we're way behind and we will have no hope of competing in the region. And that's one element that everybody is thinking hard on. And so, when we talk about English language, where do we get it? Well, Australia and New Zealand are next door - the English speaking countries. And so we will ... we hope that the friendships can help provide that. And the other aspect is to do with some training for the local district officers. Some have been trained. BB</p>
Friendship/Relationship (3)	<p>One point also that now they know that "I have a friend". We make friendship. SB</p> <p>I guess you have to look at it more in a broader sort-of point of view where the successes have been really the relationships. It's the relationships that have been established throughout East Timor. DP</p> <p>First, as a nation, the more we have friends, we learn things from the people. Today we have a very good relationship. TX</p>
Construction/rehabilitation of infrastructure and provision of equipment (3)	<p>If you're talking about projects, you know, if you're talking about solar panel projects, if you're talking about school rehabilitation, I guess those have been successes as well. DP</p> <p>And then with the chairs and, you know, with the things for the children, [they] can go to school. FP</p> <p>Other successes have been building kindergartens, building clinics, building some schools, community centres, you know, and then there are other smaller projects, you know, things like libraries, that is ongoing in a different way. BB</p>
Perseverance (2)	<p>We found some difficulty at the start, but we still continue, we still continue. I'm sure that these [difficulties will] discontinue. I believe we are on the right road, going the right way. SB</p> <p>Just recently we had a few problems but doesn't mean that everyone is bad. We appreciate it when people from your country still come here. TX</p>
Financial assistance (1)	<p>So what happened was the help, the support that we get from X City, it goes immediately to the district administrator and then with coordination with the</p>

	director of the school they bought paint and cement and the parents of the children come and do the work, and fix the floors for the children. FP
Awareness raising (1)	Awareness that now they are all ... they are part of the world, part of the world. They're also aware that they are not alone. They are aware that they are part of the international community. SB
Grassroots development (1)	Well, I guess, you can look at different levels but ... in regards to the approach, the current approach of some of the groups is based around grassroots development, communicating with communities and looking at assessing the needs and establishing programs. DP
Government-to-government ties (1)	I guess the other level you can look at is the links it establishes with the National government. The National government in regards to District level as well as the Sub-districts, sucos, and also with Ministers responsible have an interest in the Friendship program. DP
Regular visits (1)	As a nation, the more you come to visit East Timor, the good for our youth people. TX
Humanitarian assistance (1)	One of the other aspects was the humanitarian support that comes because when the country's devastated you need all the help you can get. BB

APPENDIX 16

Friendship Agreement challenges

Group responses from 17 Timorese groups (incorporating the views of 154 participants)

<p>Communication (13)</p> <p>External and internal communication</p>	<p>Communication – language and information sharing (Group KA) Lack of communication (There is no mobile phone reception in Y). Lack of English language. In relation to communication difficulties – The Australian community want a list showing costs for scholarships and literacy classes. How are we going to send them a list? There is no phone reception and no fax machine. <i>A comment about internal communication:</i> In relation to the commission there is a lack of clarity in the function of the commission – because of lack of communication between the people in Y. (Group LZ)</p> <p>Language - A lot of staff cannot speak English. (Group CF)</p> <p>Communication and language. To communicate there is internet in Y but it costs US\$3.00 for one hour and if we want to use the phone we have to buy our own phone cards. We try to communicate in English but we don't feel confident communicating in that language. (Group WB)</p> <p>* Lack of communication because of distance (Group NQ)</p> <p>Lack of communication medium. Although we have a fixed telephone line at the office there are lots of problems with communication. External communication with X is difficult due to language differences and a lack of internet access. <i>A comment about internal communication:</i> Internal communication is not happening well. Information is not being passed on. It is difficult to communicate with people in the remote areas – many don't have mobiles (even if they could get reception). (Group KN)</p> <p>Communication medium (such as language and telecommunication) (Group NR) Communication is the biggest difficulty. Language (English is limited). We need an interpreter and there is no money to pay an interpreter. Internet connection is not available in Y. There is no good postal service. We have to go to Dili and find a way to get through. If they don't have a translator then misunderstandings can happen. (Group WY)</p> <p>Communication – we want to establish pen-pals between students but there is no internet, no phone reception and no good postal service. Mostly communication is sent from Dili via somebody who is coming through Y and returning to Dili. (Group YL)</p> <p>Lack of communication and lack of access to information. No internet; Language differences – most people can't speak the English language; Lack of media. (Group XS)</p> <p>The BIG problem here is communication. (No internet, Language difficulties) (Group TG)</p> <p>Communication difficulties. Dependent on email in Dili (in Y1 is costs \$) OR need to use an intermediary. Internet is not available in the community so emails are only able to be sent every few months, usually when someone goes to Dili. (Group CB)</p> <p>Lack of communication. Communication really only happens when the people from X come to visit – internet is available in the health centre but we feel that our lack of English prevents us from communicating well. <i>A comment about internal communication:</i> There is a sub-committee within the 27-strong commission responsible for communication but this sub-committee isn't working well. (Group KJ)</p>
<p>Lack of finances (8)</p>	<p>Lack of financial support (Group KA) The Y District Administration has an interest to send staff to attend training or some courses in Australia but there are no financial resources. (Group CF)</p> <p>Finance (Group WB)</p>

	<p>Telephone is expensive and there is a lack of financial support to buy phone cards so members of the committee have to pay for the phone cards with their own money and that is limited. (Group WY)</p> <p>Sometimes our friends from Australia use their own money to buy things that are necessary for the work to proceed. (Group YL)</p> <p>Lack of finances (Group XS)</p> <p>Lack of funding. We have a phone but no money for phone cards. (Group TG)</p> <p>Lack of finances/funding. We are willing to learn lots, to go to Australia but lack of money prevents us from going. (Group KJ)</p>
Lack of transportation (8)	<p>Lack of Transportation (Group KA)</p> <p>Lack of transport (Group LZ)</p> <p>People in the remote areas don't have any transport. The lack of transport leads to difficulties in communicating, a lack of motivation and a lack of monitoring. (Group KN)</p> <p>Transportation (such as roads in order to reach the hamlets) (Group NR)</p> <p>Transportation is difficult, both in taking guests around and just going backwards and forwards to Dili and around the district. We don't have our own transport, if people come to visit, they have to hire their own car – we are sometimes embarrassed if our car breaks down. What will people think? (Group WY)</p> <p>Transport is a difficulty. The Friendship agreement bought a car for while they worked here but it has been given to one of the ministries. No internal transport. (Group YL)</p> <p>Transportation difficulties for the commission. (Group XS)</p> <p>We have one car but we are not able to visit the project places that are far away in the mountains – the car is not good enough. (Group DK)</p>
Lack of human resources (7)	<p>Lack of human resources (Group HB)</p> <p>Lack of human resources (Group CF)</p> <p>Lack of capacity/Human resources (need some training). Lack of specialist people in things like construction. (Group NQ)</p> <p>The obstacle we face is human resources. (Group NR)</p> <p>Since community volunteers do work on rotation, some will be trained to use a piece of equipment and when the next group comes, somebody else has to be trained. We have to work around all these difficulties. (Group YL)</p> <p>Lack of human resources to plan, monitor and implement all the programmes according to the signed agreement. (Group DK)</p> <p>Lack of human resources. Many of the resources that come are in English but not many people here understand English. Some of the hospital equipment we don't know how to use so it is still stored. (Group KJ)</p>
Planning and coordination (6)	<p>Lack of coordination with the local government authority. Lack of clear planning (Group HB)</p> <p>Relationship between local government and civil society is not always clear. (Group KN)</p> <p>We have established a commission here and we agree that proposals should come from the villages to the commission but X is still receiving proposals directly from the community and approving them to an NGO in the community and then we don't know what is going on. (Group HC)</p> <p>No commission to coordinate the work and be responsible in Y – Sometimes we are overloaded with work. Lack of coordination (internal and external). No person as liaison officer to link cities. (Group XS)</p> <p>Lack of coordination within Y. (e.g. No list sent with equipment.) We have a lot of 'doors' and people can come through too many ways. It leads to a lack of coordination because people are doing their own thing and then it is difficult to coordinate everything. (Group TG)</p> <p>We have a lot of needs and sometimes it is difficult to prioritise. (Group DK)</p>
Misunderstandings	<p>Some community members have a lack of understanding about what the Friendship</p>

(5)	<p>Cities are all about. They think it is government assistance. We try hard to explain that it is a community-to-community link. (Group VY)</p> <p>Structure of the commission is not really clear. (Group KN)</p> <p>Communities in Australia and Y have different standards of living, life-styles and different cultures. The difficulty is when we ask for something that is important for the people of Y it is not necessarily seen as important in Australia. The needs are different between the 2 communities so we don't know what to ask from our friends. (Group XS)</p> <p>There is also a lack of cultural sense. Our friends have good intentions but they don't always understand our culture. We need to understand each other's culture. (Group TG)</p> <p>Misunderstanding during the starting period from the people in the community about the agreement. They think that this is compensation payment to the people of Timor-Leste who had helped Australia in WWII. They think that Australia may have an interest in the rich resources of Timor-Leste such as oil, etc. People who haven't had a project yet are not sure about what it's all about. (Group DK)</p>
Lack of facilities/equipment (4)	<p>Lack of facilities to support activities. (Group CF)</p> <p>Lack of administration equipment (Group KN)</p> <p>The Y community feel that we don't have a good place for the Australian volunteers to stay. When they come, they stay in a base camp that had been set up by the Japanese but in the dry season there is no water, so they have to struggle to find water for themselves. Electricity is only on from dusk until 11pm. If they find they are short of a particular tool needed during the rehabilitation of buildings, they have to go to Dili to get it. When the Y community members arrive as volunteers they often arrive late because they are busy in their garden, looking after cows, etc. Tools are difficult if they need electricity. (Group YL)</p> <p>Some computers for the training are broken. Only 1 computer for the Community Centre works. (Group DK)</p>
Distance (3)	<p>Distance is very far. (Group KA)</p> <p>One obstacle that we face is the distance between Australia and Y in Timor-Leste. (Group WB)</p> <p>* Lack of communication because of distance (Group NQ)</p>
Lack of transparency (3)	<p>Lack of transparency – in relation to the coordination of the work done in Y – we are not sure if the help is coming from the Friendship City or elsewhere. (Group LZ)</p> <p>Lack of transparency. (Group HB)</p> <p>Lack of transparency. (Group TG)</p>
Lack of signed agreement (3)	<p>No agreement (MoU) yet. (Group KN)</p> <p>We haven't signed an agreement yet. (Group HC)</p> <p>There is no agreement (Memorandum of Understanding) signed yet. (Group NR)</p>
Monitoring/Evaluation (2)	<p>Lack of evaluation within the commission (Group LZ)</p> <p>* The lack of transport leads a lack of monitoring. (Group KN)</p>
Lack of action (2)	<p>Some plans haven't been implemented yet. (Group KA)</p> <p>There is still no follow up of the agreement that has been signed. (Group XS)</p>
Lack of community involvement (1)	<p>Lack of involvement by community members. (Group XS)</p>
Lack of reciprocity (1)	<p>We only receive and we never give back. (Group DK)</p>
Tax (1)	<p>Tax (Group NR)</p>
Banking (1)	<p>Money transfer has been a problem (it keeps getting returned to X). The money is for cleaning up the sub-district (for the purchase of bins, etc) but it keeps bouncing back to X. (Group CB)</p>
Envy (1)	<p>Other Sub-districts are protesting because they don't have a Friendship Agreement. (Group DK)</p>
Failure of programme (1)	<p>Some programmes didn't work. (Group KA)</p>

APPENDIX 17

Friendship Agreement challenges

Individual responses from 6 Timorese government officials

Communication	<p>First, I can tell you the truth. [Some] Timorese people speak English but most of them might not. Most of them want to learn but they have not [yet]. TX</p> <p>The challenge is communication. Yeah, to have that knowledge of the language, to be able to talk freely, laugh together - that is the main challenge. Because once you have good communications, things can flow, you know. Things can be explained, differences can be talked through because you can understand. Communication is the main challenge, for everybody on <i>both</i> sides. BB</p> <p>I guess the main challenges for me have always been the same – Communication is one of the biggest challenges. DP</p> <p>They cannot contact each other. That’s a bigger difficulty. We don’t have internet in the districts, telephone – so how can we contact them? So, this is a very difficult thing. The challenge is language. For us it is something new, especially for people in the districts and especially the district administration. They don’t know how to speak English. Some speak lots but it’s still very difficult for us. MX</p> <p>That’s one, you know, communication. Normally we have English language, English language. That’s one challenge. SB</p>
Distance/ geography	<p>One thing that we face because of geographically ... the land. Some people, in the remote areas they cannot go to visit them because there is a lack of roads. TX</p> <p>The second challenge is access to the regional areas. That’s been a challenge as well. BB</p> <p>Logistics DP</p>
Misunderstanding	<p>We found also, some people think that when we make a relation between two communities, it means that they can give, always give us some materials or something like that. We can explain to the Australians that when you build a relationship with Timor-Leste it does not depend on what you give. SB</p> <p>What I need to warn you is that there are people in the decision-making who suspect these friendship aspects. They think, no, they suspect that Australia will colonise East Timor! Which is absolutely unfit to Australians because there is no way that Australians would do that. But that’s out of ignorance. Out of ignorance or have no knowledge of Australia or Australians. BB</p>
Bureaucracy	<p>As a government official, how to maintain ... how to facilitate this relationship. We have a strong commitment to facilitate this. But, sometimes we found a difficulty in our offices. SB</p> <p>Sometimes we have to say the procedure – the bureaucracy of the government – it might take time. And, the needs of the people down there, is very demanding for us! We know exactly the things that they need for them and the benefit for them in order to get this. But when we bring this up we need to go through all process and it takes time. By the time we get the support we need to fill up another form. For instance, a lot of the Friendship Agreements that we have done, this is what happens – Many people send second hand stuff that still can be used in East Timor through the container and then once it comes here those people have to pay for the tax! And with this, I think, [it’s] not necessary for us to ask them to pay tax, in my point of view, my personal point of view, but because of other circumstances it takes time. We need to argue and by the time you argue, you know, the needs of the people you need to put in mind, they really need to have those stuff and that’s the big challenge for us. And by the time you open the container, for instance, all the stuff that’s inside the container is all out of order. It cannot be used anymore! So that’s a big challenge. FP</p>

Facilities/ equipment	The resources and support that was supposed to be for the friendship office, that was set up to alleviate some of those challenges - that is one of the challenges itself. Trying to get those resources. DP As a new country we don't have facilities. MX
Security	The challenge now is the current events that have been unfolding. That will definitely be a huge challenge for the friendship programme now. DP Security MX
Transparency	Accountability and transparency is something that needs to be addressed - consistently. DP

APPENDIX 18

Authentic/Functional statements from the 13 MoUs

Authentic partnership characteristics	MoU (B) extracts
Mutuality ¹⁷⁴	We, ‘The Parties’ declare our joint commitment to: 3. a productive partnership built on mutual respect and friendship 4. furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both ‘parties’
Long-term commitment	The commitment to this relationship was originally for a ten-year period ...
Balance of power	This MoU commits the two parties to: 6. an exchange of knowledge and skills; 7. exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; 8. continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange;
Shared responsibilities	The underlying principles of the partnership are: 4. building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties; 5. acknowledging and respecting the different cultures while aiming to find a way of working that makes each party feel comfortable and inspired; 6. understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities ...
Equality	The underlying principles of the partnership are: 1. building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties; 2. acknowledging and respecting the different cultures while aiming to find a way of working that makes each party feel comfortable and inspired; 3. understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities ...
Reciprocal obligations	This MoU commits the two parties to: 1. an exchange of knowledge and skills; 2. exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; 3. continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange; 4. maintaining frequent communication between the parties; 5. consulting widely with their community.

¹⁷⁴ Idealistic partnership characteristics are shown in green and functional characteristics are shown in blue.

Authentic partnership characteristics	MoU (A) extracts
Mutuality	We will base all of our activities on the principles of mutual respect, cooperation and local decision-making.
Long-term commitment	This agreement seeks to guide our organisations, and the communities which they represent, in a further five years' friendship. [note - The initial agreement went for five years]
Balance of Power	We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. We will ensure that our efforts are directed towards working with the people of Y so that they are able to achieve the goals they have for their own community.
Shared responsibility	We will ensure that projects and initiatives which we commit to, take account of the capacity of our communities to resource and support them. We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future

Authentic partnership characteristics	MoU (D) extracts
Mutuality	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation, the peoples of X (Australia) and Y (Timor Leste) affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between X and Y and all members of these communities ... The primary goal of the relationship is friendship and mutual respect between the two communities ... These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y.
Long-term commitment	The Friendship Relationship will remain alive and vibrant through periodic review and reaffirmation of the aspirations set out in this Agreement.
Balance of Power	The Friendship Relationship provides a forum for links and exchanges between X and Y. Through local government and community partnerships, the Friendship Relationship will support the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources. These exchanges will lead to greater understanding between the two communities and will shape rewarding and long-term relationships between the residents of (X and Y).

Authentic partnership characteristics	MoUs (E and N) extracts
Mutuality	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the citizens of Australia and the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia ... It is intended that this partnership will be at both the local government and community levels and will result in improved understanding and appreciation of the cultures and experiences of the communities of Y and X.
Long-term commitment	It is acknowledged that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X is long-term.

Functional and authentic partnership characteristics	MoUs (C, G, H, J, K, L) extracts
Allocation of Resources	<p>Local governments and organizations at a community level have expertise and experience in caring for and developing local communities. The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor. (from the Statement of Principle)</p> <p>Material contributions by local governments in Victoria to the re-building of the nation of East Timor shall most effectively be provided in consultation and co-operation with the local as well as national representatives of the people of East Timor. (from the Statement of Principle)</p> <p>In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor¹⁷⁵, and in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’, of 4 May 2000 ...</p> <p>It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ...</p>
Distribution of responsibilities	We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X, to resource and support them.
Mutuality	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation ... we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship ...
Long-term commitment	It is envisioned that this partnership ... will result in ... the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

Functional and authentic partnership characteristics	MoUs (F and M) extracts
Allocation of resources	It is envisioned that this partnership will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ...
Distribution of responsibilities	It is recognised that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X, to resource and support them.
Mutuality	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and Timor-Leste we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.
Long-term commitment	It is envisioned that this partnership ... will result in ... the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.

¹⁷⁵ The only changes to this wording was that some MoUs used ‘East Timor’ and others used ‘Timor-Leste.

MoU	Number and type of partnership statements found	Partnership characteristic
B	6 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment Balance of power Shared responsibility Equality Reciprocal obligations
A	4 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment Balance of power Shared responsibility
D, E, N	3 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment Balance of power
E, N	2 x authentic	Mutuality Long-term commitment
C, F, G, H, J, K, L, M	2 x functional 2 x authentic	Allocation of resources Distribution of responsibilities Mutuality Long-term commitment

APPENDIX 19

Ideal/Actual statements from the 13 MoUs

Ideal attribute	Role	Timorese Role statements
Planning and decision-making	Local decision-making (12)	<p>We will base all of our activities on the principles of mutual respect, cooperation and local decision-making. MoU A</p> <p>We recognise that ... any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes. MoUs C, F, G, H, J, K, L and M</p> <p>Local decisions must inform the strategies and projects developed under the Friendship Relationship, and must respect the aspirations and capacities of the communities that adopt them. MoU D</p> <p>It is understood that any project will take into account the National Development Plan and District Development Plan for Y as well as other priorities identified through local decision-making processes. MoUs E and N</p>

Actual attribute	Role	Australian role statements
Providing resources	Funding (8)	<p>We recognise that ... any strategy or project should ... take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them. MoUs C, H, J, K and L</p> <p>It is recognised that ... any strategy or project ... should take account of the capacity of the X community to resource and support them. MoU F and M</p> <p>Any strategy or project should ... take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them. MoU G</p>
Providing resources	Knowledge transfer (8)	<p>Local governments and organisations at a community level have expertise and experience in caring for and developing local communities; ... The knowledge and expertise of local governments in Victoria shall be shared through partnerships with the people of East Timor; (Statement of Principle) In accordance with the 'Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor' of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y and X ... It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ... MoUs C, G, H, J, K and L</p> <p>It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate ... MoUs F and M</p>

Ideal attribute	Role	Joint roles statements
Same level of working prestige	An exchange of knowledge and skills (2)	<p>This MoU commits the two parties to an exchange of knowledge and skills; exploring new avenues and innovative ways of sharing information and skills; continuing to work together to identify key areas of common interest and exchange. MoU B</p> <p>Understanding that both parties have knowledge, skills, ideas, values and experiences that can be exchanged to the benefit of both communities. MoU B</p> <p>The initiatives created under the Friendship Relationship will promote educational, cultural, economic, humanitarian and sporting links. These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y. MoU D</p>
Same level of authority	Planning and decision-making (1)	The underlying principles of the partnership are: building a relationship that respects the community planning and decision making processes of both parties. MoU B
Same level of responsibility	Communication (1)	<p>This MoU commits the two parties to maintaining frequent communication between the parties. MoU B</p> <p>We ‘The Parties’ declare our joint commitment to furthering our partnership through open and honest communication that understands and responds to the ideas and aspirations of both ‘parties’. MoU B</p>
	Community consultation (1)	This MoU commits the two parties to consulting widely with their communities. MoU B
	Shared work (1)	We will work together to respond to the aspirations of the people of Y to build local democracy and a sustainable future. MoU A

APPENDIX 20

Comparison of MoU C and MoU D

Note – Text which has been lined through has been omitted and text in bold has been added.
Text in normal type are common to both MoUs.

Section	MoU C	MoU D
1	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation between the peoples of Australia and East Timor, and in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’, of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between Y in East Timor and X in Australia.	In the spirit of mutual respect and cooperation, between the peoples of X (Australia) and Y (Timor Leste) , and in accordance with the ‘Statement of Principles for Local Governments Working in East Timor’, of 4 May 2000, we affirm our intention to develop a Friendship Relationship between X in Australia and Y in East Timor and all members of these communities.
2		<i>Extra paragraph – omitted because it can identify both X and Y</i>
3	(See section 5)	It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These The primary goal of the relationship is friendship and mutual respect between the two communities. The initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of created under the Friendship Relationship will promote educational, cultural, economic, humanitarian and sporting links. These goals will be supported by practical exchanges designed to deepen friendship and promote goodwill between the peoples of X and Y. The Friendship Relationship will benefit the individuals and their communities, and will further environmental, social and cultural sustainability goals. The Friendship Relationship will especially include the young to ensure the lasting future of the Agreement.
4	X and their communities, seek to develop the Friendship Relationship to assist in the reconstruction of Y. X recognise the strong desire of individuals and organizations in their communities to contribute to the re-building of East	(Omitted)

	Timor, and are committed to facilitating community-to-community links with Y.	
5	It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources as appropriate, and will result in improved understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the communities.	It is envisioned that this partnership, at both the local government and community level, will involve The Friendship Relationship provides a forum for links and exchanges between X and Y. Through local government and community partnerships, the Friendship Relationship will support the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources. as appropriate, and will result in improved These exchanges will lead to greater understanding and the establishment of long-term relationships between the both both communities and will shape rewarding and warm long-term relationships between the residents of the two cities.
6	We recognise that there will be short-term and long-term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through local decision-making processes and should take account of the capacity of X and their communities, to resource and support them.	We recognise that there will be short term and long term goals for the re-building of Y and that any strategy or project should be based on needs identified through Local decision-making must inform the strategies and projects developed under the Friendship Relationship, and must respect the aspirations and processes and should take account of the and capacities of X and their communities, to resource and support them. of the communities that adopt them.
7	It is intended that all initiatives undertaken under the Friendship Relationship should be directed towards strengthening the communities of Y. These initiatives should aim to build capacity and advance the self-sufficiency of the people of Y, and should be consistent with the principles of environmental, social and cultural sustainability.	(See section three)
8	It is also intended that the Friendship Relationship between Y and X will be reviewed and reaffirmed by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible.	It is also intended that The Friendship Relationship between Y and X will remain alive and vibrant through periodic be reviewed and reaffirmation by any reviewed and reaffirmation by any administrations which might follow those currently responsible of the aspirations set out in this Agreement.