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**Transnational networks of local communities and the effects for the
development of urban
neighbourhoods in the Global South**

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The paper is based on the results of the PhD-thesis of the author (Ginzel 2013)¹. The extract of the case study research is intended to illustrate the existing relationships and interdependencies within the network of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) taking the Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF) as an example. In course of a case study research the thesis identifies modes of action and cooperation of local communities and their multi-dimensional network relations².

The cities of the Global South are still affected by rapid processes of urbanization resulting in dynamically growing informal settlements, urban sprawl and the persistence of urban poverty. These challenges have outstripped the capacities of governments in the countries of the Global South. Gaps of governance between the sectors of the state, civil society and the economy represent major obstacles to the implementation of effective, focused top-down strategies for urban management and poverty reduction.

Furthermore, the lack of connection between self-help initiatives in urban neighbourhoods and governmental authorities limits the scope of action of local communities. In view of these challenges, a debate has flared up questioning established public policies and conventional modes of cooperation applied by both the governments of the South and organizations in the international community.

In the first part of this paper the author discusses these current framework conditions in the cities of the Global South. Based on this the demand for new approaches of cooperation and the closure of gaps of governance will be discussed.

Recognizing this, the paper will analyze the potential of networks as suitable approach of cooperation to bridge gaps of governance and to increase the scope of action of local communities in urban neighbourhoods of the Global South. In this context, typical characteristics, processes and typologies of networks as well as existing methodological approaches to analyze them will be described briefly.

Based on the findings of the case study research, the paper will represent a range of activities and modes of action and cooperation of local communities in the TUPF. With focus on the thematic targeting of this session the excerpt is intended to address questions concerning the relevance of local embeddedness and the capability of local communities to enter into cross-sectoral and cross-level cooperation.

The paper illustrates that the investigated modes of cooperation and the emerging network structures are influenced by the embeddedness of the local communities within the social network of the urban neighbourhoods. However, the development of community activities is closely influenced by the degree of social, spatial, organizational and institutional proximity between the cooperation partners. Mobilization processes within the network of TUPF as an example show a high degree of path dependency on these local contacts. The quality of relationships between community members and groups within the urban neighbourhoods is dense in terms of the high frequency of interactions and the spatial proximity of the members. Furthermore, various mechanisms of network governance could be identified in the multi-level model of the transnational network of the local communities in order to save the stability of the cooperation structures and processes across levels and sectors of governance.

In course of the case study research the author has applied qualitative and quantitative methodologies (e.g. member survey, expert interviews, on-site research and document analysis) based on the understanding of an "*interpretive network analysis*" (Schindler 2006a: pp. 100-101) originating from a bottom-up perspective.

¹ With its specific focus on existing relationships and interdependencies within the transnational network of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) this paper complements the insights of a second paper for the RC21-session 22.

² The paper for RC21-session 22 provides more detailed information about the identified four modes of action and cooperation.

Introduction: Urbanization in the countries of the Global South and the need for new approaches of cooperation

The cities of the Global South are still affected by rapid processes of urbanization resulting in dynamically growing marginalized settlements, urban sprawl and the persistence of urban poverty. These processes have outstripped the capacities of governments in the countries of the Global South. Gaps of governance between the sectors of the state, civil society and the economy represent major obstacles to the implementation of effective, focused top-down strategies for urban management and poverty reduction.

At the same time self-help strategies and bottom-up processes by the local population are limited by the small scope of action and property rights of the urban poor in the legal, institutional, economic and social sense.³ Conversely, one main cause of poverty and its persistence is that the urban poor are unable to adequately represent their interests. The lack of transparency in the process of agenda-setting and decision-making considerably restricts the political courses of action of marginalized citizens (Brunnengräber; Randeria 2008: p. 34). This is related to the insight that local communities and governmental actors do not operate autonomously. MITLIN (2001: p. 163) describes the interaction between them as follows:

“The way in which the state interacts with citizens influences the way in which civil society organizations operate, and hence their capacity to represent themselves within engagements with the state.”

However, LEY (2010) describes governance gaps as open spaces for interpretation by local actors. Although self-help as a reaction to the lack of governmental policies conduces to fill the gap between the local and political level, the results of bottom-up processes are limited or even dysfunctional, while the welfare benefits for local communities involved are insufficient.

In this context a debate has flared up regarding the framework conditions and consequences of bad governance, which is characterized by weak regulatory structures which are dominated by non-transparency, hierarchies, cronyism, corruption, privileges of elites and exclusion. These aspects are considered as key obstacle to development by various experts (see for instance Easterly, Pyka 2006: p. 122; Faust 2005: pp. 166-167; Sachs 2005: p. 241; Sangmeister 2009: p. 140; Seitz 2009: pp. 102-103, 142; World Bank 2002: p. ii). MOYO (2010: p. 143) summarizes:

“In a world of bad governance the cost of doing business is much higher, on every level.”

The following figure gives an overview of the analysed sectors of governance and the ongoing processes of urbanization and urban poverty.

³ The new institutional economy is based on the understanding that the amount of individual benefits, political and social influence depend on the amount of property rights, which is why the transaction costs for the urban poor to participate in and benefit from existing social structures and the institutional framework are particularly high (related information: Sangmeister 2009: p. 133)

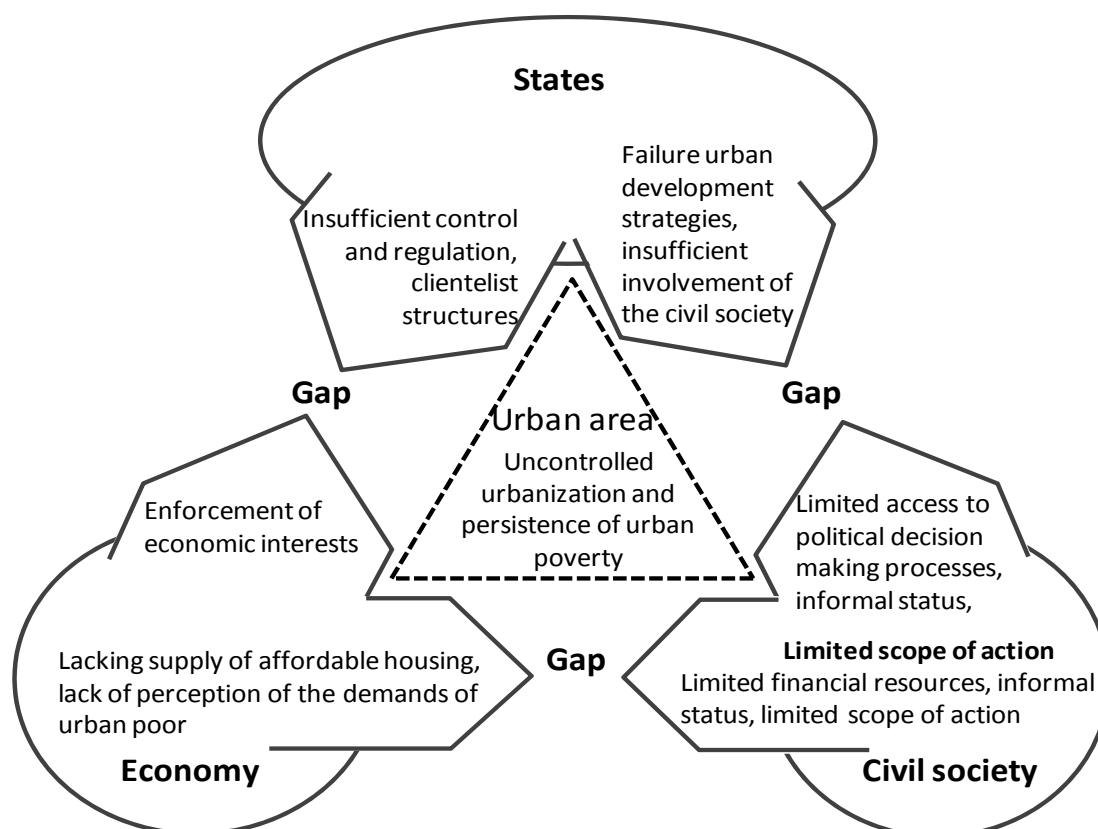


Figure 1: Problem situation governance and urbanization (Source: Own design)

Regarding the problem situation on the African continent, the scale of the issue of bad governance is apparent from the business climate index of the World Bank, which shows that among the 25 states with a poor rating, 20 are African (Seitz 2009: pp. 102-103).

The insights described above led to the conclusion that complex actor systems and a broad range of instruments are needed to reduce poverty and to manage dynamic urbanization processes in the countries of the Global South. Thus, the representation of poor populations' interests at all levels of governance is particularly relevant. In their Millennium Declaration, the representatives of the UN called for the formation of stable partnerships with stakeholders from the private sector and organizations of civil society to reduce poverty. HERRLE, JACHNOW and LEY (2006: p. 5) point out that the future of management of urbanization processes lies in flexible, participatory and cooperative models. The need for far-reaching multi-level reforms of institutions and regulatory systems becomes clear in this context. Considering the demanding requirements, ANNAN (2000: p. 64) declared that:

“Mobilizing the skills and other resources of diverse global actors, therefore, may increasingly involve forming loose and temporary global policy networks that cut across national, institutional and disciplinary lines.”

SACHS (2005: p. 298) agrees and focuses on global networks with an operating radius from the local low-income community to the global centres of power and abundance as a key component for poverty reduction. Cooperation in political networks provides new opportunities for national administrations, which are overtaxed by the complexity of political decision-making processes without the input of information from local actors of civil society (Benner et al. 2001: p. 360). According to COY and KRAAS (2003: p. 40), the establishment and strengthening of networks are actually the answer for more human urban management

in the cities of the Global South. KORTEN (1990: p. 124) predicted the need for transnational cooperation between actors of all three sectors of governance already in 1990:

“There is a need to energize decentralized action toward a people-centered development vision on a much broader scale than is possible with the more focused interventions of either second or third generation strategies.”

KORTEN'S idea (ibid.) is based on the mobilization of independent action “[...] by countless individuals and organizations across national boundaries, all supporting a shared ideal.” Therefore, different actors of local communities, NGOs, representatives of governmental authorities and the economy must collaborate in continuously shifting networks and coalitions (ibid.: p. 127). In this context, networks are a mode of governance which has advantages over other forms such as markets and hierarchies by virtue of their changed decision-making structures (Jansen, Schubert 1995: p. 141).

The World Wide Web constitutes the foundation of transnational communication (Frantz, Martens 2006: p. 81). Global networking via the internet allows the national and world community to be reached and pressure to be stepped up on political decision-makers and international donor organizations (Brunnengräber, Randeria 2008: p. 33-34). KORTEN (1990: p. 124; 126) provides reassurance that efforts in this context will generate reinforcing synergy, but also delivers the warning that “[...] the surest way to kill them is push them toward bureaucratization by drowning them in money”.

In conclusion, given the complexity of challenges and requirements for the reform of governance systems, networks are recognized as potentially appropriate forms of cooperation. Regarding the need to interlink gaps of governance between bottom-up and top-down processes, this article analyses an existing transnational network of local communities involving NGOs, governmental institutions and international organizations within their activities. In advance to this case study, networks as units of investigation and network analysis as research methodology are examined in detail below.

Networks: empirical relevance, typologies, characteristics

The steadily growing number of global networks is an indication of the decreasing relevance of national boundaries in the perception of the world. Globally networking scientists, NGOs, enterprises and artists perceive the world as a whole. From being a rarity in the 1990s, networks have since become commonplace (Grabher 2006: p. 172). Nowadays there are networks and network theories in all spheres of society and scientific disciplines. Networks are seen as *“political animals”* because of their dynamics, structure and processes. They are the result of cooperation, require negotiation and learning, and are the basis for the formation of social and network capital. (Meckling 2003: p. 32) The business sector in particular recognizes the potential of global networks to increase legitimacy and transparency in the course of bottom-up processes (ibid. 2003: pp. 89-100).

What “[...] a network does is related to how it is structured” (Mendizabal 2006: vii) concerns the differentiation of networks and organizations which is vital in particular to understand networks and to analyse network based cooperation regarding their capacity to bridge gaps between the sectors of governance.

In general, networks have no fixed boundaries and are able to cross institutional, functional, spatial, sectoral and political borders (Morath 2002: pp. 16-17). Furthermore, networks can be extended at any time. Hence, the visualization of networks in analyses will only be possible in limited sections and taking a static perspective despite the fact that networks are actually dynamic. (Broch 2007: p. 106) At the same time, interdependencies between the nodes define a network vis-à-vis its environment. These interdependencies can be represented by the allocation of resources and/or information in social, contractual, legal or

business relationships. (Rudolph 2001: pp. 18-19) MAYNTZ (1997: p. 244) concludes in this context that boundaries of networks can only be determined from an ex-post perspective.

The low formal institutionalization of networks influences the characteristics of membership. Networks can be inclusive and exclusive, involvement is selective, and equal participation cannot be assumed or forced. (Wiechmann 2008: p. 100) The degree of formalization and obligation in organizations is higher; task fulfilment is voluntary or remunerated. Accordingly, the potential for self-organization in networks is based on voluntary and not formalized membership. Furthermore, the quality of the relationship between members varies: it may be hierarchical or equal, solid or competitive, including equal or unequal transfer (Schindler 2006: pp. 101-102). Hierarchical relationships in networks generally play a tangential role (Powell 1990, Sydow 1992, Rudolph 2001: pp.18-19). Every single node is autonomous; central control is weak or non-existent. At the same time WIECHMANN (2008: p.100) identifies in his studies the existence of a moderate degree of hierarchies as beneficial. Taking this into account, networks develop a specific mode of governance which is different from markets and hierarchies (Rudolph 2001: pp. 18-19).

Quality of relationships

Additionally, network relationships can display different qualities such as multiplex and reciprocal (in the sense of long-term and recurring relationships) as well as unilateral (Fischer, Gensior 1995: p. 36; Meckling 2003: p. 44). Relationships can be strong or weak according to the degree of dependency of interest assertion. As a result, networks create different densities (Schindler 2006: pp. 101-102):

Strong ties are characterized by close (frequent and intensive) relationships such as in families and friendships. These kinds of relationships are able to create solidarity and trust. Generally speaking, strong, resilient relationships are developed between actors that are similar in terms of the social or organizational contexts and social attitudes or their embeddedness in similar spaces. (Jansen, Wald 2007: pp. 190–192) ROTHFUß (2006: pp. 95) refers to CAMAGNI (1991), who introduced the terms spatial (geographical), social and organizational proximity in this context which influence the creation, communication and interaction within networks. In later studies, BOSCHMA (2005; 2009: p. 5) and BOSCHMA and FRENKEN (2010: pp. 120-138) augment this set of typologies with those of cognitive and institutional proximity in order to encourage trust-based relationships and to facilitate the transfer of knowledge. Based on these authors, the different typologies can be described as follows:

- Spatial proximity which emerges in the course of face-to-face interactions. BOSCHMA and FRENKEN (ibid.) highlight that this kind of proximity should not be put on the same level as co-location because spatial proximity can also be realized temporarily within meetings between actors who are globally distributed.
- Social proximity is closely linked to the embeddedness literature by GRANOVETTER (1985) and UZZI (1996). Regarding this, socially embedded relations based on trust and repeated action (such as in friendships, kinships or neighbourhoods) at the micro-level are vital for the development of social proximity. (Boschma, Frenken 2010: p. 122) The existence of trust in relations characterized by social proximity limits the risks of conflict and facilitates the transfer of informal knowledge between actors belonging to different organizations. Furthermore, social proximity encourages the formation of new network relations which emerge when two nodes are introduced to each other by a third one connected to them both. (ibid.: pp. 122-123)
- Organizational proximity emerges not only between but also within organizations. Representing the “[...] extent to which relations are shared in an organizational arrangement [...]” it includes the degree of autonomy and control that is exercised between actors (Boschma, Frenken 2010: p. 122). This refers to the degree of internalization of rules and values between the actors involved.

- Institutional proximity represents the extent and the way in which networks coordinate their actions. This typology is closely related to the understanding of organizational proximity. Institutional proximity includes formal institutions (e.g. laws) and informal institutions (e.g. norms and values). The existence of these institutions provides stable conditions for learning processes. Cross-sectoral relationships within networks for example bear the risk of a lack of institutional proximity as the actors “[...] operate in different institutional regimes [...]” with different formal and informal institutions. (Boschma, Frenken 2010: p. 123)

The embeddedness in multiple relationships entails trust (Wald, Jansen 2007: pp. 98-99). Furthermore, the abilities for problem-solving and hence the benefits from cooperation are growing. In this context, networks are able to develop common views and instruments. These “intertwined” processes of the homophile “selection” of members and partners and the “contagion” in the sense of social impact can be considered when analysing evolutions of networks. (Jansen, Wald 2007: p. 194)

Weak ties are in contrast to strong ties less intensive and redundant, but they have the potential to bridge large distances, to transfer knowledge and values. For this reason they are ideal for initiating processes in connection with mobility, modernization, innovation and diffusion. At the same time weak ties within networks cope detrimentally with complex issues. (Jansen, Wald 2007: pp. 190-192)

JANSEN and WALD (2007: pp. 190-192) stress the existence of weak and strong ties to support “searching processes”, the transfer of knowledge and the implementation of new procedures. SCHINDLER (2006a: pp. 101-102) concludes in this context that relationships with weak dependencies of interest assertion are more suitable for interlinking heterogeneous actors.

Power relations

Power relations in networks are diffuse and are discussed controversially. This is in contrast to the structuration of the world in the context of a vertical geometry of power: power at the top and powerlessness at the bottom (Morath 2002: p. 20). Even if horizontal and decentral coordination is typical of networks (see *ibid.*: p. 20; Latour 1996: p. 371; Meckling 2003: pp. 44-45), the assumption that networks are free of hierarchy is misleading. WIECHMANN (2008: p. 100) highlights that even if formal hierarchical levels are absent, informal structures can be connected to authority. Core groups for instance can be found as crystallization points which are able to concentrate power (Chen 2005: pp. 14-15). Asymmetric power relations are characterized by the differing provision of resources or decision-making competencies. SCHINDLER (2006: p. 288) highlights that the existence of such asymmetries is the norm in networks involving governmental and private actors. Power asymmetries carry the risk of the loss of legitimacy in this context.

Typologies, dynamics and evolution of networks

The relevant literature on network theory mentions five categories of network typologies:

- Degree of formalization: Informal/formal networks
- Dimensionality: Mono-sectoral and trisectoral networks/policy networks
- Spatial reference of networks: local, national transnational networks
- Functions and forms of interaction and governance: negotiation networks, coordination networks, implementation networks
- Intention: project networks, strategic networks, advocacy networks.

These typologies are no “essential categories” which are mutually exclusive but in fact overlap to varying different extents (Grabher 2006: p. 84).

The structures and typologies of networks described above are results of strategies and action by the network actors (Jansen, Wald 2007: pp. 193-194). Regarding this, networks do not emerge by themselves. Specific meaningful interrelations are explicitly created by

network actors if they appear beneficial to them. In addition, MANGER (2006: p. 225) emphasizes the fact that numerous relationships already exist in regions without the need for an intentional network. These relationships described as “*historical lost property*” may serve – but also hinder – the constitution of networks.

Since each process changes the network, networks can be analysed by taking dynamics into account. HÄUßLING (2001: p. 1) recommends three typical processes as a basis for the explanation and description of the creation, maintenance and transformation of networks:

1. Growth of networks: increase in nodes or relations.
2. Shrinking of networks: decrease in nodes and relations.
3. Reorganization of networks: the number of nodes and relations remains constant as far as possible, but the arrangement of nodes or relations in between changes.
4. Spinoff or external construction: new patterns of networks emerge or existing patterns are restructured. This may take place either through the spinoff of network elements or the new conception of structures which are interlinked with existing relationships.

Furthermore, HÄUßLING (2001: p. 1) subsumes these options of dynamics under the term “*networking*”. These dynamics take place incrementally in terms of time or in different areas of relationships in the existing network. Stable parts ensure that the network remains the same.

Network learning

Learning processes, the creation of social capital and empowerment will be considered as further important processes in context of network related cooperation:

The dynamic of learning processes is connected to the transformation of relations, values and standards. The need for structuration and differentiation requires learning processes while the transfer of knowledge is one of the main purposes of constituting networks. Following the insight that collective knowledge is more powerful than that of a handful of experts, network learning, in other words, is a prerequisite, intention and effect of cooperation in networks. (Brafmann, Beckström 2007: p. 148)

The analysis of current challenges at different levels of governance showed that the restricted scope of action of dwellers in marginalized settlements is crucial for the persistence of poverty and the resulting negative effects for livelihoods. Empowerment describes processes of self-determination and the increase in autonomy. This includes the recognition of one’s own strengths and their concentration through cooperation in networks, for instance. Empowerment processes are characterized by a specific form of knowledge construction. The process can be seen as a path from “*learned helplessness*” to “*learned powerfulness*” (Schaurhofer, Peschl 2003: p. 11). As a result of empowerment, marginalized individuals gain control over their own lives, over material and non-material resources, and the ability for action. In this context they are able to shape processes of development in society.

Specific forms of relationships and social structures in networks support the increase in the scope of action for individuals and corporative actors, allowing them to earn a profit and facilitating the coordination of collective action. These effects are the results of a more or less consciously social embeddedness and are defined as social capital. (Jansen, Wald 2007: p. 189) In contrast to economic and human capital, this kind of capital is not possessed by an individual actor because the existence and quality of social capital depends on direct and indirect relationships. (Jansen 2006: p. 26) Thus, social capital results from the way networks create their relationships internally and externally.

The findings above show clearly that structures and relationships of networks can create different forms of profit. Due to the specific characteristics of networks, the influence of actors can be both positive and negative (Jansen, Wald 2007: p. 189). The following part gives an overview of the potentials, risks and limitations of transnational networks in the context of the

identified need to bridge the gap in the governance system between the local level and top-down initiated processes at the national and international levels.

Potentials, risks and limitations

With regard to the potentials of networks, numerous experts consider networks as a contemporary instrument for governance within societies which are increasingly free of ideology or at least societies with plural ideologies existing side by side. This shows that networks are suitable instruments in response to the increasing degree of complexity and differentiation. POMMERANZ (2001: p. 18, own translation) describes networks in this context as “*hybrid structures*” which are “*mentors of a cheerful pragmatism of an open society*”⁴.

Considering the potentials of transnational networks and the gap between bottom-up and top-down processes, one can sum up by stating that networks:

- support empowerment processes at all levels of governance,
- entail the increase in information of all actors (local actors as well as actors of political institutions)
- support improvement in terms of governance and management processes (capacity-building of local and political actors),
- increase the legitimacy of top-down decisions and
- help to concentrate the potentials of social creativity and problem-solving. (Schindler 2006: p. 103)

The risks and limitations of networks refer to problems in the course of the management of processes (such as decision-making processes) and the risks or limitations regarding stability and effectiveness. This applies in particular in connection with the need for change as well as in connection with the lack of legitimacy. Furthermore, disadvantages of networks potentially arise in connection with dynamic growth. In comparison to hierarchical structures, network coordination requires more time. In this context, the number of network actors must be limited in order to manage information and conflicts and to ensure collective action. (Scharpf 1993: pp. 140-141; Schindler 2006: p. 103; Meckling 2003: pp. 65-66)

Another problem arises in connection with the negotiation of contemporary interests and the problem of the temporary nature of decisions. Decision-making processes in networks do not tend to consider “*the shadow of the future*”. Consequently, short-term interests prevail over long-term ones. In this context, networks tend to be limited to short-term cooperation benefits of the status quo. (Meckling 2003: pp. 65-66)

The third dimension arises in the field of conflict between the adaptation and the process of disintegration of too strong or too weak ties. These may take place in the course of institutional consolidation. Furthermore, CASTELLS (2002: p. 551) describes the fact that there is “*no network without spaces in between*”:

“[...] the new urban world seems to be dominated by a double movement: inclusion in transterritorial networks and exclusion by the spatial separation of places. The higher the value of people and places, the more they are connected in interactive networks; the lower their value, the lower their connectivity.” (ibid.)

ROTHFUß (2006: p. 75) concludes that issues like marginalization and polarization are not obsolete. The idealization of network characteristics such as transparency, equality and

⁴ Own translation: „Sie [Netzwerke] sind hybride Gebilde, Paten eines „fröhlichen“ Pragmatismus, ein offenes und gestaltbares Steuerungsinstrument einer offenen Gesellschaft.“

inclusion in particular should not detract from consideration of existing power structures and control mechanisms in global networks in particular. BRAND, BRUNNENGRÄBER, SCHRADER (2000: p. 172) note that the legitimacy of actors involved is not questioned enough, which may entail the exclusion of vulnerable stakeholders and lead to non-transparent and undemocratic decision-making processes. Global policy networks for example allow the recognition of important issues of mutual interest in the world political agenda which were previously ignored. (Dingwerth 2004: p. 93)

Due to the transformation of actor constellations in global governance, the political influence of actors who are not democratically legitimized is increasing. This entails a new lack of clarity and the risk of unbalanced representation of interests. Increasing polarization effects in power and spatial structures can be results of this. (see also Rothfuß 2006: pp. 84-86; Fürst 2007: pp. 362-363) However, the intensification of international cooperation (in transnational policy networks for instance) needs to be considered as the only opportunity to create the congruence of political and economic spaces (Rothfuß 2006: pp. 81-82; Benner et al. 2001: 362 f.). In view of the traditional, powerful government as an alternative on the one hand and the increasing differentiation of modern societies on the other, the representatives of network theory argue that governance (in the sense of regulation) cannot take place by hierarchical and legalistic modes. Despite the risks of networks, the further increase in horizontal and discursive modes is needed. (Wiechmann 2008: p. 100)

Relevant mechanisms for network governance

The review of the literature concerning the potentials, risks and limitations reveals ambivalences and contradictions. As well as networks showing various potentials as suitable instruments with regard to the deficits of governance in the Global South, they potentially involve risks concerning their legitimacy, transparency and the requirements of coordination. In consequence, remediation in terms of network governance is required to facilitate the potentials of networks.

Network governance implies the regulation of constitutive conditions of the choice and use of resources through selection, allocation, evaluation, system integration, the configuration of positions and boundaries. The objective of these mechanisms is to create networks as social systems. In the sense of a process-oriented concept of institutional regulation, network governance transforms loose networks into networks as social capital. Due to this, network governance is targeted to make instruments more effective and to establish mechanisms (such as community planning, workshops, public meetings) to ensure the transparency of structures and processes and the legitimacy of the involved actors. (Meckling 2003: pp. 102-104; see Pommeranz 2001: pp. 536-545) In this context, common models and perspectives are important elements for successful network governance. MECKLING (2003: pp. 102-104) highlights that the institutional configuration of networks should not be misunderstood as bureaucracy. The intention should be to create the right balance between stability and dynamic, between sclerotic strong and weak ties to achieve regulation effects and, in the course of this, development ability.

The following mechanisms of network governance have been identified as most relevant to facilitate the potentials and to delimit risks and limitations of networks:

- Allocation of resources
- Rules and norms
- Mechanisms of control
- Sanction mechanisms
- Procedures of conflict resolution
- Decision-making processes
- Mechanisms of reporting, communication and evaluation
- Selection principles.

The following chapter is intended to establish and describe the research design and the methodologies used to investigate a transnational network of local communities. Another

shift of perspective is required concerning the key elements of governance and networks within this thesis: whereas the first few chapters considered concepts of governance and networks as instruments for categories of process regulation and investigation, this chapter dwells on networks for the analysis of complex systems, dynamics and relations, and network regulation.

Methodologies for network analysis

Transnational networks required and already in existence reflect the complexity of challenges and requirements, making their investigation as complex as the object of this research and its environment. Regarding this, BRUNNENGRÄBER and RANDERIA (2008: pp. 35-36) mention that social confrontations in connection with globalization and urbanization entail new, transnational and contradictory constellations, which can barely be captured by solely state-centred, sectoral, political-administrative or institutional investigations. Due to this, scientific concepts must keep pace with the high speed of structural change taking place in connection with globalization processes. In this regard, the concept of multi-level governance can be described as an interdisciplinary bridge whose attractiveness is rooted in its scientific openness to other concepts and theories. For this reason, a narrow definition of this concept is not possible. Multi-level governance takes existing and transforming circumstances and different dimensions such as institutions, actors, strategies, discourses and power relations into consideration. In addition, dynamics across levels, boundaries, institutions and spaces as well as processes which are less legally regulated, informal or specifically formalized need to be comprehended. This results in the challenge for interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary sciences to develop cross-level, ad hoc approaches for investigation with the help of multi-level governance. (ibid. 2008: p. 35) Regarding this demand and the debate on multi-level governance, networks as a specific form of the appearance of structures and action play an important role as a unit of – and methodology for – investigation. (Schindler 2006: p. 99)

Accordingly, the analysis of networks is multi-paradigmatic (see Sydow 1992: pp. 224-234) without original theory, resulting in a “[...] *cacophony of heterogeneous concepts, theories, and research results*” (Oliver, Ebers 1998: p. 549). Furthermore, JANSEN and WALD (2007: p. 188) highlight network-related explanation and investigation strategies which may be related to other approaches such as the structuration theory of GIDDENS (1984), rational-choice approaches by BURT (1982; 1992) or dynamic perspectives (Kappelhoff 2000). Taking this into account, BENZ (2004: p. 27) characterizes network analysis as a heuristic concept which allows an overview to be achieved of apparently non-transparent and complex structures and procedures of collective action by the state, the economy and society.

The insights above illustrate that the existence of both approaches – qualitative and quantitative – is justified. HÄUßLING (2006: p. 149) recommends the integration of both approaches within the research design equivalent. In this context, SCHINDLER (2006: pp. 100-101) introduces the term “*interpretive network analysis*” to avoid the terms “*qualitative*” and “*quantitative*”, which are established but misleading and inaccurate in her opinion. Interpretive network analysis takes the communication interaction between network actors in policy networks into account and analyses the network based on an interpretive paradigm. Interpretive network analysis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to complement and validate the collected data. (ibid.) In the course of combination, the empirical arrangement of methodologies increasingly develops into a network itself. In this regard, the research concept has to consider the interaction and interweaving of qualitative and quantitative approaches. (Häußling 2006: p. 149) FRANKE and WALD (2006: p. 172). also recommend avoiding giving priority to qualitative or quantitative methodologies and instead determining the methodologies to be applied based on the specific research question.

The methodical approach of the case study research of the Tanzanian federation of local communities within the transnational network Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) described below takes the findings mentioned above into account. In terms of this, the approach is based on the understanding of “*interpretive network analysis*”. The quantitative

and qualitative methodologies (member survey, expert interviews, on-site research and document analysis) were combined bearing in mind that the triangulation of data in the analysis of networks is essential to identify not only structures, processes and the resulting effects of networking activities but also contextual factors, actor strategies and models. Assessment of the object of research took place across the levels and sectors in order to capture the multi-level character of the network concerning the scope of action of actors, their cooperation and networking processes. Based on this, different modes of action and cooperation have been analysed by means of the set of criteria of network structures, processes and mechanisms for network governance.

Case study: Transnational networks of local communities in the Global South

The following part of this article focuses on the analysis of the Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF) and its embeddedness within the transnational network of Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI). The TUPF is a complex system of different sub-networks interlinked with other national federations by transnational cooperation and communication processes. Taking the TUPF as an example of a national hub of local communities in a transnational network, its specific structures, processes and strategies will be examined by focusing on a selected area of the network, its local nodes and their cross-sectoral and cross-level network relations. The mode of action and cooperation of the transnational network will be examined on the core research question concerning the effectiveness of the network structures and strategies to bridge the gaps within the system of governance. Based on this research interest and taking the concept of governance into consideration, the focus of the case study is on the emerging structures and processes in the system landscape between the sectors of governance starting from the local communities within Tanzanian marginalized settlements as local nodes (see Figure 3).

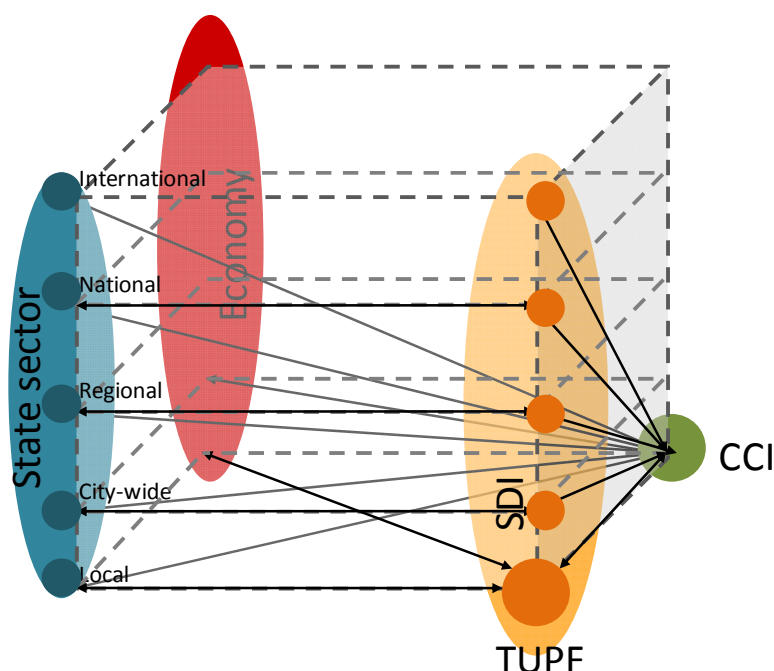


Figure 2: Research framework (Source: Own design)

The following chapter provides a general overview of the current status of the SDI network and the TUPF. This general information is required in order to explain the multi-level and multi-sectoral model of the SDI.

Introduction to the SDI network

SDI is a network of local communities of urban poor currently located in 34 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. SDI became a formally registered entity in 1999 after it had been launched as a platform by the first federations in India and South Africa three years beforehand. The idea of SDI is rooted in India. The Alliance of the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) and its sister organization Mahila Milan emerged in Mumbai. They are the oldest members of SDI. Continuing evictions of urban poor in Indian cities and the resulting conflicts triggered effects for reorientation to cooperative approaches with governmental actors at this time. (see SDI 2012, SPARC 2012) These activities and processes mark the point of origin of the development of the SDI methodology implemented by the affiliated federations. This methodology was adopted by South Africans who founded the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) in 1991 (Ley, Herrle 2007: p. 10). Originating with these two federations, SDI has since spread across the three continents mentioned above (see Figure below).

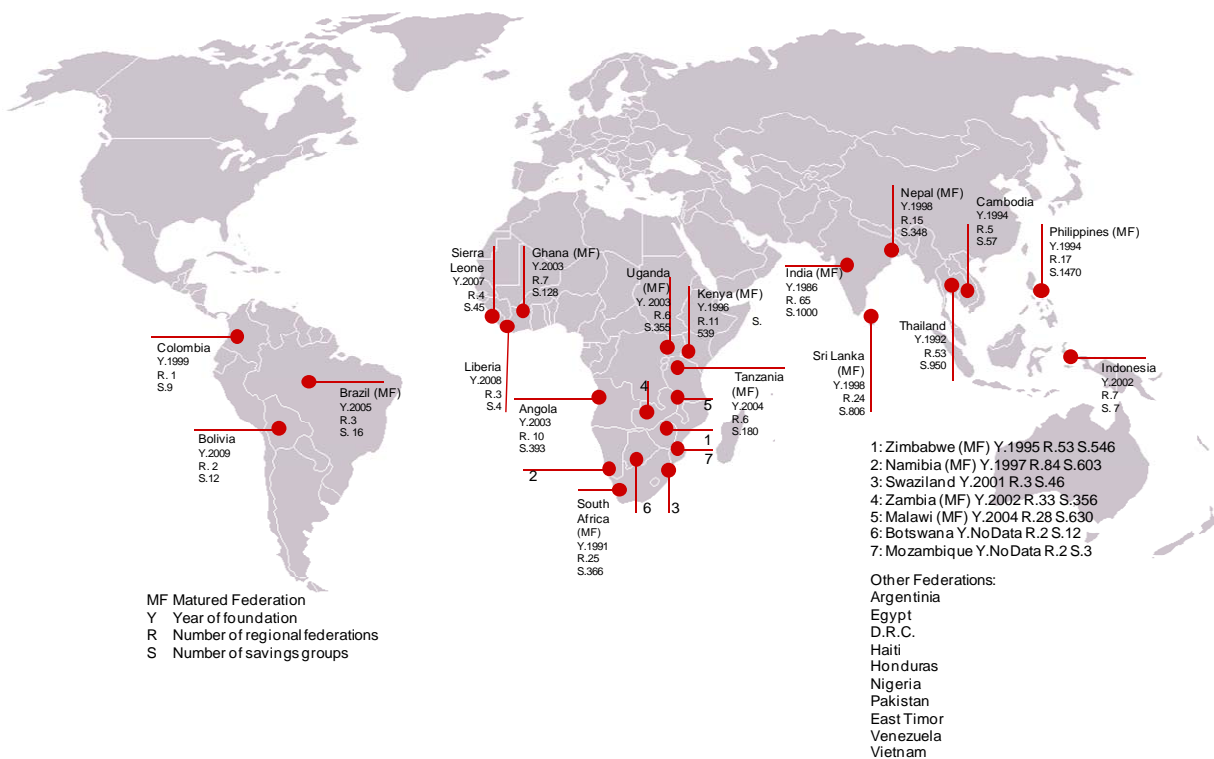


Figure 3: Status SDI network in 2012 (Source: SDI 2012, Own design)

During the development process in the recent years, the differentiation and adaptation of network structures, institutions and methodologies have taken place. The differentiation of affiliated and matured federations in order to consider different levels of establishment and achievement is one example of this. Currently, the national federations in Brazil, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Nepal, the Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe are recognized as mature federations of SDI. These federations have reached a certain level of development and meet a set of criteria defined by SDI. Network-related administration is carried out by the SDI secretariat in South Africa. The board and council of SDI are constituted by representatives of the mature and partially affiliated federations and the supporting NGOs.

The main activities at the international level are the coordination of international exchange visits, the monitoring and evaluation of the activities of the national federations, the coordination of funding processes from Urban Poor Fund International (UPFI, see below), and the representation of the interests of local communities in various international political

forums vis-à-vis national governments. These activities are carried out by the SDI council and the SDI secretariat. The council represents the supreme governing body of the SDI network. Representatives of all matured federations and their supporting NGOs are involved in this council. The Tanzanian federation is represented by the federation coordinator, a member of the CCI, and alternating persons from the TUPF. The members of the council are elected to constitute the board of the SDI. The majority of the board members are leaders of local communities from different countries. The council meets three times a year in order to set the agenda for the network and its matured and affiliated federations. Currently, the board is represented by members from Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Malawi, Kenya and India. They are the oldest and most experienced federations in the SDI network. Six board members fulfil the function as coordinators of the regional hubs within the network.

Day-to-day operations are carried out by the secretariat of SDI. The scope of tasks of the secretariat ranges from the administration of UPFI and research and documentation to the administration of the SDI website and the coordination of international exchange visits. The head office of the secretariat is in Cape Town, although some members of staff are based in Africa and Europe.

The institutions described are required for the effective governance of the transnational activities and cooperation processes within the SDI network. The transfer of capital, knowledge and the representation of interests of the urban poor are core aspects of it. The relevance of exchange visits is apparent when considering the various exchange visits from and to the Tanzanian federation and their impact on the orientation of the TUPF's activities (see below). The strategies of the national federations are underpinned or complemented by activities which are integrated within an SDI-wide strategy. The implementation of city-wide settlement profiles, household enumerations and mapping activities was part of an SDI programme which was set up by the SDI council (and later ratified by the board members) in 2009. Amongst the Dar federation, city-wide federations in Morotuwa (Sri Lanka), Madaue (the Philippines), Lusaka (Zambia), Harare (Zimbabwe), Johannesburg (South Africa), Nairobi (Kenya) and Accra (Ghana) were involved in this programme funded by the SDI's own Fund UPFI (see below). The aim is to build "*learning centres*" in different federations by demonstrating community-driven solutions to urban development challenges on a city-wide scale. (SDI 2012)

Urban Poor Fund International (UPFI)⁵

SDI established UPFI in an endeavour to give local communities direct control of capital in order to be able to negotiate and interact as an acknowledged potential partner with formal bodies such as governments and banks. This SDI subsidiary was established with funding of UK£200,000 (approx. €240,000) provided by the Sigrid Rausing Trust⁶ in 2001. Amongst the regular contributions by this foundation, the SDI received further financial support from the Big Lottery Fund, Misereor, Cordaid and the Allachy Trust between 2003 and 2007. MITLIN and SATTERTHWAITE (2007: pp. 383-500) from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) mentioned that SDI has capital of around UK£350,000 (approx. €420,000) per year at its disposal. In October 2007, the fund received another grant of US\$5,000,000 (approx. €3,860,000) from the Gates Foundation as well as an accompanying US\$5,000,000 (approx. €3,823,650) grant to expand the secretariat and provide assistance to fund recipients.

⁵ The name of this SDI fund has changed over the years from International Urban Poor Fund (IUPF) to Urban Poor Fund International (UPFI).

⁶ The Sigrid Rausing Trust is a grant-giving foundation based in London. It was founded in 1995 by Sigrid Rausing to support the international human rights movement.

SDI provides money from UPFI for urban improvement and housing projects in terms of seed funding and the financing of technical assistance. Furthermore, exchange visits are also funded.

“The Fund is established on the proposition that the poor are central actors in urban development and poverty eradication and are best able to decide and co-manage their own urban improvement programs.” (SDI 2012)

Regarding this, SDI defined four criteria according to which the projects of federations are assessed: the political impact of the measure, the involvement of the state as financier, the existing repayment mechanisms within the financing strategy and the dimension of the project. (SDI 2012)

As far as the transfer of money from UPFI to the local level is concerned, the supporting NGOs (such as the CCI in Tanzania, see below) act as transfer agents. Furthermore, the NGOs are responsible for reporting and controlling in the course of the allocation and provision of money. The funds are allocated as net cash outflows which are matched by inflows from donors such as the Sigrid Rausing Trust and others.

The recovery of capital from the supported local communities is not expatriated back to UPFI but returned to the national level of the federations. For this reason, the matured federations have established national level urban poor funds. The Jenga development fund of the TUPF is one example of this. In this way, the capital coming from the international level is used to strengthen the economic power of the national federations to be able to leverage resources from governments. The SDI secretariat is responsible for administering and controlling the whole process of allocation and repayment. By the end of 2010, SDI had used UPFI capital to fund 4,000 homes and 100 other projects, securing tenure for 30,000 families in 16 countries. (Mitlin, Satterthwaite 2007: p. 493; Satterthwaite 2009)

Elements of the SDI-methodology

In general, the activities and methodologies of SDI are based on the recognition that *“[...] the only way to manage urban growth and to create inclusive cities is for the urban poor to be at the center of strategies for urban development”* (SDI 2012). Targeting the development of inclusive cities in cooperation with governmental authorities at all levels, the methodology of SDI includes the following six core issues which are at the focus of the activities of the affiliated federations:

Savings: In the understanding of SDI, the foundation of local communities and the implementation of daily savings procedures is not just a matter of generating capital. Through collective saving, stable communities emerge based on trust and confidence. Saving and the associated administrative processes require a certain degree of knowledge which grows in the course of implementation. Regarding this, SDI understands the savings groups as *“[...] the building blocks for poor communities to accumulate their own resources”* (SDI 2012). The savings groups, the smallest units within SDI, are normally structured in city-wide, regional and national federations which are represented by certain leadership positions and institutions. This multi-level network structure is implemented in all federations of SDI (see Figure 4).

Women: They represent a *“critical component”* (SDI 2012) in the understanding of SDI. Women have been vital for the development of SDI from the very beginning. The methodology of SDI is targeted at the development of women within leadership and management positions concerning their skills, competencies and confidence. Furthermore, the high proportion of women in SDI federations (approx. 80 percent in Tanzania) is also the result of the higher readiness of women to become part of a local community and to be engaged in the self-help processes of SDI federations. Another supportive aspect is that women in the cities of the Global South normally fulfil the function of the head of the household.

Enumeration and mapping: The procedures of enumeration and mapping are implemented within local communities right from the start. The portfolio of current qualitative and quantitative data of communities' own settlements are involved by local communities within negotiation processes in order to become active partners of governmental authorities, be able to formulate demands and conceptualize development strategies.

Changes: Horizontal learning through the exchange of know-how between the different local communities is the core prerequisite for change in the understanding of SDI. Learning by doing enumerations (e.g. savings) is communicated as main priority in SDI. The significance of exchange visits for the development of federations and the transfer of new ideas and approaches between countries will be described taking the Tanzanian federation as an example below.

Partnerships: As already mentioned above, SDI strived for the development of cross-sectoral and cross-level partnerships with governmental authorities and organizations of civil society from the very beginning. However, the approach of SDI differs from that of other civil organizations of urban poor located in countries of the South. The SDI strategy to involve governmental actors within the network processes and development projects as well as their growing international presence is regarded as critical by others.

Slum upgrading: The improvement of the infrastructural situation within the marginalized settlements and the development of housing are two of the most urgent demands by the members of SDI. The federations of SDI have developed various approaches for the implementation of sanitation and drinking water facilities in the living areas of local communities. The Tanzanian federation has accomplished a number of infrastructural and housing projects in recent years which are paradigmatic for the typical SDI approaches.

Taking these aspects into account, the SDI methodology represents an integrative approach for urban management targeting the development of inclusive cities. The relevance of local action by urban neighbourhoods and their embeddedness within the marginalized settlements on the one and their transnational cooperation within the SDI on the other hand will be examined taking the Tanzanian federation as an example below.

Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF)

First, the development and structure of the TUPF will be analysed in the following part of this article. This chapter is merely intended to give an overview of the current situation of the TUPF and to provide general information concerning the structure of this national network of local communities.

The Tanzanian federation was founded in 2009. The point of origin of the foundation of structures and strategies aligned with SDI methodology was in Dar es Salaam. The initiation of network structures took place by building on existing structures of local communities with the involvement of SDI representatives from abroad and local professionals. The Centre for Community Initiatives was the supporting NGO of the federation from the very beginning. At the moment there are active federations in the cities of Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Arusha, Morogoro, Mwanza and Mara. According to current data, there are around 9,800 members federated in 216 savings groups located in these cities. Due to the permanent mobilization processes as well as the occasional exclusion and withdrawal of members, the total number is constantly changing.

Influenced by the transformation processes within the network of SDI and specific aspects caused by the growth and incremental establishment of the Tanzanian federation, the structure of the TUPF has become more complex in recent years. The network now includes institutions at the local, settlement, regional and national level. Furthermore, the TUPF is a member of the East African Hub representing the continental level of SDI. Recognized as a mature federation, representatives of the TUPF and professionals of the CCI act for the interests of the federation within the council of SDI. The level of regional hubs of the TUPF has been integrated in the network since 2009.

The combination of introductory remarks above allows the derivation of a multi-level model of the network of SDI focussing on the TUPF.

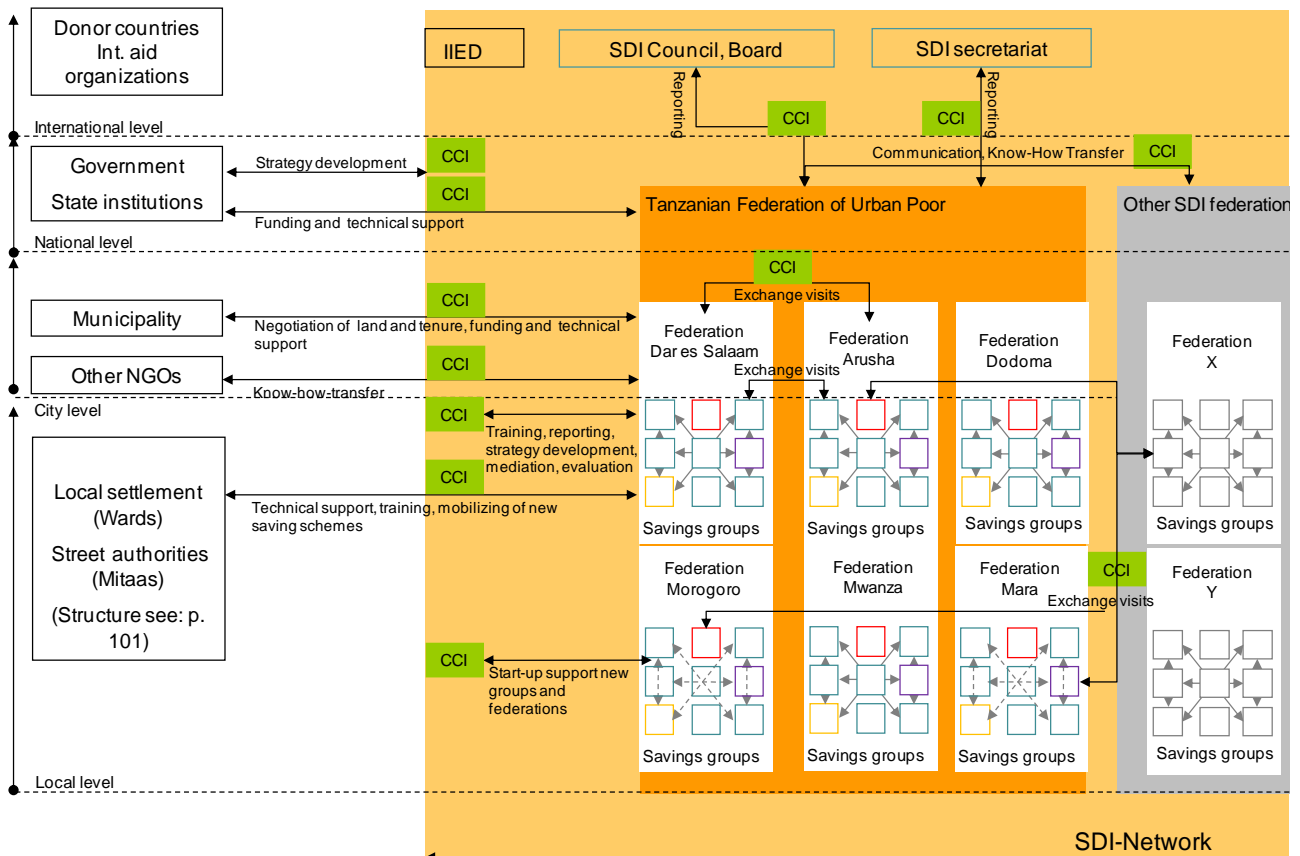


Figure 4: Multi-level model of the TUPF as a mature federation of SDI (Source: Own design)

Process of implementation of savings groups based on SDI methodology and the development of TUPF

The origin of the TUPF⁷ and the mobilization of savings groups as an important relevant activity illustrate the relevance of the transnational networking activities of the SDI network.

Efforts to implement the SDI methodology in Tanzania were first undertaken back in the year 2000. Representatives from South Africa and Zimbabwe started initial savings schemes in three settlements in Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, representatives of MISEREOR and WaterAid were involved in these first mobilization activities. Cooperation with the SDI network was not continued at that time. Furthermore, the first three savings groups worked in isolation from each other without any networking activities. Despite this, the savings groups established initial businesses activities with their capital. (SDI 2005, TUPF 2005)

Two years later in 2002, WaterAid representatives got back in touch with SDI while visiting the Indian federation Mahila Milan and its supporting NGO NSDF. Afterwards, a SDI team from the Malawian federation went to Dar es Salaam in 2004 in order to seek out the existing savings groups and to involve them in the SDI network. Furthermore, a fourth savings group in the area of Ferry in Dar es Salaam was founded. This was the first exchange programme. Subsequently, the NGO Centre for Community Initiatives was founded in the same year. This organization has represented the supporting NGO for the savings groups of the Tanzania network ever since. From then on, the four savings groups started establishing the

⁷ The Tanzania federation changed its name from Tanzania Federation of Urban Poor (TFUP) to the Tanzania Urban Poor Federation (TUPF) in 2008/2009.

procedures of SDI methodology with daily savings, weekly meetings and mutual visits and assistance. The follow-up of mobilization activities enabled the network to grow in and outside Dar es Salaam. (SDI 2005, TUPF 2005) Other savings groups were founded in Dodoma and Arusha in the following period.

The following graph shows that this expansion was accompanied by a dynamic increase in the number of members and savings groups between 2004 and 2013.

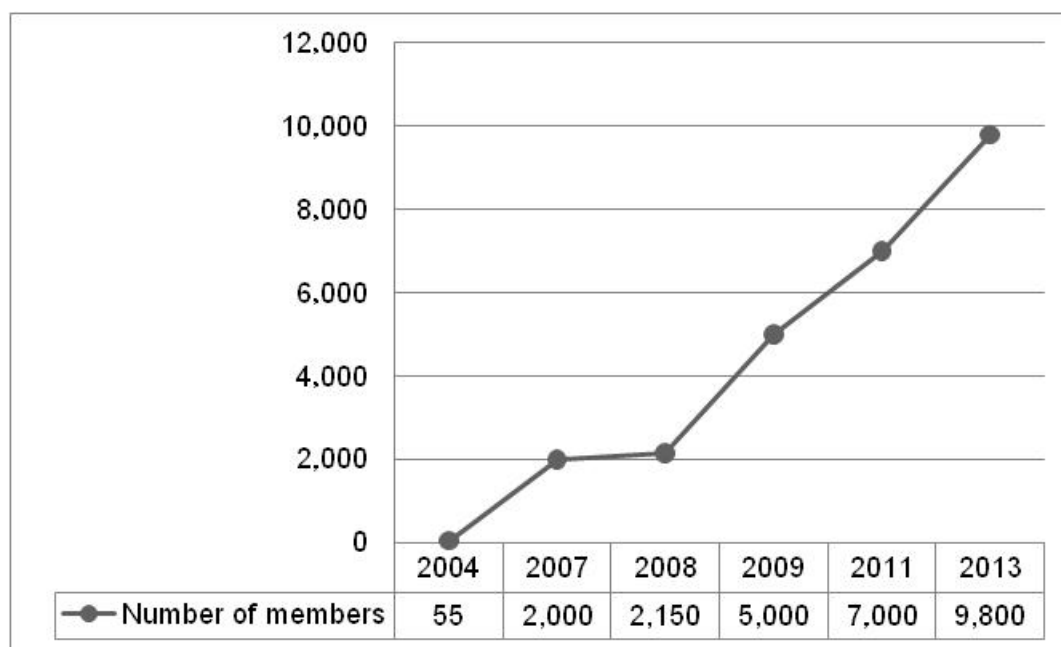


Figure 5: Development of the number of members 2004-2013 (Source: TUPF report 2005-2011; CCI report 2007-2013, Own design)

Data illustrating the living conditions of the savings group members could be gathered in course of a survey of 194 members in Dar es Salaam in 2009. Regarding this, the framework conditions and the challenges of poverty, informality and marginalization to which the members are exposed were found to be comparable with those of the majority of dwellers in marginalized urban areas in the Global South. The lack of housing and infrastructure, insecurity of ownership and the vulnerability of tenancy in particular are just a few of the challenges confronting dwellers.

The relevance of community-based action within urban neighbourhoods on the one hand and the importance of transnational networking on the other will be examined below with focus on the strategies of mobilization and know-how-transfer within the TUPF. In this context the influence of the different typologies of proximity and degree of the embeddedness of local communities within both their urban neighbourhoods and the transnational networks becomes apparent.

Mobilization

The growth of groups and membership is of particular interest to the TUPF. Hence, this is encouraged, since the relevance of the network and the potential to represent the interests and demands of the urban poor increases as the federation grows in size. Due to this, there is high emphasis on mobilization measures by the members. The aims of these processes are to increase the number of members within existing savings groups and also to set up new groups in order to transfer knowledge and to implement the methodologies of SDI in the settlements of Tanzanian cities. Regarding this, each savings group has its own mobilization committee. To organize new groups, the TUPF arranges specific delegations of members from already existing and experienced savings groups and if necessary with members from the CCI or even federations from abroad. This is particularly the case if new federations in cities are to be launched for example. Normally, the mobilization processes are incumbent

upon the members of the TUPF themselves. The development of membership and the growth of the number of savings groups in recent years show the success of these efforts (see Figure 5).

When analysing the development of membership, another aspect of interest was the different modes of mobilization. The results bear out the intention to assign mobilization measures mainly to members. Sixty-three percent of interviewed people were mobilized by members of the same group and ten percent by members of other savings groups. Furthermore, combining the results concerning the mode of action and the duration of membership illustrates the shift of responsibility for mobilization from outside actors to the savings groups themselves in the course of the years. The members who stated that they were mobilized by SDI federations from abroad such as from Malawi belong to the oldest savings groups of the TUPF. (see Figure 6)

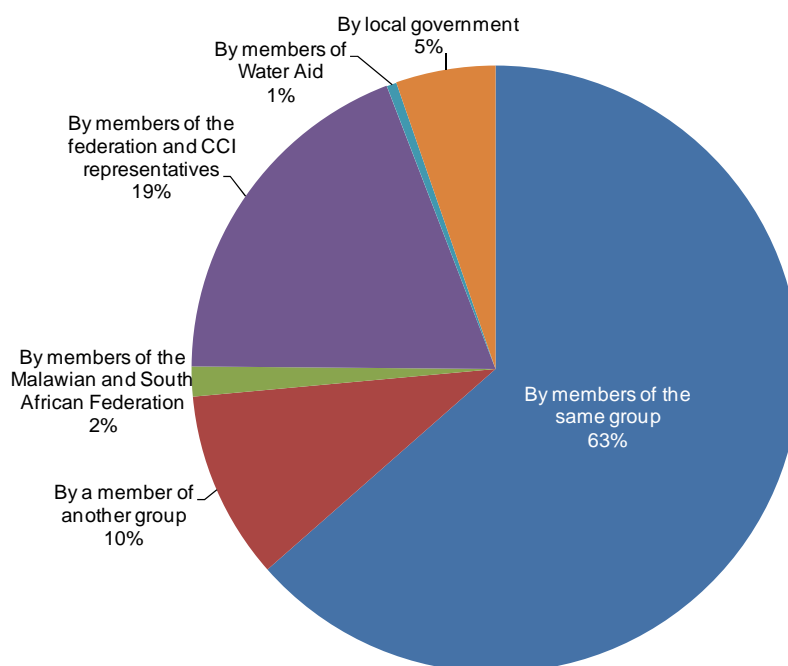


Figure 6: Mode of mobilization among the interviewed members (Source: Own design)

There are different types of mobilization. First of all, the members of the mobilizing committee contact dwellers in their settlement or a certain area (street) and motivate them to join their savings group. Secondly, all types of federation activities such as meetings (group meetings) and enumerations are conducted in the public spaces of living areas where savings groups are active. This territorial embeddedness and the presence among the neighbourhood public also enables new members to be mobilized. In some cases, the authorities of the settlement governments are also involved in initial mobilization activities.

Considering the motivation of membership, the system of daily saving and loan allocation plays an important role. Fifty-two percent (101 out of 194 interviewed members) of the interviewees mentioned the option for savings as one reason for becoming a member. The opportunity for general development was a reason for 50 percent (98 out of 194) of people to join the federation. In this context, the possibility of obtaining a loan was another important argument for 36 percent (70 out of 194) of the dwellers. Differences concerning the motivation for membership were noted between tenants and owners. Whereas 50 percent of tenants (76 out of 151) mentioned the possibility of saving, only 12 percent of owners (5 out of 43) were attracted by this. At the same time, 51 percent of the owners (22 out of 43)

mentioned the option of obtaining loan. Among the tenants, only 32 percent (48 out of 151) cited this reason. There were hardly any differences in this regard between female and male members. Despite this, the proportion of members who have been involved in the federation for less than five years and who are attracted by the possibility of saving – 54 percent (89 out of 166) – is higher than the number of members who have been active in the federation for more than five years, which is 36 percent (8 out of 22).

Even though mobilization processes induce dynamic increases in the number of members and savings groups, a few members have experienced mistrust and or rejection by dwellers during mobilization efforts. Such reactions stem from cases of fraud in settlements. In one such case, cheats won the trust of dwellers under the cover of non-existent NGOs and collected money for pseudo-development projects but disappeared with the capital (TUPF member 5, 2009).

The processes of mobilization show that transnational contacts to other SDI-federations have been decisive components for the mobilization of members and the establishment of new savings groups in Tanzania particularly in the beginning. Meanwhile mobilization of new members within the involved cities of the TUPF is executed by the existing savings groups mainly.

Exchange visits

Exchange visits are a core element in mobilization, federation-building and the transfer of knowledge within the SDI network and across sectors of governance. The importance of exchange visits is illustrated by the fact that the TUPF originated from exchange visits by members of the South African, Zimbabwean and Malawian federations in 2000 and 2004 (see above). The system of exchange visits is implemented at all territorial and organizational levels of the SDI network and beyond. Consequently, the examination of this system requires overall consideration based on the multi-level model of the SDI network. Therefore, this examination is based on the consideration of the TUPF and its regional federations and local communities as recipients and bearers of knowledge in the years 2000 - 09. The analysis of exchange visits is based on reports prepared by the TUPF and the CCI during these years. The information about exchange visits was reviewed focusing on the following categories:

- Time and direction of exchange visit,
- The actors involved (hosting and visiting, actors of the SDI network and supporting NGOs, external actors)
- Intended goals of the exchange visit and content of know-how transfer,
- Mode of know-how transfer and
- Effects on the development of the TUPF or individual savings groups.

The insights concerning these categories are described below.

Taking all (reported) international exchange visits during the investigation period into account, members of the Tanzanian federation travelled 16 out of 23 times to visit other SDI federations abroad and played host six times in the observation period. Close network relationships are maintained with Tanzania's neighbours, i.e. Malawi, Kenya and Uganda. As described above, the TUPF was originally set up following exchange visits by South African and Zimbabwean federation members in 2000 in connection with a meeting organized by MISEREOR and WaterAid. The former actors of WaterAid kept in touch with the SDI network during further exchange visits and on-site investigations (2000 South Africa, Zimbabwe to Dar es Salaam, 2002 Dar es Salaam to India, 2003 Dar es Salaam to Malawi). Furthermore, the Malawian federation played an important role in the implementation of SDI methodology and the revitalization of the networking activities of savings groups established in 2000 in Dar es Salaam. Originating from this initial point and this small network, the TUPF has developed dynamically over the past seven years and now currently operates in six cities.

In addition to exchange visits between SDI federations from neighbouring countries, pioneering trips were arranged between the Indian (2007, 2009), Thai (2009), South African (2000, 2008) and Sri Lankan (2007) federations.

Analysis of the actor constellations during the exchange visits shows that even though the regional federations of the TUPF in Arusha, Dodoma, Mara Morogoro and Mwanza have been increasingly involved in exchange visits in recent years (since 2005), the Dar es Salaam federation is still the main hub of networking activities. The NGO CCI has been involved in every exchange visit abroad and to Tanzania. In addition to the expert knowledge of the CCI and its role as supporting partner organization, the accompanying professionals interpret between members of savings groups and foreign federation members during exchange visits.

The TUPF has pursued a strategy of involving representatives of governmental authorities from the various levels of governance in every international exchange visit since 2005. In connection with this, the hosting federations have arranged meetings with their cooperation partners from municipalities and ministries to support know-how transfer between partners through horizontal communication in particular. The positive effect on the attitude of governmental authorities to federation members has been mentioned in various exchange visit reports and during expert interviews with municipal and governmental actors in Dar es Salaam. These efforts are aimed at improving the cooperativeness of governmental authorities and raising the awareness of governmental actors for the needs and strategies of local communities.

The targeted cooperation-building international exchange visits from or to Tanzania were intended to transfer the methodologies and the principles of SDI to the savings groups of the TUPF. For this reason, especially in the early years of the Tanzanian federation, the main aim of exchange visits by federations from abroad to Tanzania and by Tanzanian members abroad (mainly Malawi and Kenya) was to transfer know-how regarding savings schemes, loan systems, procedures of enumeration and the management of funds. The processes of the accumulation of knowledge during such exchange visits are mainly characterized by participative methodologies of learning. The recipients of knowledge (Tanzanian members on exchange trips abroad) were involved in the procedures of hosting groups regarding for instance savings schemes, enumerations and negotiations based on the principle of *“learning by doing”*. The same principle is applied during exchange visits by foreign federations to Tanzania. SDI-typical procedures are then implemented in the TUPF's savings groups under supervision. Other types of know-how transfer during exchange visits include discussions, meetings and presentations.

In addition to the transfer of know-how, international exchange visits involving Tanzanian members are also intended to motivate them and to give the federation guidance and inspiration. For example, the CCI mentioned the increased motivation for membership following exchange visits to Malawi in 2005 and 2006 (CCI 2007). The significance of exchange visits for the development and orientation of the activities of the TUPF is reflected by the fact that significant milestones in the history of the TUPF have been associated with specific international exchange visits. The following chart provides an overview of important milestones and the related exchange visits.

Milestones in the development of TUPF influenced by international exchange visits	Mode of exchange visits-international	Effect for the development of TUPF	Diffusion of knowledge within the Tanzanian federation
2000	<p>Zambia and South Africa to Dar es Salaam</p>	Mobilization of first savings groups and implementation of savings schemes by members of the SDI-federations from South Africa and Zimbabwe	
2003, 2004	<p>Malawi to Dar es Salaam</p>	Revitalization of savings groups, implementation of SDI-methodology and foundation of CCI	<p>Start of federation building through exchange visits between savings groups in Dar es Salaam and mobilization of new members and groups</p> <p>Start of supporting activities by CCI</p>
2005, 2006	<p>Dar es Salaam to Malawi</p>	Establishment of Jenga Development fund	
2006	<p>Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma to Malawi</p>	Involvement of Arusha and Dodoma into the networking activities	Start of networking activities between the savings groups of the different cities

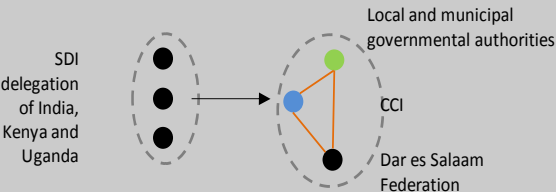
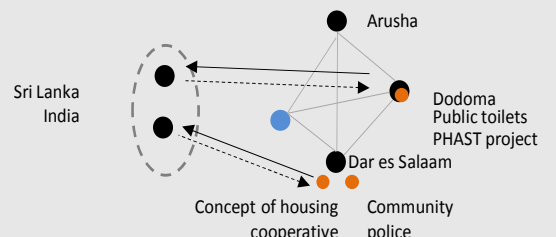
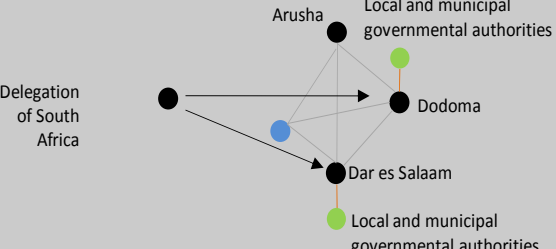
2007	<p>SDI-delegation to Dar es Salaam</p> 	<p>Start of negotiations and cooperation with governmental actors concerning the relocation activities within the Kurasini area in Dar es Salaam</p>	<p>Experiences with negotiation processes, advocacy and cooperation with governmental authorities are transferred to the other regional federations through national exchange visits</p>
2007	<p>Arusha, Dodoma and Dar es Salaam to Sri Lanka and India</p> 	<p>Establishment of housing cooperative Savings groups in Dodoma start the first PHAST project Members of Usalama groups start the community police</p>	
2008	<p>South Africa to Dar es Salaam and Dodoma</p> 	<p>Cooperation building between the federations in Dar es Salaam + Dodoma and municipal + local governmental authorities</p>	

Table 1: Exchange visits and milestones in the TUPF (Source TUPF 2005-2011, CCI 2007-2011, Own design)

Reviewing the relationship between decisive events and exchange visits also shows that the focus shifted from the transfer of general know-how (such as savings methodologies and enumerations) to the provision of support with the transfer of experience concerning concrete problem situations (such as the need for negotiation in connection with relocation activities by the governmental authorities in Dar es Salaam) and projects (such as housing projects). Furthermore, savings groups of the TUPF took up existing concepts and ideas (such as the community police groups in Arusha and Dar es Salaam, the PHAST projects in Dodoma, and the establishment of the housing association and the Jenga development fund) in the follow-up to exchange visits to India, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

The importance of exchange visits for federation members is apparent from the results of the survey among members in the course of the case study in 2009 (see Figure 7). Furthermore, the aims of exchange visits were reflected during the survey amongst the TUPF members. The majority of members emphasized the possibility of exchange visits for training (134 out of 194 members) and as a source of new ideas, inspiration and solutions (90 out of 194 members) in particular. Other answers emphasized the potential of exchange visits to develop a community spirit among SDI federations worldwide. The recognition that the challenges faced by the urban poor in Tanzania are comparable to those of dwellers in Malawi, India and Sri Lanka and the chance to learn about their achievements and strategies gave the Tanzanian members motivation and valuable momentum.

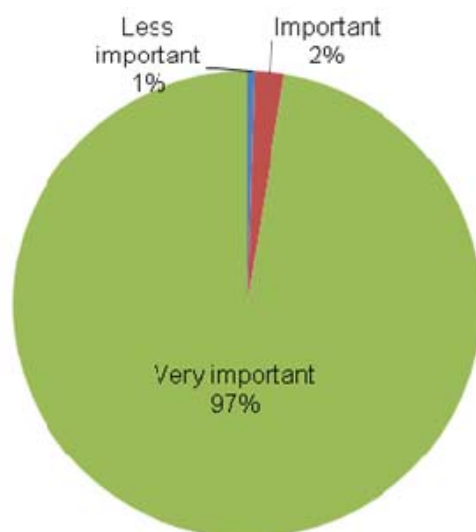


Figure 7: Assessment of relevance of exchange visits among the interviewed members (194 members; Source: Own design)

Mobilization and exchange visits between local communities of TUPF and SDI are basic activities for the establishment of cooperation structures and of development strategies. Furthermore, the case study research revealed that the majority of observed local communities are involved in modes of cooperation and action at different levels of the transnational network. These modes show different dimensions regarding their impact (group intern, settlement-wide, city-wide, transnational) and the extent of involvement actors. In addition to the analysis of mobilization and exchange activities and taking the different modes into account, the following part of this article gives an overview of emerging network typologies, relationships resulting from the various group activities.

Quality and functions of relationships emerging from different modes of action and cooperation of local communities

The range of network typologies identified shows that SDI is actually not *“this one network”* but can be described as a conglomerate of a number of sub-networks with characteristics of different network typologies. The sub-networks overlap each other and bridge different levels and sectors of governance. The majority of members is involved in activities of different sub-networks.

In addition to the identification of network typologies, analysis of the qualities and functions of relationships is essential for the examination of activities and cooperation within the TUPF and SDI. The overview below compares the different modes of action and cooperation. First of all, the complete figure illustrates the different network areas characterized by dense and weak ties. The dense and frequent (daily, weekly, multiplex) activities of savings groups represent the one extreme with the highest density while the periodical transnational interactions (meetings and reports: biannual; exchange visits: according to demand, funding, strategic alignment: annual) represent the other. The interdependencies between these poles show that the existence of multidimensional cooperation structures is crucial to the development of large-scale projects and to strengthen the presence of urban poor communities at all levels. (see Figure 9)

Each mode shows multi-level interconnections ranging from the local to the international level of SDI. However, the settlement level can be described as the level with the highest degree of activity and influence on community-building and the quality of life within the settlement. Furthermore, street and settlement governments are the most important actors which need to be involved in the savings group activities. Especially in the planning phase of infrastructure projects (water, sanitation, community police), the communities require the

agreement and know-how of these institutions. At the same time, the majority of these cross-sectoral relationships are based on informal avowals.

The comparative illustration of sub-networks emerging in the course of the different modes ignores overlapping ties such as savings activities, reporting or communication processes, which are similarly maintained in all modes of action in practice. From a dynamic perspective, activities and cooperation are accompanied by a reinforced networking process at all levels and across different sectors.

Whereas dense ties at the local and regional level of the TUPF are important to implement frequent procedures and community-driven approaches, weak ties resulting from transnational relationships are relevant to disseminate innovations and to represent the interests of the urban poor at the international level.

The intensity of support provided by the CCI varies in the different modes of action. As already mentioned, the internal activities of savings groups are managed by the members and decision-making bodies of the TUPF almost regardless of the support from the CCI. The degree of involvement of CCI experts in housing and infrastructural projects is still relatively high in contrast to this. Assistance provided by the CCI in connection with these projects currently makes up the majority of the NGO experts' daily workload.

Apart from ties which are set up on a long-term basis (e.g. saving, communication, reporting), others are characterized by a limited time span such as those which emerge in cooperation with governmental actors or professional experts in the course of water or sanitation projects. Despite this, these ties can exhibit relatively high densities during their existence and lead to new contacts and subsequent cooperation.

Finally, extensions of the activities of local communities through the implementation of infrastructure or housing projects are normally accompanied by the intensification of network relations to the international level of SDI. The allocation of funds and the subsequent reporting and repayment processes are examples of this.

Judging by the dynamics mentioned above, the network of the TUPF and SDI is not simply growing continuously as the absolute numbers of members, savings groups, federations and realized projects suggest. In fact, structures oscillate, new nodes emerge while others disappear, densities of ties change while others remain stable and constitute the formal framework for development. Taking this into account, case study could analyse network structures, processes and mechanisms for governance within a certain time frame (2009-beginning of 2012) taking the existing circumstances and dynamics in this period into account.

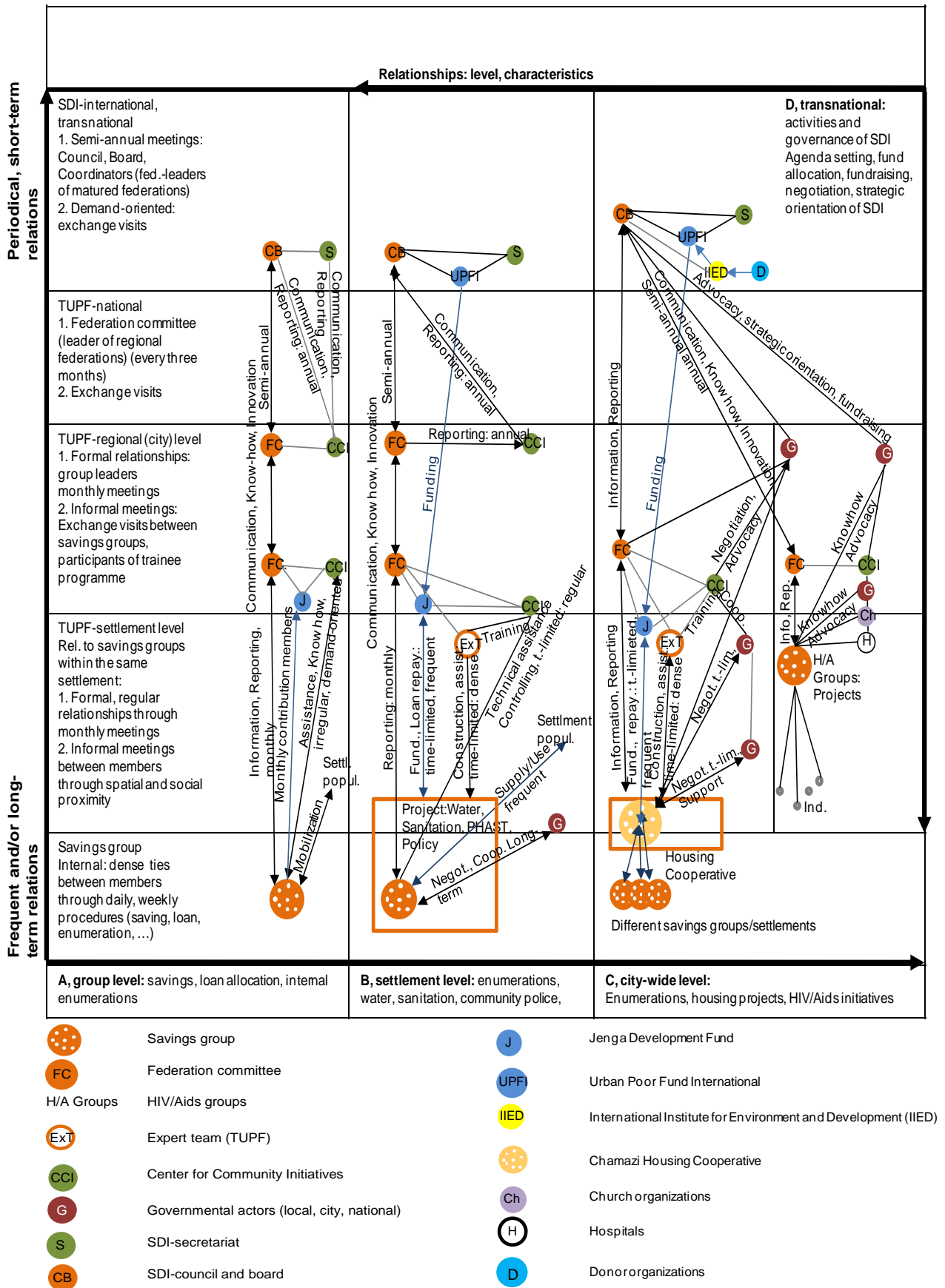


Figure 8: Sub-networks existing in modes A, B, C and D focusing on activities in the Dar federation (Source: Own design)

Relevance of proximity and embeddedness

The extract of the case study research represented above is intended to illustrate the existing relationships and interdependencies within the network of SDI taking the Tanzanian federation as an example. Based on the remarks about mobilization processes, the system of exchange visits and emerging networking structures the relevance of the different categories of proximity and aspects of embeddedness will briefly be discussed in the following part.

Social and spatial proximity are existing framework conditions which have proved to be supportive, reinforcing factors for community-building and the implementation of community-driven approaches. The analysis of different modes of action and cooperation has revealed different dimensions of influence of these two typologies of proximity:

Firstly, the savings groups originate from social relationships existing in neighbourhood networks. The **embeddedness** of the members is accompanied by trust and the existence of informal and local knowledge which facilitate community-building and mobilization. Hence, based on a structural perspective, the communities of the TUPF are set up on structures and relationships already existing in the urban settlements. Taking dynamics into account both types of proximity function as auxiliary, reinforcing mechanisms for the incremental growth of the network and the expansion of activities by the communities. The group projects analysed in mode B also show that social and spatial proximity are necessary to be able to realize and maintain demand-oriented projects.

Although these two typologies are freely available resources, they need to be augmented with cognitive, organizational and institutional proximity in order to achieve sufficient development efficacy. **Cognitive proximity** within the TUPF and SDI network is represented by the share of collective knowledge and the implementation of similar approaches and procedures. The daily saving schemes, the allocation of loans, and enumeration and mobilization processes are procedures and approaches which are implemented almost identically in all communities of the whole transnational network. Furthermore, the approaches and initiatives described in modes B and C replicate concepts already realized by one or more communities of SDI. Exchange visits and periodical meetings are the main instruments used to transfer new experiences and innovations transnationally. Regarding this, short-term **spatial and social proximity** is created between spatially distributed communities.

The integration of savings groups in more complex national and transnational networking activities such as funding as well as loan allocation and repayment require the creation of specific organizational structures. The implementation of similar committees, instruments and procedures at the local and regional level of the federations are examples of this. This structuration is accompanied by the creation of **organizational proximity** between the nodes of the network.

Finally, coherent and transparent action within the SDI network is based on the share of common **institutional properties** such as rules, norms, values and routines. Savings groups and federation leaders or loan recipients as two examples need to meet specific criteria which apply to all communities of the TUPF and SDI. **Institutional and organizational proximity** complement each other and are the basis for the transfer of human, material and personnel resources. They facilitate the stability and effectiveness of the network. Besides the internal perspective of these processes, the structuration and institutionalization of the network are accompanied by a process of approximation and a moderate increase in connectivity with institutions of the state and private sector. However, the case study research has shown that cooperation with governmental actors need to be negotiated continually.

The case of the TUPF and SDI shows that transnational networks of local communities are able to develop cooperation structures and development strategies involving features of

integrated approaches which are spatially and socially embedded in urban neighbourhoods and also influenced by transnational and cross-sectoral cooperation at the same time.

Regarding the general findings of the case study it can be concluded that the scope of action of local communities and the effectiveness of top-down strategies by governmental actors is closely related to their capability to create multi-level and cross-sectoral cooperation in the course of networking activities. Furthermore, the knowledge about the different typologies of proximity and the relevance of strong ties in networks leads to the conclusion that the extension of network activities and structures is path-dependent based on the existing social networks at different levels but particularly within urban neighbourhoods. Regarding this, the development of the network and community activities is closely influenced by the degree of social and spatial proximity between the network actors. In consequence the capability to mobilize local actors is closely related to the degree of the embeddedness of key actors within multidimensional cooperation structures.

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