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When Communication Fails?..

Asymmetric ties in communication process between the executive bodies of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Finland

University of Tampere
School of Management
Department of Political Science and International Relations
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ABSTRACT
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The thesis introduces asymmetric ties concept as a type of interstate communication and examines its components. Asymmetric ties as a notion stands for direct communication process which occurs between executive bodies of lower level (local or regional) from one country with executive bodies of the state level in another country. The purpose of the thesis is to check the existence and practical usage of the asymmetric ties between Finnish and Russian executive bodies and reveal the possible obstacles that the communication process is facing at different stages.

An effort to combine theories of communication with organizational theories was made. Harold Laswell’s theory of 5 components of communication was taken as a ground along with “Murphy’s law” communication research of Osmo Wiio. Theory of organization refers to Max Weber and Howard Greenbaum ideal bureaucratic organizations as well as to organic organizations described by Donaldson. Asymmetric ties were categorized as a part of interstate cooperation in order to confront their possible categorization as a part of cross-border cooperation.

Most different system design introduced by Giovanni Sartori was used in order to dwell upon differences and similarities between Russia and Finland; ladder of abstraction-generalization was used to illustrate the symmetric ties concept. The primary data for the research comprises a number of interviews conducted from March 2013 till May 2013 which helped to reveal the actual communication procedures within and between the closed executive bodies of Finland and Russia.

The findings have shown that asymmetric ties do exist in practice but there are many cases of failure due to a number of reasons. However, once established direct communication process between offices is considered as a template for future collaborations.
Key words: asymmetric ties, interstate cooperation, Republic of Finland, the Russian Federation, communication process, organization design.
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1. Introduction

Dialogue and communication are with no doubts the essence of international relations. The process of communication between authorities of two countries has an official starting point, i.e. establishment of diplomatic relations which is an indicator of existing tensions between countries as well, if any. Looking back to the historical events, we might recall that in 1920 by signing the treaty of Tarty Soviet Russia established diplomatic relations with Finland which acquired the independence some years before from the Bolsheviks. Diplomatic relations were suspended for the years of Winter War and World War II but were reestablished in 1945 and then developed according to trends of world’s political events. After the collapse of the Soviet Union Russia as its successor continued the diplomatic relations with Finland and in 2010 the 90th anniversary of Russian-Finnish relations establishment was celebrated.

Cooperation between countries is reflected both in signed agreements and in actual projects run and implemented by both countries. Given all the intergovernmental agreements signed by Finland and Russia, no doubts are left that cooperation has a strong ground and successfully goes in many spheres such as economy, culture, education, environment and human rights protection. My attention was attracted by one case of Euroregion Karelia when cooperation failed. The Euroregion Karelia is a project launched by the Government of the Republic of Karelia in 1999 as an effort “to unite administrative resources of cross-border regions of Finland and Russia to move forward mutually beneficial projects in European Union structures and render local self-governing bodies, organizations, enterprises, and individuals’ assistance in realization of cross-border contact with the Finish partners”. The Euroregion region comprises The Republic of Karelia and three regional councils of Finland - Northern Karelia, Kainuu and Northern Ostrobothnia. However this initiative is an example of failure and the main reason for it was incongruity of levels of authorities of the partners: from the Finnish side the partners were local authorities whereas the Russian region-partner is a subject of the federation and this situation of mismatching of the hierarchy of authorities participating in the project has blocked the decision-making process and literally led to project’s fiasco. Main question for my thesis derives from this unsuccessful case: are there ties which could connect the authorities of different levels from two countries and which are successfully used in practice?

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2 Ibid.
4 Bolotov - Mezhevich - Shuraev, 2005, 49
A relatively new definition of *asymmetric ties* will be coined in. Used in a new aspect, it can explain the existing ties between the authorities of different countries. In this regard *asymmetric ties* are the ties which connect executive body of low level (municipal or regional) from one country with executive body of the state level in another country. Horizontal ties in the research are used in a sense that two authorities of the same level from two countries are communicating.

The purpose of the thesis is to check the existence and practical usage of the asymmetric ties. By doing this, the theoretical background for cross-border and interstate type of cooperation has to be introduced (taking into consideration that these ties deal not only with cooperation between countries but represent a distinct communication process between organizations), methodology of the research is defined, the possibility of categorization of executive body as the organization should be checked and the actual communication process between particular executive bodies has to be examined.

The goals of the research are the following:

- To combine organizational and communication theories in order to apply them to communication between executive bodies
- To categorize asymmetric ties occurring in the frameworks of cooperation between the states as a broader type of international cooperation.
- To pay closer attention to day-by-day communication processes with the help of primary data sources

My interest lies in more practical questions like if the Finnish official has an intention to approach Health Committee in Saint-Petersburg, how would he or she perform this action? Practically, when an initiative can be done but the Finnish and Russian parties cannot communicate with each other since there are no functioning ties so that eventually communication fails.

Given the abovementioned considerations, two groups of authorities of the same level from the Republic of Finland and from the Russian Federation were chosen. Committees of Saint-Petersburg City Administration and International Office of Helsinki City Administration represent the first group. They both occupy the same position in the hierarchy within the executive system of both countries and therefore are of the same level. The second group comprises Ministries of both Finland and Russia which are executive bodies of the highest level.
and respective Ministries have powers in international contacts of the state. I would mainly focus upon the external contacts of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg City Administration with the Finnish authorities from different levels and communication of the Helsinki Administration will be sometimes examine in order to make a comparison. Concerning the communication process, some questions might be helpful to explain the abovementioned target of the research. Does the communication process between civil servants of two countries proceed on the direct parallel horizontal ground or it has to overcome all the stair of bureaucracy in one country from the bottom to the top and then the information flow has a top-down pattern in another country? Do the asymmetric ties exists and administrative personnel from one country can directly approach the personnel of ministerial level from another country in order to acquire the necessary information or go again through all the chain of agencies?

So coming closer to the research itself, I would like to mark out the framework in which it is preferred to check the assumptions made before. The executive branch of power in the regions of the Russian Federation is represented by the governmental body with the general competence. For example, in Saint-Petersburg it is Administration which includes various numbers of committees, e.g. Transport committee, Committee on cultural issues, Committee on welfare issues and so on. But as a second-large city in Russia, city of a great history, new-emerging centre of commerce and dialogue with the foreign investors due to the annual St. Petersburg Economic Forum, a distinguished place in the Administration’s committee structure is occupied by the Committee for External relations. And as the Finland has the common border with Russia and great interest to the country is maintained by Finnish public policy especially in Saint-Petersburg, the Committee has a division in its structure responsible for Scandinavian and Baltic countries and communication with Finnish authorities and representatives of different organizations is the matter of competence of this Committee.

Some aspects of the other-way-round process which is communication of Helsinki Administration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation will be mentioned as well although I would not completely get rid of them however the main focus of this research is put on asymmetric ties between Committees of Saint-Petersburg Administration and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland.

Primary sources are represented by opinion polls or surveys conducted with the personnel of the executive bodies both in Finland and in Russia. The data which is going to be the ground for the research is gained by the means of these polls: it took me more than two months from Mach
2013 till May 2013 to conduct short surveys of the personnel from both sides on the basis of ordinary day-by-day communication (calls, e-mails). The surveys were conducted with representatives of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg Government, representatives from the Helsinki City Administration and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Finland. The conduction of surveys has its own advantages and traps however they are quite important since it’s the only possibility to get to know the internal processes which are occurring in the closed organizations. Manheim and Rich in Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science, focused upon the methods which the data can be gained through and opinion polls and surveys turned out to be a good tool for data collection. Since there are 5 main types of data which the researcher can get from the respondent including facts, perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behavioral reports\(^5\) it is necessary to frame the data that is needed for the research. The research has to deal with actual channels and language of communication alongside with the projects run both by the Finnish and the Russian authorities so quite objective information is needed and no opinions or double standards since the channel of communication can either exist or not. The representative which has been chosen for interview are the interns who were working in the Scandinavian and Baltic division for more than 2 months and therefore are familiar with the internal structure and procedure of the Committee. It was considered justified to choose the interns since they do not have the responsible bias and can be quite objective regarding the shortcomings of the communication procedure. From the Finnish side both representatives of the Helsinki City Administration (including Helsinki-centre in Saint-Petersburg) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland were interviewed in order to get the data on the possibility either of horizontal or asymmetric ties. The results of the survey are put in several paragraphs according to the issue that the questions were designed on: the paragraph on organization design is backed by data based on actual organization structure gained by the means of polls; the same goes for the chapter in which communication channels and language is described.

One may argue that since the ties under research belong to the communication process between neighboring countries it is quite evident that they are a distinct type of cross-border cooperation. Cross-border cooperation recently became a buzzword because of particular cases of euroregions and enhanced cooperation between adjacent regions of the European Union and Russia. Many researches concerning cross-border cooperation between Russia and European Union countries

\(^5\) Manheim - Rich,1991,183
has been done by the researches Nikolai Mezevich and Dmitry Bolotov who did an impressive job in order to define regional and cross-border cooperation and eventually attached cross-border cooperation to the type of cooperation between neighbouring states and the authorities cooperating supposed to be of the same level of competence.

The literature on the organization design is vastly represented and this theme academic literature is well-elaborated and since the target was to apply the existing theories like bureaucratic theory of organization of Max Weber\(^6\) and organic theory of organization of Donaldson\(^7\) and concepts of organization design to the functioning of an executive body, there is still space for detailed examination of it. In the monograph of Donaldson The contingency theory of organization\(^8\) several types of organization management are examined and it is witnessed that the more responsibilities are held by the lowest level and the more relative freedom it gets, the more effective is communication process itself. With the structure of organization and organizational learning are dealing such researchers as Barbara Levitt and James G. March who significantly contributed in theory of transnational corporations’ management, Michael D. Cohen and Jonah P. Olsen, Milton Harris and Arthur Raviv who explained the principles of organizational design by comparing more than 40 companies with personnel from different nationalities, Kathleen M. Carley and Zhiang Lin who traced the cases of informational distortion and their direct and devastating influence on organizational performance. The researchers are mainly focusing on the performance of organizations which have evident losses and profits but at the same time deal with cross-cultural cooperation such as transnational companies. In case of bureaucratic organization the gains and losses can hardly be gauged and therefore the results of their activity can be estimated by the events successfully conducted or using other variables.

Communication itself was the matter of research since 1930 but it was elaborated significantly after the World War II and it got the worldwide attention from the researches. Harold Lasweel and W. Charles Redding dedicated their research to communications as a part of human being and defined the basic structure and variables of communication. In thesis I made an effort to combine theories of organization with communication theories. As a ground for the definition of communication I would like to refer to Harold Lasswell who described the pattern of communication as a process in which 5 aspects are crucial: communicator, channel, message, receiver and effect or as it is simply stated in one phrase “Who (says) What (to) Whom (in) What

\(^6\) Gerth - Wright, 1988, 180.
\(^7\) Donaldson, 2001, 21.
\(^8\) Ibid, 63.
Channel (with) What Effect\textsuperscript{9}. In the framework of the abovementioned system we can observe not only the messages which participants of communication process are exchanging with but the initial message (or what communicator really implied) and the message finally received and then the real impact of the message delivered. The channel is extremely important as well: it is possible to trace the most frequently used channels and the impact on delivering that they have, and then get rid of those channels which may distort information, deliver only part of it or demand more time (of course, if it is not made on purpose and was not reckoned by communicator). The concept of effect can be seen as quite vague so here it is needed to define it precisely and particularly for each case what exactly the effect of message means. Laswell’s concept can be considered as an outdated one though it gives just the starting point for the research. The communication concept of Laswell was expanded by Redding and his theory of communication within the organization. To the well-known formula of 5 variables introduced by Laswell, Redding added some other variables such as “feedback” and “context”\textsuperscript{10}. The concept of feedback is quite clear: it introduces a possible response to the initial message send by the communicating part whereas the concept of context needs to be expanded. The variable “context” is used in order to explain that communication in political organization is different from the communication occurring in ordinary life. However, the concept of “context” in addition explains the fact that it can be different in every situation and experience in organizational day-by-day working process, e.g. within the organization itself. As the evaluation of the communication process is relevant, there is a concept of failed communication introduced by Osmo A. Wiio. It is often considered as application of simply quoted Murphy’s Law “if anything can go wrong, it will”\textsuperscript{11} to communication theory and especially practice and the main implication concerning communication derived from this concept is that “if the communication process can fail, it fails”.

Alongside with asymmetric ties and horizontal ties definition some other notions are used in the research. Information as a notion means “the data that have been arranged into a meaningful pattern”\textsuperscript{12}, organization (in organization pattern) and communication process is used according to Harold Laswell definition which was already mentioned before.

\textsuperscript{9} Lasswell, 1948, 48.
\textsuperscript{10} Redding, 1972, 134.
\textsuperscript{11} Shroeder, 1985, 85.
\textsuperscript{12} Welch D - Welch L, 2008, 343.
Since I am as an author a part of the study as well, not neutral but involved in the process of communication. My background is the following: I am a student; ethnically Russian and I study International Relations in Saint-Petersburg State University so the research is focused more on issues of Russian officials. I tried not to be that critical when it comes to communication with Russian officials although bad experience and several prejudices that those officials are unlikely to reveal the communication patterns within the organizations took place at the very beginning of the research.

1.1. Structure of thesis

In the second chapter I will introduce theoretical ground for asymmetric ties in communication between the organizations and I will argue that the asymmetric ties occurring in the frameworks of cooperation between states could be ascribed to a broader type of international cooperation. In this chapter I will also try combine organizational, communication and language aspects of asymmetric ties between the executive bodies. Third chapter comprises background information on redistribution of powers between the state and regional authorities in the Russian Federation and concrete project which are implemented on the ground of horizontal and asymmetric ties. Two paragraphs of this chapter basically answer two questions: “how should the cooperation look like?” and “how is it actually working?” . Significantly helpful in understanding the actual communication process can be tracing the projects mutually run by both Finnish and Russian sides as it shows an evidence of established contacts. Fourth chapter introduces methodology of research as well as some figures are used in order to clarify asymmetric ties concept. Methodology is followed by a data collection chapter where principles of surveys conduction are described. The surveys are necessary because they can provide us with the information on the actual process of communication and not just how it is written in the regulation norms. The results of surveys are incorporated throughout the thesis in the relative paragraphs dedicated to various aspects of communication: languages, organizational structure and so on. Sixth chapter is examining practical usage of asymmetric ties between executive bodies of Finland and Russia with the help of primary data sources and summarizes the implications. The last chapter is dedicated to conclusions and recommendations for the further research of asymmetric ties concept.
2. Theorizing asymmetric ties between executive bodies of Finland and Russia

Asymmetric ties are the ties which link an executive body of lower level (municipal or regional) from one country with executive body of the state level in another country. The concept of asymmetric ties in communication process between the executive bodies of two countries implies several theoretical approaches that this issue operates within. First of all, the ties between two states lie in the framework of cooperation between them and in case of Russia and Finland it is possible to present it as a type of interstate communications between neighboring states. However there is a dispute on the fact that not all the interactions between neighboring countries can be ascribed to the category “cross-border cooperation” and this issue will be examined in the first paragraphs of this chapter. Secondly, communicational component itself is important since there are several patterns of communication and information redistribution both within the organization and between the organizations. The third component directly derives from the second one and refers to the organization design and structures of organizations. The last theoretical approach that is used to describe the communication ties is the language use during the interaction. All the aspects of asymmetric ties are relevant and justified since they are strongly intertwined. Among the most important barriers for cross-border or interstate cooperation the following items can be named: multilevel mismatch, lack of common strategy, high number of actors involved, different administrative culture and differences in language and culture. The list can be longer but the main items relevant for the research are included in abovementioned example of barriers. However there is a new category that can be introduced. Some of the items can be united into a broader category which might explain all the challenges occurring because of the failure in one or another aspect. This category can be named “communication breakdown” and comprise different administrative culture, multilevel mismatch and differences in language and culture. That is why communication process between the authorities is inseparable from cross-border and interstate cooperation.

One might say that since the cooperation between states is under consideration it would be quite logical to take into account traditional approach to cooperation such as integration or functional theory. But I claim that cooperation in this regard is totally different from integration concept since the ties between executive bodies which are under research do not imply any kind of integration but mainly are designed for occasional cases of cooperation. That is why all the main theories of integration such as federalist theory, functionalism or neofunctionalism could not be

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applied in this case. Several factors should be taken into account since two neighboring countries are cooperating and at the first sight no evident benefit from the cooperation derives and more complete explanation of interstate cooperation is needed so the concept of reciprocal cooperation will be introduced.

2.1. **Asymmetric ties concept as an approach to interstate cooperation**

First and foremost, I would like to specify interstate cooperation as such. Concept of cooperation in many studies seems to be inseparable from the prisoner’s dilemma which shows evidence that cooperation can bring profits to both participants of the game, to one participant or actually both participants can lose the game and therefore no one gets the profit.

Simply stated, prisoner’s dilemma is a “representation of tension between individual self-interest and collective cooperation”\(^{14}\). In standard prisoner’s dilemma parties has a choice either to cooperate or retrieve from cooperation and given their choice they can both get punished in various combinations or both released. One of the reasons why dilemma actually happens is lack of coordination between the parties and the possible way out of it is to pursue the goals of cooperation. Those mutual gains of cooperation can be sustained by the use of conditionally cooperative strategies which is also called reciprocal cooperation.

2.1.1. **Concept of reciprocal cooperation and its critics**

Reciprocal cooperation concept defined by Gahter and Herrman explains the situation when parties do cooperate with each other only in case of mutual benefits for both sides. “People cooperate only if it is in their (long-term) self-interest”\(^{15}\). Narrowly defined self-interest represents a “tangible, sometimes immediate benefits of a behavior”\(^{16}\). In case of cooperation between states “behavior” from the latter definition might be replaced with “policy”. Indeed, almost the same statement can be justified for the countries as they mostly rely on long-term cooperation which does not exclude cases of occasional cooperation at all. In international relations the notion “interest” is considered as “analytically fuzzy, while it is important and used by decision makers”\(^{17}\). However during the latest decades notion of “interest” has shifted a lot from realists’ approach as “defined in terms of power”\(^{18}\). Kratochwill argues that “interest” became more popular and well elaborated notion among lawyers and diplomats as it is much

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14 Richards, 2001,630.  
17 Kratochwill,1982, 2.  
18 Morgenthau, 1973,56.
more rule-governed nowadays than it has ever been before. Common interests are the core stance which countries have as a ground for the development of relations. Cooperation in this sense in considered as a “common good” which “policymakers should strive to increase because it creates the potential for the realization of joint gains among states.” Robert O. Keohane in After Hegemony (1984) follows the institutionalism approach that harmony of interests brings to cooperation and tries to combine it with the fact that states are egoistic in their pursuit of own benefits.

Reciprocity which brings benefits to both parties which are cooperating has a long-term prospective of cooperation but not necessarily implies integration or even creating allies. Larger groups are displaying the same behavior as smaller groups so that they do not cooperate significantly less than smaller groups. This finding goes against conventional wisdom that maintaining cooperation should be easier in smaller groups. The state itself represents a good example of a large group which may have different and sometimes controversial interests but eagerly cooperates with other states to solve some issues of mutual concern in order to assure mutually beneficial activities in the future. There are many behavioral reasons why communication is effective: communication might help the cooperators to coordinate activities on high levels and it might involve social pressure. However, not only authorities of high levels are included into the process of cooperation. The basis for reciprocal cooperation may not be found in creating organizational structures but some patterns can be extremely helpful in order to establish a routine procedure of cooperation.

Another point is that applying self-interest to the decision-making process is more likely “when people can see that a policy will have a significant impact on their lives” which basically means that when something that seriously matters is at stake people are acting according to their self-interest. If the matter is not of great concern people can act even to the disadvantage of their interest.

One of the statements mentioned in reciprocity cooperation concept is extremely relevant for my thesis: “communication also greatly facilitates cooperation and helps in preventing its breakdown.” Therefore effective communication is a necessary if not pivotal factor of cooperation between the countries and its authorities. Reciprocal cooperation may occur between

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22 Gächter - Herrmann, 2009, 798.
or among countries despite the geographical conditions and it may not matter if countries are not sharing the border. Interactions between territories of neighbouring states are usually considered as a type of cross-border cooperation as such.

2.1.2. Interstate cooperation concept and critics of cross-border cooperation concept

The concepts of the transfrontier cooperation are referred on the basis of the Interrreg III guidelines and theoretical contemplations of researchers while the next paragraph deals with the legal basis for the communication. The communicational ties under research are defined as asymmetric as they are dealing with the authorities in of different levels in two countries: municipal, local (regional) or national authorities. The ties are distinct from horizontal as we can entitle those which connect municipalities from different countries as for instance in case of Council of Border Municipalities in the North which unites the local authorities from cities of Russia, Finland, Norway and Sweden or in case of the Union of the Baltic Cities which deals with the cooperation of the Cities Administrations. The pattern of communication that they are operating in is horizontal as well and the main goal of the latter organization is stated as cooperation among cities on a local level.

Postmodernist rhetoric appears to be helpful in this regard which however could provide us with the very vague definition of relations between states such as “all interactions between state-based actors across state boundaries”\(^\text{23}\) so international in this sense is a synonym of interstate. Since it is claimed that actors of non-federal level such as regional authorities and municipals are active participants of international (interstate) relations two implications can be found in here. On the one hand, the increasing self-sufficiency of those authorities can lead to enhanced and efficacious cooperation between the regional authorities since they are aware of all the shortcomings and problems which create difficulties for the further development of the area and therefore have to be resolved. The authorities are concerned with the development of infrastructure, economic relations and other issues taking into consideration all the specific features of the area such as geographical position, demographic situation and other variables that could be hardly discovered at the first sight. On the other hand, this self-sufficiency can be considered as a threat to the state authorities’ privilege to define the foreign policy strand and the competency of state, regional and municipal authority regarding interstate communication has to

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\(^{23}\) Evans - Newnham, 1999, 274.
be precisely determined by Constitution and federal laws. It is not however the threat to state’s integrity mainly it is a danger of overlapping powers and responsibilities and creation of a complex bureaucracy apparatus which can hinder decision-making process. Coming back to transterritorial cooperation, many projects of the European Union and Russia were and still are under implementation. Among them is the most notorious example of the efforts to develop the euroregion Karelia. This region comprises The Republic of Karelia and three regional councils of Finland - Northern Karelia, Kainuu and Northern Ostrobothnia. However this initiative can barely be referred to as a successful one and the main reason for its failure was the incongruity of levels of authorities of the partners: from the Finnish side the partners are local authorities whereas the Russian region-partner is a subject of the federation and this situation of mismatching of the hierarchy of authorities participating in the project has blocked the decision-making process and literally led to project’s fiasco\(^{24}\). Cross border cooperation therefore can describe the process of cooperation between municipalities and other partners of the same level of powers whereas transborder cooperation comprises all the types of activities conducted on the lower level than the state one\(^{25}\).

Theoretical contemplations on practice can be illustrated by the joint projects launched by Finland and Russia during the recent years which are ascribed to the cross-border cooperation and are financed partially by European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument Cross-Border Cooperation of the European Union (keeping in mind that Russia does not participate in that funding since “four common spaces” are the ground for cooperation of the European Union and Russia) with other available funding at use. Basically cross-border cooperation has its own features which are well explained in the Interreg III (2000-2006) guidelines and here I claim that they are more theoretical than practical in a sense that they include definitions and concepts which are explained in the followings. Different approaches to cross-border cooperation are relevant in case of various state and non-state actors involved in the process of cooperation. It is stated that “cross-border cooperation between neighbouring territories aims to develop cross-border economic and social networks and joint approaches to territorial development”\(^{26}\). The crucial notion here is “border” which can be defined in different ways but here we are claiming that border is an objectively existing geographical boundary between countries. Cross-border

\(^{24}\)Bolotov – Mezhevič - Shuraev, 2005,49

\(^{25}\)Ibid,60.

cooperation notion can be applied to particular project if the authorities or the bodies in charge for the projects are of the same level of powers and responsibilities within their own countries and this level is not the highest one, i.e. cooperation may proceed between regional or local authorities but within the horizontal pattern of the relations. In addition, the Interreg III brochure describes cross-border cooperation as a certain strand of politics which has to deal with infrastructure or infrastructural challenges and therefore be aimed at well-defined and specific projects dealing with roads, bridges and other facilities. However the number of issues that cross-border cooperation can cover is quite broad and includes various aspects of local development, environment, tourism, research and also to a certain extent it includes health, education and culture.

The second type of cooperation explained in the Interreg III guidelines is interregional cooperation. Given the fact that focusing upon the notion of “region” can lead to disambiguation and create a number of varieties it is necessary to avoid the contemplations regarding it and concentrate on the regional cooperation itself. Basically regional cooperation can include parties which are united by some common territorial feature and therefore they have to deal with all the advantages and disadvantages of the location and position. The simplest example is the Baltic Sea regional cooperation which claims that Baltic Sea is our common resource and the usage of it has to be based on the mutually approved ground as it influences many countries and the responsibility has to be shared. However, interregional cooperation in this sense can proceed even among regions of the single country and no international border is among obligatory requirements. Interregional cooperation can therefore happen on the “regional” level which should be explained: in case of Baltic Sea cooperation may happen on the highest intergovernmental level; for the successful implementation of the initiatives regional governments and local authorities should cooperate as well. Crucial feature of interregional cooperation is networking in a sense that some structures for cooperation should have been established or simply stated “intended to improve the effectiveness of policies and instruments for regional development through networking, particularly for regions whose development is lagging behind and those undergoing conversion”\textsuperscript{27}.

The third type described in Interreg III guidelines is transnational cooperation and comprises a huge number of ties and contacts proceeding between countries during day-to-day communications. According to the European Commission which has designed the document transnational cooperation is cooperation “between national, regional and local authorities aims to promote a higher degree of territorial integration, with a view to achieving sustainable, harmonious and balanced development in the Community and better territorial integration with candidate and other neighboring countries”\(^\text{28}\). Since the document was designed both as internal and external document it is seen that transnational cooperation is happening among countries within the European Union but neighboring countries and their authorities are the parts of this process as well. The main feature that is relevant for the research is that the communication according to transnational cooperation pattern can happen not within the horizontal pattern of ties, i.e. only between authorities of the same level in its state but on the asymmetric basis and various combinations with no limits and particular restraints. Projects can be designed in order to promote transnational cooperation in various fields such as general development of territories, efficient economic cooperation, culture, health and services issues, youth policies and environmental policies. The transnational cooperation does not get rid of decentralization and do not leave a room for its application only to cross-border cooperation. Transnational cooperation implies the pattern where local authorities of one country can approach directly the high-level authorities of another country in order to make the cooperation process more straightforward and do not bear the losses because of huge transactional costs. This pattern creates more opportunities for the project developers as it can broaden the tools and instruments that they are using and put into common practice initiatives that are relevant and necessary for many parties.

2.1.3. Decentralization and criticism of interstate cooperation

Asymmetric ties in my thesis are defined as the ties which connect an executive body of lower level (municipal or regional) from one country with executive body of the state level in another country. This definition implies a significant degree of self-consistency from those regional or municipal authorities. This self-consistency basically means that the foreign policy of the nation-state can be “decentralized”\(^\text{29}\). Decentralization in conducting the foreign policy strand can be considered as not necessary and even dangerous but at the same time it promotes positive development of the smaller part of state as only this part itself knows its interests better and can implement them more effectively.

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\(^\text{28}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{29}\) Gress, 1996, 54.
Asymmetric and horizontal (state level) international relations of the country are beginning to overlap and to penetrate each other, resulting in “perforated sovereignties” or the situation when the constituent entities of federation acquire new functions and tend to “merge international relations with domestic affairs into “intermestic affairs”. Gress mainly derives the existence of “intermestic affairs” from economic interest of local governments and claims that it is happening in federations only. Duchacek defines this type of ties as “subnational micro-diplomacy” which principal characteristic is to “establish relations with distant centers of economic and political power”. Asymmetric ties concept are different since they not necessarily deal with economy and not only constituent entities of federation can be the part of asymmetric ties.

In general, decentralization of powers might put all the monopoly of state in conducting foreign relations at stake and hinder the foreign relations strategy of the whole country. Decentralization in some aspects of foreign policy conduction can be replaced with higher involvement of the local authority within the cooperation process keeping at the same time the national role in decision-making on crucial processes dominant. Therefore cooperation of different levels of authorities in countries in this sense is not about competition and dangerous deregulation process but mainly about the initiative that local authorities can express in order to make their region more developed and well-incorporated within the international community because they are aware of the interests and resources that are at the disposal of the region, and providing that can maximize the profits from the projects and initiatives.

2.2. Patterns of communication between organizations

The concept of communication patterns between organizations is crucial in a sense that the ties have to be traced precisely from one authority to another and it can be done by the examinations of various communication flows. Since the concept of communication is based on the Laswell’s and Redding’s studies of it, the basic components of communication process are sender, message, channel, effect, feedback and context. Context seemed to be quite vague category however it explains the particularity of the communication process under certain circumstances and how it differs from the communication occurring in ordinary life. In addition it explains the

30 Duchacek, 1984, 36.
32 Duchacek, 1984, 36.
33 Ibid., 40.
34 Rodden, 2004, 488.
35 Laswell - Redding, 1948, 176-177.
fact that communication is special and is based on the current needs and interests and be different in every situation and experience in organizational day-by-day working process, i.e. within the organization itself.

The organizational communication system represents a group of subsystems or functional communication networks, each of which is related to one or more organizational goals\(^{36}\). The four major communication subsystems are: the regulative network, the innovative network, the integrative (maintenance) network, network, and the informative-instructive communication network\(^{37}\). Regulative networks assure effectiveness of the organizational unit or the whole organization, innovative network is reflect in how organization can adjust to external influences and how quickly it acts accordingly, integrative network shows how the organization is perceived as a homogeneous community. The last informative- instructive network assures that the organizational goals of conformity, adaption and morale are secured.

Communication objectives and organizational goals are summarized in the table below\(^{38}\):

![FIGURE 1
Communication Objectives and Organizational Goals](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives of Major Communication Networks</th>
<th>Organization Goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| * Regulative
  * Innovative
  * Integrative (Maintenance)
  * Informative—Instructive                | * Conformity
  * Adaptiveness
  * Morale
  * Institutionalization                    |

### 2.2.1. Theorizing communication flows within an organization

Organizational communication consists of various messages sending and receiving which are affecting social entities where individuals work toward common goals. It is generally identified with written media (correspondence, house publications, bulletin board information), hardware (telephone systems, dictation equipment, computer units), and speech activities (interviewing,

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\(^{36}\) Greenbaum, 1974, 740-741.

\(^{37}\) Ibid, 745.

\(^{38}\) Greenbaum, 1974, 741-742.
directing, conferring. At the same time organizational communication “should be construed as including all behavior-modifying stimuli, both verbal and nonverbal because it includes gestures and facial expressions as well as the spoken word in conversation and meetings”.

The flows of communication during day-by-day work within the existing structure of organization are influenced by many factors but they do have a precise pattern and design in which the process is going on. Information within an organization flows mainly in three directions: downwards, upwards and horizontally. In case of cross-border communication process it might happen that officers who are holding the lowest position in international divisions are involved into the process of e-mails exchange and at the same time heads of the offices might have an established channel of calls or e-mails exchange but in between of those two information flows no one person is involved into communication process with the opposite part.

Communication process is frequently characterized by a number of misunderstandings which can occur if parts which are involved in information exchange do not have shared pattern of signals and their meanings. In this regard we should distinguish intention from interpretation which basically means that the communication can fail “if receivers do not interpret the symbol the way intended by the sender”. Wrong interpretation of signals can also happen because of different interests that lead communicating parties. Conflict of interest therefore can hinder effective communication in a sense that they can pursue different goals even if both sender and receiver proclaim that they stick to common interests. In the case under research both Finnish and Russian side have shared interest of establishing rigid communication ties so the conflict of interest in this regard can not hinder the communication process which means that we should examine channels of communication more thoroughly.

2.2.2. Communication capacity concept

Twenty first century has brought significant changes to the notion of capacity if we speak about the capacity of communication. Castells specifies that there 3 types of capacity in terms of communication: “capacity refers to technological capacity, institutional capacity and organizational capacity”. People can send and get messages a way quicker than it has ever been before: now we can enjoy “new information and communication technologies, including rapid

39 Greenbaum, 1974, 740.
40 Huber, 1982,143.
42 Castells, 2008, 81
long-distance transportation and computer networks”43. Despite the technological progress which significantly cuts off the time for message delivery, there is a notion of institutional capacity and nowadays it mainly refers to deregulation and liberalization of the institutional organizations either within the state or between the states. The latter concept is called the organizational capacity. “Organizational capacity refers to the ability to use net working as the flexible, interactive and borderless”44. Indeed, networks of communication are more flexible and borderless that they have ever been which boosts the number of contacts and interactions and creates a communication space almost without borders. At the same time raising organizational capacity creates an obstacle for tracing the communication channels. That is one of the crucial points for the research: years ago communications between states and authorities was easier to reveal and trace since channels of communications were few. However, through the existing channels of communication we can observe a very comprehensive and complex network where all the structures can stay in contact and communicate with each other and the message and its channel can hardly be traced.

2.2.3. Channels of communication

Information exchange cannot exist without channels which function is to deliver information from sender to recipient and to provide a feedback ties. Channels of communication can be different, some of them are relatively new and some are getting outdated. Channels of communication, their relevance and frequency of use differ from organization to organization. In case of cross-boundary communication, some channels are irreplaceable while others are not even available and therefore are not of use.

One of the types of communication design is face-to-face communication. This pattern within the organization is important because it creates informal ties and mutual fidelity among personnel. This channel can be similarly used in upward, downward or horizontal communication although it leaves almost no official recoding and then hardly can be traced except those orders or reports which become the part of documentation. But in case of cross-organizational communication especially between countries the distance makes this type of communication almost impossible to apply on a regular basis and deprives it the function of informal ties establishing so face-to-face communication can happen only during special meetings which are not that frequently conducted.

44 Castells, 2008, 82.
Phone calls cannot be available to an open access of a person who does not belong to organization structure because normally the secretary redistributes phone calls and he-she can put through only the important calls on the basis of previous experience. Internal communication however relies on phone calls a lot. In case of cross-boundary communications between organizations calls can be made in situations which demand immediate reaction and cannot be delayed. But since the cases of misunderstanding can happen, emails and fax messages are of common use. Misunderstanding refers back to communications failure described by Osmo Wiio and reaffirms the statement that there is only a slightest possibility that communication will actually happen\(^45\).

To the mails sent by post still accounts a significant share of communication but mainly because of the fact that some documents have to be originally signed or have exclusive stamps of organization when forwarded to other side and not just photocopied otherwise it would have been easier to deliver them and would take less time (which is relevant for such important documents as invitation letters and so on).

Technological progress introduced the relevance of electronic mails use in communication process and they became quickly widespread and important to such extent that no one at the moment can imagine functioning of organization without corporative mails or external e-mail requests and feedbacks. Emails have a “capacity to create local and long distance networks, transmit voluminous attachments, send blind copies, and forward messages, the potential for e-mail users to engage in non-sanctioned, political behavior is limited only by their motives, creativity, and energy”\(^46\). E-mails become even more relevant if the sender and recipient are not only from different organization but even located in different countries.

2.3. Organization design of executive bodies

2.3.1. Notion of organization

Organization can be defined as a social item which has a specific aim and a collective task, certain number of functions and a specific design which helps to fulfill the task. There are a lot of different types of organization described in the studies, however, almost all of them agree upon the fact that organization must have a rigid structure. Scholars of the Carnegie school which research of organizational behavior has started as an economic concept but became an

\(^{45}\) Flaulaus, 2009, 3.
interdisciplinary approach later on for instance are proposing several definitions of organization as a natural concept. “Organizations are described as gradually adopting those routines, procedures, or strategies that lead to favorable outcomes; but the routines themselves are treated as fixed”\textsuperscript{47} so the practices in the organizations are considered as routine and once learned the behavior becomes a non-written pattern which the employee should stick to. However, these once established patterns can be far from optimal. Things can be done in a less sophisticated way but it contradicts the manner in which everyone knows it should be done and it is quite hard to convince members of organization to reorganize the process and make it optimal. Therefore usually the procedure and the standards of work are observed even if they create operations of high costs. This statement may refer to some provisions of the institutional theory which claims that organizations abide by norms already established in the similar organizations and their regulations are based on the regulations of the organizations already established and this norms are usually taken for granted. “Conformity comes from taking things for granted, adherence to norms, coercive sanctions, or the desire to gain legitimacy and resources from external organizations”\textsuperscript{48} and this fact creates a situation of a vicious circle where no way out can be found.

2.3.2. Bureaucracy theory of organization

Theory of organizations can help to explain the process of decision making within the public body which is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of the ties with foreign colleagues.

Max Weber defines bureaucracy as the “means of carrying community action over into rationally ordered social action... an instrument for socializing relations of power, bureaucracy has been and is a power instrument of the first order”\textsuperscript{49}. He described an ideal bureaucratic organization taking into consideration several variables: formality, specialization, hierarchy of authority, impersonal relations and trained personnel. Those outlined features shape the organization and make it structuralized. First of all, bureaucratic organization has as a pivotal feature high level of formalization which implies that all the existing procedures and regulations within the organization are reflected in a written form. They represent a sort of guidelines for the situations and cases which organization as a unit or certain department within it are facing in day-to-day work. Job regulation of a certain employee or a regulation of the whole department can represent

\textsuperscript{47} Levitt - March, 1988, 333.
\textsuperscript{48} Donaldson, 2002, 102.
\textsuperscript{49} Gerth - Wright, 1988, 190
an example of formalized instruction. Therefore organizations could be distinguished by their level or degree of formalization: some are less formalized than the others. Formal rules represent a necessary component of effective and what is crucial efficient organization – “as long as they are rationally and legitimately implemented and used”50. Blau and Meyer claim that formality in organizational procedures helps “to assure uniformity in the performance of every task, regardless of the number of persons engaged in it, and the coordination of different tasks”51.

Specialization of departments within the organization means that every unit has its own task and goal and even if it seems that they are in charge of different work, they all are intertwined with a common goal of a better performance of the organization as a unit. Specialization within the department means that every employee in each position has its own duties and responsibilities which cannot be completed by another employee. To define clearly who is responsible for what a written instruction is needed, i.e. certain level of formalization is required which shows how the 5 components introduced by Max Weber are interconnected.

Hierarchy of authority implies that one department exercise control over number of departments in order to assure that all the rules and instructions are followed and implemented properly. All the controlling structures must act in compliance and make sure that orders and instructions are delivered properly. Control is a pivotal notion of the bureaucracy theory and process of control exercising is taking place in many stages of the organizational performance and the goal of exercising control is to provide better and more efficient way of task fulfilling so it can lead to proper results. Who over whom can actually exercise control leads to the next component: hierarchy of the authority. Max Weber defines 3 types of authority: charismatic, traditional and legal52 and any type of the authority is accepted by those who are subjected to it. These three types could explain the structure political system as well as be applicable with reservations to the organizations in a sense that they clearly explain principles of management within it.

Impersonal relations within the organization define the basic principle of operations which claims that “sense of administration”53 separates facts from personal preferences. Basically this principle should apply to day-by-day work in every organization and prevent top-management from favoritism which can hinder effectiveness and to a certain extent ruin trust within the organization. Decision making process at any level of the organization should not be influenced

50 Engholm, 1999, 12.
52 Gerth - Wright, 1988,204.
by any other source but sense of effectiveness. Next principle ensures that organization has only properly trained personnel which is reflected in its structure: every position is held by a person whose education, experience, competency and other characteristics correlate with organization’s requirements and demands. No one who can not contribute in the organization’s performance in a good way can be a part of it.

In general, Weber claims that bureaucracy is absolutely logical and necessary since society needs “provision of education, health, social services, collecting taxes, and others” and therefore work has to be divided and specialized to achieve the goals desired by the society. However, Weber’s model of ideal bureaucracy has been subjected to severe criticism mainly because of the “conflict between society and bureaucracy” which is reflected in a question “who is exercising control over whom?” Bureaucratic organization was created to serve the society needs but it tends not to be responsive to public opinion.

The bureaucracy theory introduced by Donaldson represents a simplified overview of organization and deals with the three main notions: centralization, specialization and formalization. High level of centralization means that top-managers exercise direct control over the employers by all the tools and instruments that they can use as it usually happens in small organizations where the number of employers is not significant. In fact this is justified for small organization which limited capacities as it is easier to observe and control all the activity. Specialization factor should be also taken into consideration as it is crucial point on the way to understanding the job workload of the employee and the example of small organization can fit in here as well. In small organization it is likely that employee on the position is occupied with many tasks which can go beyond his or her responsibilities. This situation can occur also in a big organization but usually the division between position and responsibilities are fixed and stipulated much more precisely. In the big company, however, is possible the situation of overlapping responsibilities which can lead to unnecessary double-checking of tasks and initiatives and therefore one task might be accomplished by many employees. In this case organization might be far from effective since several procedures are accomplished twice and it takes more time to check them and to proceed the work. Medium-sized organizations with a certain amount of intervention of top-managers into day-by-day work and well-defined fields of responsibilities could be the most effective one. Both theories can be applied for the executive

54 Gerth - Wright, 1988,204. 
56 Blau – Meyer, 1987, 97 
bodies of Finland and Russia which will be mentioned in the followings and through grasping the structure of these organizations will be easier to find the channels of communications. Some of the issues are discussed in organic theory of organization which describes an alternative type of organizational structure.

2.3.3. **Organic theory of organization.**

Organic theory does not consider so many variables as bureaucratic theory does, it mainly outlines the relations among the authorities within the organization and shows how hierarchy can be understood in different ways. Organic theory distinguishes mechanistic and organic structures. The former implies the top-down management and total control of what is happening on the lower level from the higher one and leaves almost no freedom and space of maneuver for civil servants. The latter, or organic structure, keeps as a basic provision the pattern that top-managers just slightly intervene directly by any means into the ordinary day-by-day work of the civil servants on the lower levels, completely and utterly relying on their skills, experiences and granting them with the certain amount of trust. Therefore, this theory distinguishes two models of organizational structure: centralized and decentralized and also different patterns of information distribution: in mechanistic structure top-level managers are aware of the whole amount of information in order to control and exercise power whereas in the organic structure civil servants are sharing with the top-managers only certain amount of information. It may happen for example in cases when the direct approval from above is needed for the continuation of the task implementation or in case of the task which cannot be completed by one division of the organization and mutual help and coordination are needed. So the work is not in static at some point which also means that the main goal remains the same: the organization should be effective.

2.4. **Theoretical aspects of language use**

Communication process within and between the organizations has got another aspect which has to be taken into consideration especially in case of communicating partners from different countries. Use of English as a shared language might quite often be under research if we are dealing with multinational corporations where employees come from different countries and sometimes it can create challenges to the performance of the company. Shared language may

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59 Ibid., 23.
provide “a common conceptual apparatus for evaluating the likely benefits of exchange and combination and in this context, language is viewed as a component of corporate identity that enables a multinational to transmit and share knowledge”\textsuperscript{60}. This statement is applicable in case of cross-country communication between organizations which does not deal with corporate identity but creates an identity of involvement in the global process of information exchange.

Within one organization which members are from different nationalities and therefore speak different language this fact can hinder effective communication because anyhow even in case of use of English as a common language, those members who has the same mother tongue will understand each other way better both in professional and in personal communication. In case of cross-country communication English is a shared language and should be considered as a bridge and one of the main variables of effective communication as “some may take comfort in the importance of English and its widespread global use as seemingly overcoming the language barrier”\textsuperscript{61}.

An attempt not to concentrate a lot on cultural difference and cultural perception has been made but at the same time some aspects of language challenges will be slightly touch upon in here. I am treating “language as a separate variable, its influence on communication patterns and information and knowledge flows can be more readily identified”\textsuperscript{62}. But only by usage of common language cross-national organization ties are not getting easier or harder to establish in a sense that it represents only one aspect of bureaucracy process. However, communication between different nationalities relies on language a lot. That is why it seems to be important to figure out which language or languages organizations under research are using in a day-by-day communication process also because language of communication “affects the sender’s ability to transmit knowledge; the receiver’s absorptive capacity”\textsuperscript{63}.

Language or languages which the communication process is going in have further implications and influences effectiveness of the communication. Some assumptions regarding the language and Russian languages are common to be used. However, English can constitute a facilitated way of communication and simplify the process of message exchange. There are some traps of using English as a language of communication in a sense that the information can be distorted or translated incorrectly. These traps are applicable in cases of incorrect translation from Finnish to Russian or from Russian to Finnish as well.

\textsuperscript{60} Welch D - Welch L, 2008,340
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, 358.
\textsuperscript{62} Piekkari - Welch D - Welch L, 2005,18.
\textsuperscript{63} Welch D - Welch L,2008, 357.
The language can be considered both a boundary and a bridge to communication depending on whether we are looking for similarities or differences between participants of the communication process\textsuperscript{64}. In fact the language component is important in the communication between organizations as it directly influences the performance of its activities. Language differences were marked out as one of the main abovementioned barriers to effective cooperation and should be treated separately from all the other variables. That is why theoretical concepts examined in here should be checked out in during the empirical part of the research by the means of surveys.

\textsuperscript{64} Ribeiro, 2007, 573.
3. Implementation aspect of the interstate cooperation

The ground for the transfrontier cooperation can be found in the document of the Council of Europe appeared in 1980 which is entitled as European Outline Convention on Transfrontier cooperation between territorial communities and authorities. According to the convention “transfrontier cooperation shall mean any concerned action designed to reinforce and foster neighborly relations between territorial communities or authorities within the jurisdiction of two or more Contracting Parties and the conclusion of any agreement and arrangement necessary for this purpose”\(^\text{65}\). Models of cooperation described in the Convention are comprehensive and broad-ranging so the authorities could have chosen the pattern that suits them better. The term “transfrontier cooperation” is not so widespread by now and in the summery of the Convention it is replaced by cross-border cooperation. Finland signed and ratified the Convention in 1990 while Russia completed the same procedure in 1999. Authorities of the Russian Federation follow the procedure established by international agreements and federal laws.

3.1. Division of powers between state and regional authorities of the Russian Federation regarding interstate cooperation

According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation adopted in 1993 the state authorities are responsible for the international relations, foreign policy and foreign economic relations of Russia however coordination of those relations is a matter of joint jurisdiction of the subjects of Russian Federation and the Russian Federation. This provision is usually clarified by the Federal laws which allow to a certain extent the subjects of the Russian Federation to participate in decision-making on foreign relations by issuing normative acts but their decision can not contradict the Constitutional provisions and federal laws. The legal normative act of the Russian Federation has the supremacy on the federal laws.

The Federal law adopted by the State Duma in 1998 on “Coordination of the international relations and foreign economic relations of the subjects of the Russian Federation”. According to the main provisions of this law, the subjects of the Russian Federation given the delineation of authority as a principle are allowed to bring about international and foreign economic relations with the subjects of foreign federal states, administrative-territorial entities of states and within the activity of international organization specially designed for it. There is the statement that is relevant for the research concerning the cooperation with the state government bodies of the

states. These relations can be established and conducted after the official approval received from the Government of the Russian Federation. This point in the federal law can be considered as the legal ground for the asymmetric ties between the authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation and executive bodies of foreign countries. The agreements which are concluded by the subjects’ authorities and executive bodies of different levels from other countries cannot be ascribed to the category of international agreement otherwise they would prevail over the laws of the Russian Federation.

The City of Saint-Petersburg according to the Federal Constitution of Russia is a subject of the Russian federation alongside with another city of federal importance Moscow and other 81 subjects of Russia. So the abovementioned laws are equally attributed to the city of Saint-Petersburg and provide its executive bodies with the opportunity to establish and conduct cooperation with a number of authorities from different levels from other countries. The respective law which defines the frameworks for the international cooperation of Saint-Petersburg and redistributes the powers and responsibilities among legislative and executive branch of power of the City of Saint-Petersburg was adopted in 2008. According to the law The Government of Saint-Petersburg is responsible for the implementation of foreign policy and trade strategy of Saint-Petersburg and cross-border cooperation is mentioned as a distinct priority of international relations. Various possible connections of the Government of Saint-Petersburg are mentioned in the document: Governor of Saint-Petersburg, members of the Government of Saint-Petersburg, the Heads of Committees of the Government can conduct negotiation and participate in meetings with heads of the states, members of national governments and ministers, with heads of administrative-territorial entities of states and heads of cities. Therefore the references of the Committees of Saint-Petersburg are quite vast and ties that they can establish are both horizontal and asymmetric.

Committee for the External Relation of Saint-Petersburg within the structure of government of Saint-Petersburg has its own regulation norms where the same competence is stated as it was written in the above-mentioned law. Moreover almost every committee of the government has stated in its official activity in the sphere of international cooperation. For instance, Committee for Education with the reference on the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in the sphere of education with the foreign states has a lot of joint projects with schools, research centers of many countries and business.
On 20th of January 1992 the intergovernmental Agreement concerning cooperation in Murmansk region, Karelian Republic, Leningrad region and Saint-Petersburg between Russia and Finland was signed. The agreement dealt with “new forms” of cooperation between the regions of Russia and Finland which are sharing the border and as a result the might have a fruitful cooperation between neighboring areas. It is stated in the document that regional and local authorities can directly approach the respective authorities in Finland in order to organize joint projects and during these communications positive results can be achieved. In the specification article added to the document later on all the regional authorities are on the list: Murmansk Region Administration, Council of Ministers of Karelian Republic, Leningrad Region Administration and Saint-Petersburg City Administration66.

According to the document countries agreed on the cooperation in trade, economic development, exploitation of natural resources, agriculture and food industry development, improvement of transport connections and communications, data exchange, protection of environment and nuclear security control, administrative governance improvement, health care and social assistance, scientific research, education, culture, tourism, sport, youth policies and twin-city ties. Initiatives in abovementioned spheres can be shaped into various forms of cooperation and leave room for creative approaches. The parties to the treaty agreed on the coordinator of the cooperation which was a special group consisted from the members from both countries67. In the attachment concrete executive bodies from both parties are named: Ministry of trade and industry, Ministry of transport, Ministry of agriculture and forestry, Ministry of justice, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of education, Ministry of social assistance and healthcare, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of finance alongside with local and regional authorities from the Finnish part and regional and city administrations from the Russian regions.

It should be mentioned that this agreement was signed soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union and emergence of the Russian Federation so this document seems to be quite progressive for the international practice at those times as no previous experience of this type of cooperation between Finland and Soviet Union was observed. In general, the history of cross-border and transborder cooperation of the Russian Federation has started at the end of 1991 and beginning

67 Intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Finland available at 
http://www.mid.ru/BDOMP/spd_md.nsf/0/83F14DAF5189402A44257B2F001DD6AB (accessed 01.05.2013)
of 1992 as the problems which required this mechanism appeared. Before that the borders or the Soviet Union were not considered as a line for cooperation but for division. All the projects initiated from 1992 onwards were conducted within the legal framework of this agreement. The agreement was replaced in 2012 by intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Finland on promotion of cross-border cooperation because it was considered as outdated and requiring profound elaboration and adjustment. Several novelties were introduced to the structure of document: in order to avoid disambiguation on such notion as border region the definition was coined so it is stated that border region is “region (entity) of Finland or Russia which territory is adjacent to the Finnish-Russian border”. Clarification is required in case of “competent authorities” in charge for the realization of the treaty provisions; they are executive authorities of Finland and Russia competent and authorized to provide the implementation of the Agreement. The areas of cooperation between two countries are the same as stated in the previous document but more expanded and clarified. All the projects initiated according to the previous agreement should have been finished before the end of 2012.

The main feature that comes to the front is that concrete regions neither of Russia nor of Finland are mentioned in the document. The same comes for the respective authorities of the states. City of Saint-Petersburg which is obviously implied and included in the cross-border cooperation with Finland according to the definition mentioned in the document cannot be even considered as a part of it since it does not share the border with Finland. Moreover, coining in the “cross-border cooperation” notion which appears to be mainly a buzzword the authors did not realize that they are narrowing down the cooperation idea which was a huge pass forward during the nineties years of the twenty century. One of the provisions of the agreement says that direct ties between regions adjacent to the border should be developed so the horizontal ties are mentioned. As for asymmetric ties we can find a tiny sign of them in the provision stating that “regional policy should be implemented” and some tips that those executive authorities both from Finland and Russia might be of different level of powers and responsibilities but still the main focus is made on horizontal cross-border ties.

In general, the law composition of the Russian Federation and deregulation principle reflects the trend of the subsidiarity and redistribution of powers to lower levels without granting the possibility on the decision-making on the issues of federal competency. However the main form

\[68\] Bolotov - Mezhevic - Shuraev, 2005, 129.

\[69\] Intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Finland available at <http://www.mid.ru/BDOMP/spd_md.nsf/0/02C86B94A8D1ED9F44257B2F2001D8F30> (accessed 01.05.2013)
of activity that the subjects of Russia can conduct lies within the framework of horizontal ties e.g. relations with other administrative-territorial entities but there is a provision which grant the regional authorities with the possibility of establish the contact with the authorities from higher level of other countries. Cross-border cooperation became a priority for the countries since it successfully deals with the challenges posed by the same conditions and therefore the renewed document appears to be signed in time. Despite the fact that some statements in the current document on Finnish-Russian relations can be vague and create misunderstanding should have been unlikely that the projects which have started in the framework designed by previous agreement would be terminated since they do not suit the definitions coined by the recent document. However the new agreement coins an enhanced role of the European Union in the neighbouring cooperation between Finland and Russia. A survey conducted with representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland helped to comprehend the concealed meaning of the newly signed agreement. Anita Koivuselkä who was in charge for the cooperation on asymmetric ties with authorities of Saint-Petersburg claimed that the previous agreement “was replaced by a new type of cooperation based on equal partnership, with the EU’s external border programmes to be implemented between Finland and Russia as the most important instrument for cooperation and financing”[70]. Basically it means that all the previous projects were terminated in order to find new ground for financial injections. It comes in front that the projects are put on the bilateral ground between Finland as a part of European Union and Russia simply to avoid double financial aid. It is stated thought that despite the fact that Russia is not a part of European Neighbouring Policy Instrument (which replaced Tacis program in 2007) and “a strategic partnership has been created, covering four so-called common spaces Russia receives funding from the ENPI – hence the term “partnership” in ENPI”[71].

In general, new agreement replaced the old one and implementation of several projects based on asymmetric ties between the Government of Finland and Government of Saint-Petersburg came to an end. New start has been given to the elaboration of initiatives and projects which however will not connect the abovementioned authorities any longer and the cooperation regarding several projects will proceed within the framework of South-East Finland-Russia ENPI CBC program.

[70] Personal communication with Koivuselkä Anita (16.04.2013)
3.2. **Description of projects organized on the basis of the horizontal and asymmetric ties**

Taking into consideration all the projects which are conducted as a part of cooperation between Saint-Petersburg and Finland can be mainly named those which belong to joint activity mentioned in the intergovernmental agreement between the Republic of Finland and the Russian Federation such as trade, economic development, exploitation of natural resources, agriculture and food industry development, improvement of transport connections and communications, data exchange, protection of environment and nuclear security control, administrative governance improvement, health care and social assistance, scientific research, education, culture, tourism, sport, youth policies and twin-city ties.

Here I would exemplify horizontal and asymmetric ties with the project from abovementioned spheres conducted recently with participation of respective Committees and Departments of Saint-Petersburg City Administration and authorities from different levels of the Republic of Finland.

The effectiveness of communication process can be estimated through the number of event and projects run by both Saint-Petersburg Administration and authorities from the Finnish part including those from the high and low levels.

Communication between executive bodies obviously cannot proceed without pursuing some interests and therefore is trying to facilitate certain challenges and organize and run common projects. All the goals and aims officially proclaimed in several documents or strategies published on websites of governmental bodies are designed in order to show the possibility of cooperation and developing of concrete projects in various spheres.

Looking precisely on the number of projects and initiatives implemented with participation of both parties from city administrations of Helsinki and Saint Petersburg I am trying to reaffirm the fact that the collaborations concerning projects in various spheres is happening frequently and therefore different design of communication ties is needed as it can facilitate some procedures.

Starting on with cultural events, one of the prominent projects is a bilateral event Saint-Petersburg Days in Helsinki and Helsinki days in Saint-Petersburg. It is conducted on a regular basis and is organized according to an agreement between Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg on mutual visits and cultural exchange. Since the event has become more or less traditional, the mechanisms of its organization has its own pattern and despite the fact that many participants
from different spheres take part in the event, the main outline and framework of the event is provided by Committees on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg and International Relations office of Helsinki Administration. Project initially was aimed at informational, cultural, economic exchange between Saint-Petersburg and Helsinki but co-founders found the interest arose from the first holding of the event quite promising and successive projects were conducted featuring the participants from more than one cities of Finland. Saint-Petersburg authorities, in its turn, decided to take advantage of the opportunity and spread the positive image of cooperation with the second-large city in Russia and have organized Saint-Petersburg days in Turku. As a result in April 2013 the traditional event is taking place in Helsinki and Turku.

There is a special structure affiliated to the Government of Saint-Petersburg which is called the Finnish Advisory group for the Government of Saint-Petersburg and is functioning on a permanent basic as a consultative body72. This structure was created in 1997 and comprises CEOs from a huge number of Finnish companies such as Neste, Sinebrychoff, Telecom, Skanska and others and also executive bodies and Administration of Turku and Helsinki are participants of the Group. Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg is the coordinator of the Group activity from the Russian side and a special company Eurofacts Oy is coordinating business activity from the Finnish side. From the Russian part there is a Governmental structure which coordinates the activity whereas from the Finnish part it is a special company that enacts a role of mediator between Finnish companies (or sometimes it can be Finnish authorities as it is happening in case with Helsinki Administration or ) and Russian authorities. The main activity of the Finnish advisory group lies in the field of small and middle enterprises both in Russia and Finland and the risk estimation and obstacles for Finnish companies in Russian market and their competition with Russian companies73. Having the middle stage represented by Eurofacts Oy facilitates the communication process for the reason that it creates one direct channel from the number of Finnish companies to the Government of Saint-Petersburg and therefore Russian authorities will be approached directly and from an important agency during the agreed and established time. In Russia there is an analogue of the Eurofacts Oy which is called “Opora Russia” (can be translated as The Pillar of Russia) and it has established several agreements with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in order to create supportive environment for development of trade, economic, scientific and technological exchange between Russia and foreign states. However this structure is function mainly in Moscow and cannot pay

significant attention to the project initiated in Saint-Petersburg and therefore it can hardly serve as an effective channel of communication with authorities in Saint-Petersburg.

Recent brochure issued as a result of fruitful activity of the Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg conducted in 2012 the distinguished place is given to visits of mayor Grigory Poltavchenko to Helsinki and negotiations and round tables with Ministers of Finland, Mayor of Helsinki and Group of Finnish advisers - a special structure created to enhance business and enterprise cooperation between Northern-Western district of Russia (especially Saint-Petersburg) and Finland. In April another high-profile visit organized by the Committee took place. Mayor of Saint-Petersburg had meetings with President of Finland Sauli Niinistö and Mayor of Helsinki Jussi Paunen.

The communication process between Administrations of Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg occurs not only on the direct bilateral basis regarding the projects organized and run by them but also indirectly as coordinator of a huge number of projects implemented by international organizations which Russia and Finland are participating in. Both Administrations are involved into activities conducted within the framework of the European Union, Northern Dimension and Barents Council but different department within the City Administration can be in charge for them. But in order to reaffirm the necessity of well-organized communication enhancing several projects more can be added. Within the Union of the Baltic cities which is a non-governmental organization established in 1991 both Administrations of Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg are participating in various forums.

All the above mentioned projects are mainly proceeding on the basis of horizontal ties and they do not need constant approval of every single step from the Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Federation. The following projects are implemented on the basis of asymmetric ties between the Committees of Saint-Petersburg Administration and the Ministries of Finland. The project Ubiquitous Society: Intelligent Transport System in Saint Petersburg is a result of cooperation a letter of intent respectively signed by the Ministry of Transport and Communications of Finland and the Committee of Transport of St. Petersburg in 2007. Since the traffic situation in the city with more than 4 million inhabitants is a sensitive question, automatic systems of traffic lights regulations were introduced. The system should focus in the special conditions for the public transport and provide it with the priority on the roads. Major steps were undertaken which allowed to replace outdated traffic light systems in some districts of

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the city, enhance road safety and show the way of rearranging the traffic flows in the overcrowded roads, organize a forum for data and experience exchange with the authorities and specialist from the Finnish partners. The shortcomings are inevitable in a sense that one of priorities of the programme was to adjust the Finnish practice in parking and public transport management which is hard to adapt in the conditions of the city with large number of inhabitants but the experience gained through the experience exchange is valuable and the contacts established may help to promote further cooperation in that field.

Another project ties up Environmental Committee of City of Saint-Petersburg and Ministry of Environment of Finland. The project is called Towards UN decade of education for sustainable developed and is aimed at enhancing awareness of youth on the environmental issues and issues of sustainable development and the role that mass-media and business structures may perform. The strategy of project is to provide the youth with sufficient knowledge on the protection of environment through different types of educational tools including lectures, excursions, round tables and seminars. The Committee of Environment involved many authorities, non-governmental organizations, mass-media, schools and centers of education in order to organize studying process and make it interactive and vivid. Ministry of Environment of Finland is considered by Environmental Committee of Saint-Petersburg as one of the crucial international partners and put an emphasis on the joint elaboration of the main fields of activity of Saint-Petersburg and Finland regarding protection of the environment. There are side projects in the field of the environmental protection are those organized by both Ministry of Environment of Finland and Committee of Environment of Saint-Petersburg such as initiative aimed at enhancing air quality monitoring system in Saint-Petersburg and International photography competition focused on the Gulf of Finland. The former project doesn’t focus exclusively on the technical side of the project but promotes greater civil participation and awareness of the public concerning the air pollution issue. For the same reason the photography competition initiative popped up since mass-media nowadays create the agenda for public discussions and highlight the issues that deserve concern.

The issue of environment became the matter of a great concern so many projects and initiatives are launched in this sphere. Another one deals with the construction and is aimed at building a certain type of neighborhood which would take into consideration all the important aspects of the

maintaining of the highest quality of life being and at the same time create the energy-efficient system with proper water and waste management. The cooperating partners of the project are Building, Housing and Energy Committee of Saint-Petersburg and the Ministry of employment and the Economy of Finland.

The project that deals with energy generation and supply has been started. The main objective of the initiative is to build a modern heating system mostly in the buildings which can be ascribed to the type of “social” for instance orphanages, state schools and state hospitals. With the adjustment of Finnish know-how and all the tools that can help to remove the outdated system of heating in many neighborhoods the costs for the heating can be significantly reduced. But not environmental issues exclusively may exemplify the asymmetric ties between Finnish and Russian authorities. The cooperation in business and public policy sector can be profitable for the Russian employees working in the Finnish companies so the initiative was coined to introduce benchmarking into the practice of the authorities as well. The project was initially aimed at conducting seminars in order to share the experience but it ended up with creating ties between authorities and companies which can help in further cooperation. Various partners took part in the project: Committee for Labor and Employment, Committee for Economic Development, Industrial Policy and Trade, Committee for Science and Higher Education (all the Committees are incorporated in the City of Saint-Petersburg apparatus) from the Russian side and Ministry of Employment and Economy from the Finnish side. There other projects aimed at enhancing cooperation in the sphere of energy supply and adaptation of the world widely spread practices of saving energy technologies. Concepts will include the “utilization of highly energy efficient technologies, promotion of advanced partnership based business models and their novel processes supported by the utilization of ICT-based tools for target setting, monitoring, and performance assessment as well as verification in various stages of the process”.

The projects based on the asymmetric ties has to be finished before the end of the 2012 since the new agreement was signed and they could not be continued within the newly established frameworks because no funding was available for that purpose. The person in charge for the some of the abovementioned activities affirmed that “direct communication between my unit

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77 Area Cooperation between Finland and Russia. Projects under implementation. June 2010. Issued by Department for Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia Unit for Neighbouring Area Cooperation.
78 Neighbouring Area Cooperation between Finland and Russia. Projects under implementation. June 2010. Issued by Department for Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia Unit for Neighbouring Area Cooperation.
(Unit for Regional Cooperation) and the Committees has completed" 79 however claimed that the cooperation between Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland continues but within the framework of other projects for instance in the framework of South-East Finland-Russia European Neighbouring Partnership Instrument Cross-Border Cooperation program (through the monitoring committee of program). Taking into consideration theoretical contemplations and legal basis investigated in the previous paragraphs the abovementioned examples of joint projects and therefore the asymmetric ties between Ministries of Finland and City of Saint-Petersburg Administration can be ascribed to the category of transfrontier or transnational cooperation as they do not posses all the qualities and features that are necessary for cross-border cooperation. The asymmetric ties even if they take place between the countries that share the border could be with the same success conducted (and obviously are conducted as a lot of joint projects with other countries are underway) with the randomly chosen country as for instance Azerbaijan Republic and for Saint-Petersburg City or even Leningrad region it would be impossible to name it cross-border cooperation as they are far from the sharing the border. However all the legal basis for it is at the disposal. A slight sign of resemblance can be found in the intergovernmental agreement signed between the Government of Tatarstan Republic of the Russian Federation and Republic of San-Marino which is aimed at fruitful economic cooperation of two parties and in addition states that economic ties should be accompanied with cooperation in fields of small and medium-sized entrepreneurship, tourism, healthcare and sport, and banking and financial industries 80. The fields which joint projects can be conducted in are almost the same as in case of Finland and Russia and the cross-border cooperation cannot fit in here. Otherwise another example could be found in the agreement signed in 2012 between the Republic of Chechnya of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Azerbaijan regarding mutual cooperation in a number of fields, including trade, scientific and technical cooperation and cultural exchange 81. The parliamentarians call the agreement a major step in the cross-border cooperation despite the fact that this region of Russia and Azerbaijan does not share a common frontier but they are located closely in the Caucasus which may imply regional cooperation. So from this point of view the projects run in the framework of the agreement can resemble those conducted within the asymmetric ties Finland- Saint-Petersburg.

79 Personal communication with Koivuselkä Anita (16.04.2013)
The main point in here is that the first agreement between Russia and Finland has coined a broader category of cooperation between authorities of two countries from different levels but the agreement of 2012 replaced this broader category with cross-border cooperation. However the person responsible for communication with Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland claimed that the structure that existed in the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for about 10 years and contacted authorities of Saint-Petersburg does not exist anymore. There is still the direction in the foreign policy of the Ministry which is called Neighbouring area cooperation but in case of cooperation with Russia it is using the tools of European Union programs.
4. **Methodology of the research**

4.1. **Explanation through comparison as a method of the research**

Methodology of the thesis answers to the question “how” the research is made. As a starting point I have chosen Giovanni Sartori methodological pattern which claims that it is needed to keep in mind three questions and answer to them during the stages of the research. The questions are: “why”, “what”, and “how” to compare. The answer to the question “Why” is to control, verify or falsify the generalization which was made before. However the comparative research itself has been made to “explain rather than compare”\(^2\) or simply stated through the comparison we can explain the situation or the problem and then give the recommendations\(^3\). The main distinction lies in the fact that “explanation” is not simply a “description” as it could be wrongly interpreted. Explanation goes further than simple description. However the surveys are made in order to gain the necessary description and then to explain if they fit or do not fit to the theoretical or legal background and what is the reason for that. Explanations are the next step that the researcher has to undertake to provide the reader or observer with the implication from its research and draw therefore the conclusions. The explanation of comparison results in my thesis is made in order to check if the theoretical approach and legislative basis do comply with the actual communication process between the executive authorities. Explanation is intertwined with the survey research and appears to be a purpose of the research as such\(^4\).

4.2. **Compare “why, what and how?" Most different system design**

Sartori gives only one answer to the question “why to compare” and it is to control\(^5\) however I would preferably add my personal “why to compare” answer to learn instead of control. By comparing processes of communication means and channels in two countries I would possibly not only control it but learn if they are well-tuned and which obstacles can hinder the communication to proceed according to the best possible scenario.

The initial choice of the countries which I would like to compare was made on the basis of most differed system design which is used in comparative politics. Methodology of comparison even in a limited was used in my thesis. To exemplify these ties executive bodies of different levels from two countries have to be examined. Given the methods which are used in comparative politics, we can look on the performance of communications between two countries as on the

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\(^{82}\) Sartori, 1991, 247.  
\(^{84}\) Pinsonneault - Kraemer, 1993, 95.  
performance of relations between their political systems. According to Peters Guy the choice of researcher should always be made between comparisons of two or more systems which are similar and that’s why it seems to be obvious how to dwell upon similarities and therefore the differences will be on display, or there is another way – picking up most different systems and then the similarities would be seen better.

So the first question that comes to the front is “what is comparable?”. Sartori is making various examples that researcher should take into consideration that apples and pears are comparable as fruits but there are many researches which are comparing things that cannot be compared at all, metaphorically speaking comparing things like monkeys and stones. Russia and Finland therefore can definitely be compared as they belong to the same category – states.

Concerning the main features of political system both Finland and Russia are republics with parliaments elected for respectively for four and five years (only lower chamber – the State Duma - is elected in Russian Federation whereas Finland has one-chamber parliament). In Russia president after recently introduced reforms stays in power for 6 years term, the same duration as the Finnish head of state. Might be said that according to the Constitution vector of external politics and international relations is defined mostly by Parliament in Finland and by President in Russia but as in the State Duma the majority belongs to pro-presidential party United Russia so the situation in Russia is not that different in this case. However, interest groups have a significant impact on the elaboration of political strategy both in Finland and in Russia which usually means lack of transparency in decision-making process.

The major similarity lies in the fact that party politics influences most levels of administration which means that for party-members or for those who display the strong commitment and loyalty to ruling party access to influential and well-paid positions can be easier that to the others. It can be applied as for top management in state-owned companies but can be also observed on the regional and local levels. But at the same time as the parliament elections are conducted each 4-5 years, political and administrative (bureaucratic) levels both in Russia and Finland do not strongly overlap so it means that change in governments do not influence that much on the rotation in civil servants which basically leads to stagnations in the procedures and communications but probably also positively strengthens the relations between different levels of

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87 Sartori, 1991,9
civil service and establishes firm and stable contacts also between these servants in Russia and in Finland.

Side question stems from the background information on the political system: are countries comparable at all? They have different starting points, history, resources at disposal and etc. It leads me to the idea that only processes like communication process in respective countries can be compared and even if it differs because of the historical issues and issues of traditions, it has objective criteria like language, channels and means that coincide. Here the most similar and the most different system design appear again. The first approach can be applied if we are going to cover the example of Swedish and Finnish authorities and therefore use the most similar systems design but not in the case of Russia and Finland. The latter case can be better ascribed to the most different systems design which implies that we look for similarities in different systems. The most different system design therefore can be applied in order to find the linkage between variables which can be then applied to countries.

4.3. **Ladder of generalization as a methodological tool.**

Ladder of generalization or abstraction as a methodological tool was introduced by Giovanni Sartori in order to describe explicitly some notions and terms. Basically ladder helps to comprehend which characteristics are crucial in giving an explanation to the notion.

Asymmetric ties between countries represent just one side feature of cooperation between countries. In order to picture it up methodology of ladder coined by Giovanni Sartori can be used. Using Giovanni Sartori methodology it is possible to picture most different system design with the ladder of generalization: on the axis of it “denotation” and “connotation” are placed which means that the more we concretize the notion, the bigger number of characteristics we attach, the more narrow, concrete and easier for understanding it becomes.

Ladder of generalization is used to describe the notion of asymmetric ties. Communication between two countries – Finland and Russia - is on the top left of the ladder whereas communication of the executive bodies of two countries is in the middle of ladder. Then I attach to communication new characteristic - communication should link executive bodies from two countries but those executive bodies should be of different level – state in one country and regional or municipal in another country. Given this, notion of asymmetric ties appear in the right bottom of the ladder.
Asymmetric ties. Ladder of generalization.

Communication between Finland and Russia

Communication between executive bodies of Finland and Russia

Asymmetric ties between Finland and Russia
5. Data collection

5.1. Survey research as a methodological tool and its critics

Survey research method has been chosen since it “can be used for exploration, description, or explanation purpose”\(^{88}\). As it was mentioned in the previous chapter the description is only a first step while proceeding with explanation can lead to the findings of the research. Surveys in which the political event or political process is reflected represent a great source of information for the researches but at the same time are fraught with the shortcomings which will be discussed later on. The conduction of surveys has its own advantages and traps however they are quite important since it’s the only possibility to get acquainted with the internal processes which are occurring in the closed organizations. Manheim and Rich in Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science\(^ {89} \) are focused upon the methods which the data can be gained through and opinion polls and surveys turned out to be a good tool for data collection. Since there are 5 main types of data which the researcher can get from the respondent including facts, perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behavioral reports\(^ {90} \) it is necessary to frame the data that is needed for the research. The research has to deal with actual channels and language of communication alongside with the projects run both by the Finnish and the Russian authorities so quite objective information is needed and no opinions or double standards should apply since the channel of communication can either exist or not. The survey itself deals with independent and depended variables which have to be checked out and dependent variable may change while independent stays the same. Simply stated, survey research can be found the most appropriate in the situation when the central questions of interest about the phenomenon are “what is happening?” or “how and why is it happening?”

Surveys are extremely helpful as a tool of data collection since they can assist in picturing up the conditions which are pretty close to the reality. However there are number of shortcomings which can hinder the research. First of all, human factor matters. The respondents can be far from objective in evaluating certain events or processes due to lack of information or on purpose. The respondent even can convince himself that the procedure actually takes place as he/she described it which could be far from reality. We can get rid of the completely incorrect answer by comparing them with general knowledge about the fact that the research is made about or if

\(^{88}\) Pinsonneault - Kraemer, 1993, 88.
\(^{90}\) Ibid.,183.
they do not comply with the answers given by other respondents. Questions which are properly
designed can help to avoid complications and possibility of misleading answers so they should
be well-thought. It is impossible to rely on the data collected from the one respondent but the
great quantity of respondent may be misleading as well. So the representation should fit perfectly
for the issue under research.

5.2. Survey representation

In order to collect the data I have chosen interns and officials which could affirm or deny the
existence of communication between the respective authorities of Finland and Russia. The
choice which I made reflected in the selection approach which was used for my research. It is
called expert selection and differs a lot from the commonly used survey of randomly selected
respondents and other types of survey.

Two groups of respondents have been chosen from Finland and Russia respectively. From the
Russian side all the people interviewed were engaged into day-by-day work of the Scandinavian
and Baltic Division of the Committee for External relation of Saint-Petersburg. In order to make
the information more precise and break down the responsive bias I have decided to make a
survey among interns who were working in the Scandinavian and Baltic division of the
Committee.

Given the fact that Russian authorities are quite closed community I found it justified to conduct
a survey with 4 interns who were having their internship periods of different duration (2 to 6
months) from 2010 to 2012. The interns were chosen to be the interviewed persons also because
they do not have response bias so they won’t conceal certain facts and the results of the polls
could be closer to the real process of communication. Victoria Smirnova and Polina
Vinokurova of the interns were interviewed by e-mail and Marat Kajumov and Igor Semenov
during the personal conversation. All of them had had their internship for more than two months
each so they were familiar with all the structure and procedures of the activity that the committee
is conducting. It was considered justified to choose the interns since they do not have those
responsible bias and can be quite objective regarding the shortcomings of the communication
procedure.

However as a side project I have sent four inquiries to the Russian officials in the following
committees: Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg, Committee for Environment

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91 Budd - Sigelman C - Sigelman L., 1981, 461.
and Health Committee but I got a reply only from Head of Scandinavian and Baltic division of the Committee of External relations 3 month later and he referred to “lack of time and many events which cause a delay in reply” \(^{92}\) so the information was insufficient to make any conclusion but reaffirmed the right decisions of choosing interns to conduct an interview with.

From the Finnish side I interviewed representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland Anita Koivuselkä, official from International Office of Helsinki Administration Jasmin Etelemaki and the Head of Helsinki Centre in Saint-Petersburg Merja Volkov and her assistant Ksenia Vasilyeva. All of them were engaged into communication with the authorities of the Russian Federation and were in charge of this activity within the organizations.

5.3. **Question design**

It took more than two months from March 2013 to the end of May 2013 to arrange, collect all the interviews and begin to summing up all the findings that could be useful for my research. First of all there was a necessity for an appropriate question design in order to get the information relevant for research. Mixture of open and closed question design was chosen as it does leave a space for the actual description of communication process. So basically the following groups of questions were introduced: organization design questions, language usage questions, direct communication existence question, project conduction question.

From the Finnish side both representatives of the Helsinki City Administration (including Helsinki-centre in Saint-Petersburg) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland were interviewed in order to get the data on the possibility either of horizontal or asymmetric ties, organizational design, channels of communication and the language which is used for communication. The question design was very important since I establish a goal not only to verify the existence of asymmetric ties but trace the exact channels of communication.

In general, the list of questions to Russian interviewees from the Baltic and Scandinavian division was the following:

- Which organizations and structures from the Finnish side did you have communication and cooperation with?
- Were there cases of communication directly with the Ministries of Finland?

\(^{92}\) Personal communication with Sergei Nikovaev, (27.05.2013)
• In which language the communication process took place?

• Which channels were mostly used for the communication process?

• Did the regular employees have a sufficient knowledge of English or other languages and which generation do they belong?

The answers to the questions are incorporated in the respective parts of research and quoted in the chapters. The last question was used not in order to discriminate the employees but just to check if the experience of working in bureaucratic structure creates a habit of a definite way in which communication process should proceed and therefore hinder the new possible ideas and ways of information exchange.

Following questions were sent to the officials from Finnish side

• Which organizations and structures from the Russian side did you have communication and cooperation with?

• Which projects in particular were implemented with participation of Russian and Finnish authorities?

• In which language the communication process took place?

• Which channels were mostly used for the communication process?

The initial question design helped me to figure out the highlights of the interview and created a basis for further questions. For example, once I received a reply from official in Foreign Ministry of Finland Anita Koivuselka that she is not “anymore cooperating with the Committee”93 I asked an additional question to clarify if the break of communication has to deal with her personally (maybe she was promoted to another position or changed the sphere of interest) or the communication just no longer exist due to other reasons.

5.4. Language aspect

The surveys have shown that during the process of “informal communication” (emails or calls exchange) “no specific translators or interpreters are needed”94 since the personnel from both sides speak foreign languages. However, all the recommendation which can be called upward

93 Personal communication with Koivuselkä Anita (16.04.2013)
94 Personal communication with Igor Semenov (08.04.2013)
communication need special verification and control so they are officially translated and later on be forwarded to the person in charge for his-her signature. To fulfill the task of verification and check if the information does coincide with the legal basic a special bureau within the structure of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg is established – a legal support division. The translation of official documents is usually ordered in special translation bureaus which are not the part of internal structure.

Executive bodies in the Committee are using Russian and English languages to communicate: all the 5 staff members who are currently employed to the Baltic and Scandinavian Division of the external committee speak some English. As it comes to Finnish language, none of them has a significant knowledge of it. The interns are accepted to the division preferably if they have sufficient knowledge of some language from the Baltic or Scandinavian region (English not less than upper-intermediate is obligatory). However, employees in the division speak some other languages from the Northern and Baltic region such as Lithuanian and Swedish.

As it comes to the International Office of Helsinki Administration, staff employed there speaks English, also other languages from Northern and Baltic region. The person who is officially responsible for communication between Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg speak Russian and has a sufficient knowledge both of written and spoken language. However, “the communication with the authorities is done approximately 50% in English and 50% in Russian depending on the department”⁹⁵. Interns from the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg affirmed that communication goes mostly in English with certain exception when person in charge from the Finnish side speaks Russian. However, there were no evidences of communication process going in Finnish. It was mentioned before that the Office of Helsinki International relations division situated in Saint-Petersburg has its own functions and was established in order to promote better cooperation between Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg in education, development, economy, and environmental issues. Staff in there speaks Russian since administrative personnel are Russians and the Head of Representative Office in Helsinki Centre is Finnish but speaks Russian in day-by-day work.

5.5. Challenges of the survey conduction

There is another aspect of communication which can be ascribed both to the problem of accessibility and communication and represent a great challenge for the researcher. Emails

⁹⁵ Personal communication with Jasmin Etelämäki (21.03.2013).
exchange represent nowadays quite broad category of data exchange since many actors can be involved in the process. Since the ordinary citizen of the state can approach the authority of high level through e-mail the issue of accessibility comes to the front. Since I was communicating with the authorities in Finland in order to get the information which is crucial for the research it is quite obvious that by approaching them I did a part of research on examining their accessibility as well. The results are impressive. All the e-mails contacts which were found on the official websites of the respective Finnish authorities were currently at use and I got a feedback on every single e-mail (initially four inquiries were sent) that I have forwarded in order to complete the research. It is necessary to point out that websites of the Finnish authorities are available in their English version and some of them (as for instance Helsinki city administration website and website of Finnish centre in Saint-Petersburg) are available in Russian as well which facilitates the access to person who needs to establish a contact with it but does not have a sufficient level of English. As it comes for the Russian authorities, many of them do not even have an English version of websites which creates an obstacle and hinders the possible communications. The problem gets even more serious since they are not that accurate in responding to the e-mails. This fact can give the tip on the question why Committee for the External Relations sill plays a role of mediator between the authorities of two countries: several committees of Saint-Petersburg Government such as for instance Committee on Urban construction and Architecture do not even have a website in English with the information available for the person whose do not speak Russian at all. That is why the structure of communication is getting more complex and the mediator is needed.
6. Ties with executive bodies of the Finnish Republic of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg

6.1. Main aspects of comparison of the structures of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg Administration and International Office of Helsinki

Notion of organization which has been coined in the first chapter implies states that it is a social item which has a specific aim and a collective task, certain number of functions and a specific design which helps to fulfill the task.

As the theoretical approach introduced in the first chapter has explained the main possible organization structures, both organizations under research are considered as bureaucracies with hierarchical structure, we can also divide them according to the approach proposed by several scholars. So the organizations of that type can be either divisional or functional. 96 Divisions are defined by a certain products but the functional divisions are formed according to the function they have. The Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg however can be ascribed to mixed functional-and-divisional type of organization design because it comprises several numbers of departments which belong to various functions as Personnel division, Department for Coordination of State Programs for Interethnic Relations and Cooperation with compatriots abroad of Department for International cooperation. The latter one is divided on the basis of a divisional way of organization as it comprises divisions responsible for different regions and states such as Scandinavian and Baltic States Divisions or Division for Asian, African and Latin American countries. The structure can be called pyramidal because of the fewer workers at higher levels and at the same time more workers on the lower levels.

To a certain extent it seem to be likely that political organization can have the same structure as the economic one or at least some features in common. As it is stated in economic-oriented organization theory that “interactions across products are extremely unlikely” which means that within the organization of Committee For External Relations of Saint-Petersburg communications between Divisions for African, Asian and Latin American countries and Division for Baltic and Scandinavian countries will be observed quite seldom. However no doubts are left to the fact that they both can approach law department or accounting department which is as sign of complex structure than a flat hierarchy can be.

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96 Harris - Raviv, 2002, 863.
So the assumption can be made that the same product leads to the effective communication as the departments have the same functions within every organization. So the cross-organizational communication takes place if they have the same notions for definition of issues which are relevant for coordination. In case of Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg and Foreign Office of Helsinki Administration both departments within the city administration are occupied with the same “product”: international relations within the Baltic and Scandinavian Region and their goals and therefore functions coincide.

International Relations division of Helsinki Administration has a different way of organization design. “Products” do not really play a significant role here since one of the operating principles of the division is cooperation with various actors in Baltic and Scandinavian Region so the area of activity is not so vast and therefore vague. International Relations division is a part of the Administration Centre of Helsinki. Then functional pattern of organization is observed: “communications division of Administration Centre is responsible for international communications”97. For such issues as tourism and various aspects of economic development and marketing there is a specific division in charge: Office of Economic development of Economic and Planning Centre. However, the organization has it higher level of pyramid structure which can from the one side be considered as planning and command centre but fulfill a part of tasks as well: International Relations Steering Group. The Group “co-ordinates strategic partnership projects related to more than one City departments and networks whose operations cover the sectors of more than one City departments or offices”98. So the group consists of the representatives of those Departments which are involved into specific project. There is a special division designed especially for citizens of Finland which function is to help to facilitate an access to the information about the city facilities and events.

Coming closer to the organization under research, it is necessary to point out that the International Relations division has affiliated branches in Helsinki, Brussels and Saint Petersburg. Three offices are representing interest of the Helsinki Administration abroad and are tightly interconnected with each other. Communication process is mainly occurring within the pairs Helsinki-Brussels and Helsinki-Saint Petersburg and no direct communication on day-by-day basis between Brussels office and Saint-Petersburg office is observed.

98 Ibid.
In the structure of the City Administration of Helsinki there is an international relations division which is responsible for the external relations of the city. The priorities described on the official website are mainly regional and the city pursuit the goals of promoting cooperation in various numbers of fields such as economic development, education, environment, and tourism. There is however, communication division of Administration Centre but the main channel of communication is international relations division and you can easily approach them through the contacts available on the website.

As it comes to the structural organization it is claimed that “Helsinki will take advantage of the network of Finnish embassies and consulates as well as science, culture and innovation centers around the world”99. One of the functions of the International Relations division is to represent a sort of mediator between various numbers of organizations in Helsinki or in the region and external organizations could they be in other parts of Finland or abroad.

The International Relations division consists of 13 people who have various number of responsibilities because they are in charge not only for the communication with Baltic Sea or Nordic counties but also for maintaining ties with other Finnish cities and European Union Officials since Helsinki administration has an office in Brussels as well.

When the communication is established for the first time all the messages are forwarded to the main email of the International Office and access to the email is open for each of 13 members of the IR Office team. As soon as the message arrives to the postbox the person responsible for the incoming mails forwards it to the person in charge for the information, task or request which is described in the message. In my case of communication experiment the person in charge for the external communication was Planning Officer but not the International Relations assistant as I assumed from the very beginning. So the initial communication process has three stages sender - intermediate recipient – recipient. However, as soon as the person in charge gets the message and sends a reply back from its own office email the communication process becomes easier and has a direct channel or direct pattern, i.e. sender and recipient. Thus, certain implications can be traced from here: it takes more time and it gets more complicated because the more stages the message has to overcome the more probable becomes the possibility of message to be lost or distorted. Anyhow, “the information distortion affects performance”100 and can hinder the

effective communication not only within organization but also among organizations. This pattern of communication cannot be ascribed to either upward or downward communication because according to its function – which is obviously redistribution of information within the structure – it represents a horizontal model of connection.

Within the International relations office there are several positions which divide the personnel into groups according to the function that they accomplish. They also have a hierarchical structure within the International relations office. I kept in touch with the planning officer who is responsible for providing the certain type of service including answering the questions from general public, if any. Head of International Relations Matti Ollinkari steers and controls the work of organization and takes part in both upward and downward communication. There are several positions whose responsibilities are clear from their title: event coordinator or financial officer. So financial planning stays within the structure of International Relations office whereas legal support is outside and in the structure is situated on the same level as international office in general which resembles the organizational structure of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg.

In order to show the distinction between executive bodies organizing communication process and officials as a part of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia and its representative body in Saint-Petersburg one evidential case can be mentioned. Traditionally it was established that the Governor of Saint-Petersburg is present during the protocol meetings with Consuls and this tradition was never ever broken since former governors were stuck to this ceremony as an evidence of honor rendered to the consular corps. However in August 2012 foreign diplomats in Saint-Petersburg were informed that current governor Grigory Poltavchenko will not attend meetings any longer and will be replaced by the Head of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg Alexandr Prokhorenko. Since it was only tradition and never has been fixed in the official documents no breach of law can be found in the fact that governor is back off the meetings with the consulate corps. There can be exceptions in some cases but the governor should be notified before in the written form and the document should be forwarded to the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg. The reaction of consulate corps is far from calm as some representatives mentioned that the document itself “has been designed inappropriately” 101 and at the same time they have never encountered this situation before. One of the consuls added that “here [in Russia] many issues can be resolved due to personal ties”.

There is another position in the City Administration which comprises various numbers of responsibilities including taking charge of external relations of Saint-Petersburg. This position is called vice governor and as is likely to be created specially to the person which holds it at the moment as he’s a former team member in Vladimir Putin’s Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg during 1990-s. Oleg Markov continued his career in different structures in Moscow but came back later on to hold the position in Administration of Saint-Petersburg and is probably a sort of trustworthy delegate from Kremlin. No conspiracy is implied here but this fact can exemplify the fact that personal ties matter. The main derivative that can be made is that responsibilities and powers are vague and the person in charge cannot in fact decide anything as interest groups obviously are constantly lobbying their interests. Therefore communication process even if it is well-tuned and organized can sometimes fail due to the lack of political will and fear of creating obstacles to interest groups if we speak about important economic and business decisions. Another peculiarity of the political system can be found in here. Political candidates and administrative staff do not coincide in a sense that the Head of the Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg is administrative position whereas newly established position of vice governor of Saint-Petersburg which the competency of controlling Saint-Petersburg is a political one.

In this case day-by-day communicational ties between executive bodies on a low level or those asymmetric ties are getting more important as they are proceeding despite the great concern of political authorities and do not claim the permission of message exchange on every single thing that is send to the other side. It seems to be that the positions can be created because of certain people who are ready to hold them but not the competition is conducted to the position.

6.2. Communications between authorities of different levels. Example of Russian and Finnish executive bodies.

Organizational design influences the flows of communication within the existing structure of company. Information within an organization “flows mainly in three directions: downwards, upwards and horizontally”. In case of cross-boundary communication process it might happen that officers who are holding the lowest position in international divisions are involved into the process of e-mails exchange and at the same time heads of the offices might have an established

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103 Andrianov, 2012, 3.
channel of calls or e-mails exchange but in between of those two information flows no servant is involved into communication process with the opposite part. 

This fact can give the hint on the question why Committee for the External Relations sill plays a role of mediator between the authorities of two countries: several committees of Saint-Petersburg Government such as for instance committee on Urban construction and Architecture do not even have a website in English with the information available for the person whose do not speak Russian at all. That is why the structure of communication is getting more complex and the mediator is needed. 

The surveys made in the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg have shown that the most part of the communication process with authorities from abroad is occurring via Internet and electronic mails. But the internal communication is happening in written form as it may be semi-official and evidential. Phone calls and face-to-face communication is obviously in use but not in cases of order or formal documents since they are the part of documentation management and cannot be left without fixing them in the written form. 

Language or languages which the communication process is going in have further implications and influences effectiveness of the communication. There are some traps of using English as a language of communication in a sense that the information can be distorted or translated incorrectly. However these traps are applicable in cases of incorrect translation from Finnish to Russian or from Russian to Finnish as well. The surveys have shown that during the process of “informal communication” (emails or calls exchange) no specific translators or interpreters are needed since the personnel from both sides speak foreign languages. However, all the recommendation which can be called upward communication need special verification and control so they are officially translated and later on be forwarded to the person in charge for his/her signature. To fulfill the task of verification and check if the information does coincide with the legal basic a special bureau within the structure of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg is established – a legal support division. The translation of official documents is usually ordered in special translation bureaus which are not the part of internal structure. 

Executive bodies in the Committee are using Russian and English languages to communicate: all the 5 staff members who are currently employed to the Baltic and Scandinavian Division of the external committee speak some English. As it comes to Finnish language, none of them has a significant knowledge of it. The interns are accepted to the division preferably if they have sufficient knowledge of some language from the Baltic or Scandinavian region (English not less
than upper-intermediate is obligatory). However, employees in the division speak some other languages from the Northern and Baltic region such as Lithuanian and Swedish.

As it comes to the International Office of Helsinki Administration, staff employed there speaks English, also other languages from Northern and Baltic region. The person who is officially responsible for communication between Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg speak Russian and has a sufficient knowledge both of written and spoken language. However, “the communication with the authorities is done approximately 50% in English and 50% in Russian depending on the department”\(^{104}\). Interns from the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg affirmed that communication goes mostly in English with certain exception when person in charge from the Finnish side speaks Russian. However, there were no evidences of communication process going in Finnish. It was mentioned before that the Office of Helsinki International relations division situated in Saint-Petersburg has its own functions and was established in order to promote better cooperation between Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg in education, development, economy, and environmental issues. Staff in there speaks Russian since administrative personnel are Russians and the Head of Representative Office in Helsinki Centre is Finnish but speaks Russian in day-by-day work.

The survey of the interns has shown that it often happens that several committees despite the fact that they are having the division which is in charge for coordination of international relation are approaching Committee for External Relation in order to get the information on several procedures such as visa issuing and so on.

6.3. Implications of the usage of asymmetric ties in international communication

There are no doubts that the communication process with various actors is hard to comprehend from the outside position and therefore description of some challenges and success can be vague. That is why in order to make the picture more objective and to avoid making the implications based only on the information available on websites a number of opinion polls or as I refer to them as interviews with the person got involved to the day-by-day communication activity was conducted.

Surveys were used as a methodological tool but it has to be pointed out that quantity of interviewed personnel was not the main criterion of data collection. Given the questions posed in the interview, it is quite clear that we are not focusing exclusive on the opinion of people hired in

\(^{104}\) Personal communication with Jasmin Etelämäki (21.03.2013)
the organization. Basically we do not ask the personnel if they think that the communication is effective or not, what is their opinion on the process of the communication design. On the contrary, the questions at use do focus upon the objective processes taking place in day-by-day routine work of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg or Administration of Helsinki.

The information which is necessary for the tracing of communication channels and horizontal and asymmetric ties could have been found by conducting interviews with personnel involved in the message exchange with the authorities from different countries and levels. As for the Russian most frequently communicated partners all the interns interviewed unanimously named Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the Representation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Saint-Petersburg. Close cooperation with these structures is justified since only a restricted number of issues can be considered in Saint-Petersburg without the interference from the Ministry. Up next are the other Committees of the Government of Saint-Petersburg such as Transport Committee, Committee for Environment, and Committee for Labour and so on. In this communication chain Committee for External Relations represents the mediator that can collect, redistribute and deliver information from various organizations and authorities which are looking for enhanced cooperation with particular committee in a certain field. But if the project or the issue did not require any further supervision and all the technical aspects could be resolved without perplexes, the respective authority or organization from outside and the committee may continue the communication process without the mediator. During one interview an intern Victoria Smirnova made an example of the Committee for Healthcare which wanted to request the information from the Finnish and Swedish colleagues on the joint conference organization and they forwarded the request to Committee for External Relations and then «two committees worked in a closed cooperation»\(^\text{105}\). It is quite obvious that all the consultation between authorities from the Russian side proceeds in Russian. Another direction of the Division’s policy is maintaining of relations with respective authorities from the North-Western region of Russia as they have common interests and quite often common needs and goal and it may even play a role of a coach in successful communication with the foreign partner since Saint-Petersburg has more experience in such questions. There were complaints from the two interns that the authorities from some northern regions of Russia do not have an idea of how to communicate with foreign structures because they lack well-trained specialists with the sufficient

\(^{105}\) Personal communication with Victoria Smirnova (23.04.2013).
knowledge of language and that is why some joint projects fail or the Division had to assume
charge and carry out some steps significantly increasing the workload of the Division.

As it comes for the external relations with the foreign structures (including the consulates,
representations and other affiliated agencies situated in Saint-Petersburg) the list of them is quite
vast but I would focus on those mentioned in the interviews of interns. Firstly, the day-by-day
communication ties proceed with the General Consulate of Finland and Helsinki-centre which
represents Administration of Helsinki in Saint-Petersburg. The latter tie is the best example of
horizontal communications between the authorities of the same level. Depending on the issue,
communication goes in English or Russian since both in the General Consulate and in Helsinki
personnel speaks Russian. Secondly, Baltic and Scandinavian Division work in close cooperation
with Ministries of Finland. However, quite often the Ministries are approaching the Division as a
mediator which can provide them with the useful contacts among authorities, companies or NGO
in Saint-Petersburg. The Division keeps in touch with the municipalities and Administrations of
the cities such as Helsinki, Turku, and Lappeenranta on various initiatives and the message
exchange goes in English. And the last group of communication comprises organizations of the
Scandinavian and Baltic region and gets expanded to the Northern cooperation. It deals
frequently with those organizations which the Russian Federation is a member of. Sometimes the
partners can remain the same as in the previous examples but they do communicate not on the
bilateral basis but as parts of organization for instance within the framework of the Northern
dimension initiative or within the Council of the Baltic Sea States.

To confront the data gained from the polls of the Russian interns several surveys with the
personnel in the Finnish structures were conducted. Since the City Administration of Helsinki
has its International Office and even holds Helsinki centre in Saint-Petersburg it was quite
interesting to figure out if it is possible to trace the same type of asymmetric ties where the
sender and recipient of the messages are International Office of Helsinki City administration and
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. The person in charge for the
communication with Russia in reply for the question about the relevance of these ties responded
that even if they need certain information from the Russian authorities, they would find it “both
wise and polite“ firstly to approach Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland and then they will
make a necessary request. As for the horizontal ties they exist between the International Office
of Helsinki and the Committee for External Relations of City of Saint-Petersburg and they are

\[106\text{Personal communication with Jasmin Etelämäki (24.03.2013)}\]
well-tuned. The Head of the Helsinki Centre in Saint-Petersburg in her turn affirmed that Administration of Saint-Petersburg and Leningrad Region are the crucial partners of the centre so they approach each other quite often while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation is not a partner of the Helsinki Centre at all.

To conclude the paragraph the essential results of the interviews should be summed up. The day-by-day communication in the Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg Administration on various fields is happening within a perplex structure of networks and channels which can be classified according to the type of the tie – internal organizational ties for communications within the Departments and between the Departments, intrastate communication in a sense that it is happening within the domestic authorities and structures located in Saint-Petersburg or other regions and interstate communication which connects the Committee with authorities and structures from foreign countries and their possible representations in Saint-Petersburg. Interviews helped us to be clear about various combinations of actors which can communicate on the very different issues such as laws, bureaucratic procedures, trade, transport, healthcare, environment or culture. Given those actors, communication ties where one of the participants in the message exchange is the Baltic and Scandinavian Division of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg can be ascribed to groups as we assumed before. The first group includes internal horizontal ties with other divisions of International Cooperation Department or even other Departments within the Committee for External Relations or with departments of others Committees. Then there are also external horizontal ties but with the municipalities and City Administrations of Finnish cities. Internal vertical ties are those which the Division conducts with the personnel in International Cooperation Department and its Head and with the Head of the Committee. And the particular type of communication represent asymmetric ties which Scandinavian and Baltic Divisions carries out with the Ministries of Finland.

Therefore taking into consideration the surveys of interns of the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg and the personnel from International Office of Helsinki Administration and its branch in Saint-Petersburg and especially description of the projects put into practice on the basis of the asymmetric ties it is evident that this kind of ties between authorities of different level from two countries exists and implementation of many bilateral projects is successful due to fruitful and well-tuned cooperation established by personnel of the Committee with the Finnish authorities.
7. Conclusions

A path for effective communication cannot be described as an easy way but that is what the countries are looking for. Effective communication both within the state and with foreign countries can prevent the statesman from making mistakes which can be harmful for the interests if his own country. Basically, countries with the shared systems of values and interests (not entirely similar, of course) can communicate way better than others. The well-tuned ties between executive bodies responsible for the implementation of foreign policy of the state play a pivotal role in the bringing into action various initiatives and projects.

There are several patterns for the communication between countries with authorities of different levels involved in the process. Communication can proceed between authorities of the highest state level for instance between Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Finland and these ties are horizontal. Then the authorities of cities such as Saint-Petersburg and Helsinki can communicate and these ties are ascribed to horizontal as well. Municipalities from two countries involved in the cooperation process are communicating in the framework of horizontal ties. However some issues cannot be resolved with the pattern of horizontal ties at use. Therefore a relatively new category has been coined - asymmetric ties - as they can explain the existing ties between the authorities of different countries. In this regard asymmetric ties are the ties which connect executive body of lower level from one country with executive body of higher level in another country. The emphasis has been put in the examination of communication process between Committees of the Government of Saint-Petersburg and the Ministries of the Republic of Finland and with Helsinki City Administration.

Asymmetric ties between Finnish and Russian authorities could be ascribed to a certain type of the relations between states. Thus several options were considered. Cross-border cooperation seemed to be most suitable option at first sight but basically it has to deal with three variables and the whole package of variables is needed to claim that the cooperation is cross-border. The projects have to deal with infrastructure, facilities or business activity, occur between or among regions located near the border and be realized by the authorities of the same level in their countries. Two out of three variables with provisions but can fit the case but the latter turns out to be crucial here. So the asymmetric ties cannot be ascribed to the category of cross-border cooperation. Some other types of cooperation were examined and the transnational cooperation fit in as it coincides with the crucial idea of connections that asymmetric ties possess. The main feature that is relevant for the research is that the communication according to transnational
cooperation pattern can happen not horizontally, i.e. only between authorities of the same level in its state but on the asymmetric basis and various combinations with no limits and particular restraints. Projects can be designed in order to promote transnational cooperation in various fields such as general development of territories, efficient economic cooperation, culture, health and services issues, youth policies and environmental policies and not just be ascribed to particular regional challenges that have to be facilitated. This pattern creates more opportunities for the project developers as it can broaden the tools and instruments that they are using and put into common practice initiatives that are relevant and necessary for many parties.

The side issue that showed up during the research and has to be mentioned is the deregulation process and possible threat to the state’s right to determine foreign policy strand. There are such concerns in particular issues regarding some European countries but cooperation of different level of authorities in countries in this sense is not about competition and dangerous deregulation but about the initiative that local authorities can express in order to make their region more developed and well-cooperated within the international community because for them the interests of their own regions are the issues of great concern given that knowledge that they have. Basically the local authorities know better how to operate under the current circumstances and therefore can maximize the profits from the projects and initiatives.

The basis for the cooperation has been examined and the particular status of Finnish-Russian relations has been revealed. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union the intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in particular regions between Russia and Finland was signed. The agreement has stated the cooperation between the regions of Russia and Finland which are sharing the border and as a result the might have a fruitful cooperation between neighboring areas. The document specifies that regional and local authorities of such regions as Murmansk Region, Karelian Republic, Leningrad Region and city of Saint-Petersburg can directly approach the respective authorities in Finland in order to organize joint projects. Since then many projects initiated from 1992 onwards were conducted within the legal framework of this agreement. The communication ties established due to this agreement were quite firm and communication proceed on the basis of asymmetric ties which have connected different Committees of Saint-Petersburg government with the Ministries of Finland; only during 4 last years from 50 to 80 projects were implemented. This agreement is the best example of the asymmetric ties that can bring fruitful cooperation between regions into an action. The initial agreement was terminated in 2011 and new agreement between Russia and Finland was signed. However no sign of previous asymmetric ties has been traced in there because the cross-border cooperation between
Finland as a part of the European Union and Russia was introduced. Sources from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland claimed that all the projects implemented under the previous agreement has been finished and no direct communication on neighbouring area cooperation between authorities can be observed since then. An assumption can be made that this step has been undertaken in order to give a shape for cooperation and fit it into the four common spaces basis as Finland is a part of the European Union. The financial aspect matters as before many project got financial injection through many instruments and the procedure was not that transparent.

Both organizational design and language at use in the Committee for External relations of Saint-Petersburg help to understand the communication standards which are applied to day-by-day work of the committee. The structure of the Committee is quite logical however it does not help sometimes to avoid the cases of overlapping responsibilities.

The main implication is that the projects proceeded on the basis of the asymmetric ties connected many other Committees of the Government of Saint-Petersburg with the respective Ministries of Finland and connections of the Government of Finland and the Committee for External relations could be noticed quite seldom especially after termination of the initial agreement in 2012. The conclusion can be made that the Committee for External relation has a function of mediator and once completed its function (for instance, connected the respective authorities) is no longer necessary body for the further cooperation. However its help is needed in some procedural issues such as visa issuing or some others but many Committees has been quite foreseeing in that sense and created within its structures divisions responsible for external connections especially with foreign countries.

The information available on the websites was not sufficient to picture up the real process of communication between authorities so a number of opinion polls or interviews with the personnel got involved to the day-by-day communication activity was conducted. The results of the surveys have shown that, first of all, horizontal ties between the authorities of Helsinki and Saint-Petersburg exist and they normally do not require the permission from the state authorities and the information do not overcome all the stair of bureaucracy in one country from the bottom to the top and then the information flow has a top-down pattern but the authorities can directly approach each other.

Asymmetric ties do exist in practice and for this type of communication between authorities accounts a significant number of projects. In case of bureaucratic organization the gains and
losses of the performance can hardly be gauged at large, however the results of their activity can be estimated by the events successfully conducted or using other variables. Day-by-day communication in the Committee on External Relations of Saint-Petersburg Administration on various fields is happening within a perplex structure of networks and channels which can be classified according to the type of the tie – internal organizational ties for communications within the Departments and between the Departments, intrastate communication in a sense that it is happening within the domestic authorities and structures located in Saint-Petersburg or other regions and interstate communication which connects the Committee with authorities and structures from foreign countries and their possible representations in Saint-Petersburg. Interviews helped us to be clear about various combinations of actors which can communicate on the very different issues such as laws, bureaucratic procedures, trade, transport, healthcare, environment or culture.

The person in charge for the cooperation on asymmetric ties with authorities of Saint-Petersburg claimed that the previous agreement “was replaced by a new type of cooperation based on equal partnership, with the EU’s external border programmes to be implemented between Finland and Russia as the most important instrument for cooperation and financing”107. And since according to the new agreement between Russia and Finland these ties no longer exist and only cross-border cooperation framework can be used for the initiatives and projects, does it mean that the narrowed cooperation framework can reflect negatively on the cooperation? An assumption can be made that the authorities just removed the emphasis from one approach to another and are trying to elaborate initiative that is popular but still did not receive strong backing as no evident results are on display. So maybe it is much wiser to save already existed asymmetric ties and communication channels and alongside launch the process of enhancing cross-border communication.

Another finding which can be an implication and a recommendation first and foremost for the Russian authorities is accessibility of contact details of the Russian authorities. This situation may give the tip on the question why Committee for the External Relations sill plays a role of mediator between the authorities of two countries: several committees of Saint-Petersburg Government such as for instance committee on Urban construction and Architecture do not even have a website in English with the information available for the person whose do not speak

107 Personal communication with Koivuselkä Anita (16.04.2013)
Russian at all. That is why the structure of communication is getting more complex and the mediator is needed.

This fact can give an idea why Committee for the External Relations still plays a role of mediator between the authorities of two countries: several committees of Saint-Petersburg Government such as for instance committee on Urban construction and Architecture do not even have a website in English with the information available for the person whose do not speak Russian at all. That is why the structure of communication is getting more complex and the mediator is needed.

No doubts can be left to the fact that the more projects are successfully conducted on the basis of cooperation of Committees of Saint-Petersburg Administration and Finnish authorities, the less challenges and obstacles will encounter further collaboration because the mechanism of communication and collaborations is getting well-run and well-tuned. Once established, direct communication process between offices is considered as a template for future collaborations and leaves no hesitations for personnel whom to approach during next possible communication practices.

7.1. Direction for the further research

Asymmetric ties could be found in the communication process not only between neighbouring countries but also between the countries which do not share the border. So the further research could be focused on controlling (as the main goal of the researcher according to Sartori should be to control\footnote{Sartori,1991, 34.}) if asymmetric ties are an effective pattern of communication between countries which are located far from each other.

As it comes for the structure of communication with other countries in Saint-Petersburg Administration further question which could be touched upon in the frameworks of another research stems from a survey with interns. During the interviews one of the interns told that it often happens that several committees despite the fact that “they are having the division which is in charge of coordination of international relation are approaching Committee for External Relation in order to get the information on several procedures such as visa issuing\footnote{Personal communication with Marat Kaumov (12.04.2012)} and so on. So the possibilities of acquiring information of how effective are the divisions in every committee when it comes to the communication or bureaucratic procedures with involvement of Consulates or foreign representatives. Isn’t it more logical to delegate all the powers to one
Committee for the External relations of Saint-Petersburg and let it deal with all the foreign relations of Saint-Petersburg Administration?
Primary source of data: surveys.

The Russian Federation:

1. Victoria Smirnova - intern in the Scandinavian and Baltic Division of the Committee for External relations of Saint-Petersburg from September 2010 till March 2011
2. Polina Vinokurova – intern in the Scandinavian and Baltic Division of the Committee for External relations of Saint-Petersburg from March 2010 till May 2010
3. Marat Kaumov - intern in the Scandinavian and Baltic Division of the Committee for External relations of Saint-Petersburg from March 2011 till May 2011
4. Igor Semenov – intern in the Scandinavian and Baltic Division of the Committee for External relations of Saint-Petersburg from September 2012 till December 2012.
5. Sergei Nikovaev - Head of Baltic and Scandinavian Division in the Committee for External Relations of Saint-Petersburg, two inquiries sent and one reply receive in 2 months in May 2013.

Republic of Finland:

1. Anita Koivuselkä - representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland
2. Jasmin Etelemaki - official from International Office of Helsinki Administration
3. The Head of Helsinki Centre in Saint-Petersburg Merja Volkov (with the help of her assistant Ksenia Vasilyeva)

Agreements and regulations:


Federal law N 4-ФЗ «On coordination of international and economic ties of constituent entities of the Russian Federation» Available at <http://base.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc;base=LAW;n=21476> (17.05.2013)

Intergovernmental agreement of Russia and Finland on cooperation in Murmansk oblast, Republic of Karelia, Saint-Petersburg and Leningrad. Available at <http://www.mid.ru/ns-neuro.nsf/ZUstrana/FC1B3C070E2B571C43256DB1005187A2?opendocument> (08.04.2013)


Federal law N 4-ФЗ «On coordination of international and economic ties of constituent entities of the Russian Federation» Available at <http://base.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc;base=LAW;n=21476> (17.05.2013)
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