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TRANSNATIONAL CITIES IMPLEMENTING EU EXTERNAL AID
- THE CASES OF TAMPERE AND TURKU

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Political Science
Master's Thesis
August, 2005

SUMMARY

University of Tampere

Department of Political Science and International Relations

LAIHO, MARJUKKA: Transnational cities implementing EU external aid – the cases of Tampere and Turku

Master's Thesis, 78 pages, 4 pages appendices

Political Science

September 2005

The aim of this study is to understand why the local authorities of the European Union (EU) participate in projects, funded by a special programme of the European Commission, in which they are not the final beneficiaries themselves but where the final beneficiary is a less developed city outside the EU. The topic is approached from the point of view of the political actorness of a European transnational city at the turn of the 21st century. The processes of globalisation and Europeanisation are acknowledged as reshaping the arena of international relations. These processes have created a situation where cities are ever more independent actors in transnational relations, often acting local-to-local manner, i.e. local authorities from different nation-states form networks of common action.

The empirical material of the study concerns two local-to-local projects funded through the Tacis programme of EU external aid. These are cooperative projects of the cities of Tampere (Finland) and Nizhni Novgorod (Russia) and Turku (Finland) and St. Petersburg (Russia). The projects are approached in the light of general city strategies and official documents, as well as four focused interviews made in both of the Finnish cities. The material is analyzed from the historical-hermeneutic perspective through narrative analysis. The result of the analysis is two “stories from the field” – the stories of how Tampere and Turku participated in Tacis projects.

According to the analysis, the reasons for the participation of EU local authorities in Tacis projects are manifold. The case of Tampere represented a separate project connected to the strategic goals of the city. The connection to a third, European partner was an important motivating factor. The case of Turku represented a series of three projects, where the reasons for participation varied during cooperation. At the outset the motivating factor was to learn the EU project application techniques; in the long run personal contacts became crucial. In both cases the twinning agreements between the Finnish and Russian local authorities created the basis for action. All in all, the reasons for participation depended on the status of the interviewees. The two cases studies showed that there is a lot of coincidence in the scheme of participation. In the end these projects of international solidarity are connected to the ideology of sustainable development. This could open up interesting perspectives for further studies, which are much needed as the EU external aid remains an understudied area of EU affairs.

Key concepts: local authorities, European Union, external aid, transnational city, focused interview, narrative analysis.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tampereen yliopisto

Politiikan tutkimuksen laitos

LAIHO, MARJUKKA: Transnationaalit kaupungit toteuttamassa EU:n ulkoista apua – Tampereen ja Turun tapaukset

Pro gradu –tutkielma, 78 s., 4 liites.

Valtio-oppi

Syyskuu 2005

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus on ymmärtää, miksi Euroopan unionin (EU) paikallishallinto osallistuu sellaisiin Euroopan komission erityisestä ohjelmastaan rahoittamiin projekteihin, joissa ne eivät ole itse ensisijaisia edunsaajia vaan joissa edunsaaja on jokin EU:n ulkopuolinen, vähemmän kehittynyt kaupunki. Aihetta lähestytään eurooppalaisen transnationaalin kaupungin poliittisen toimijuuden näkökulmasta vuosituhannen vaihteessa. Globalisaatio ja europeanisaatio huomioidaan tässä yhteydessä kansainvälisten suhteiden kenttää muokkaavina prosesseina. Nämä prosessit ovat luoneet sellaisen tilanteen, jossa kaupungit ovat yhä itsenäisempiä poliittisia toimijoita poikkikansallisissa suhteissa, usein ’poikkipaikallisesti’ eli paikallistason toimijat eri kansallisvaltioista muodostavat yhteistoimintaverkostoja.

Tutkimuksen empiirinen aineisto käsittelee kahta EU:n ulkoisen avun Tacis-ohjelmasta rahoitettua poikkipaikallista projektia. Nämä ovat Tampereen ja Nizhni Novgorodin (Venäjä) sekä Turun ja Pietarin (Venäjä) välisiä yhteistyöprojekteja. Projekteja lähestytään sekä yleisten kaupunkistrategioiden ja virallisten asiakirjojen että molemmissa suomalaisissa kaupungissa tehtyjen neljän teemahaastattelun kautta. Aineiston analyysi etenee historiallis-hermeneuttisesti narratiivisen analyysin muodossa. Analyysin tuloksena esitetään kaksi ”tarinaa kentältä” – tarinat siitä, miten Tampere ja Turku osallistuivat Tacis-projekteihin.

Aineiston analyysin mukaan EU-paikallisviranomaisten syyt osallistua Tacis-projekteihin ovat moninaisia. Tampereen tapaus edusti erillistä, kaupunkiin strategisiin tavoitteisiin liittynyttä projektia. Yhteys kolmanteen, eurooppalaiseen kumppaniin oli myös tärkeä motivoiva tekijä. Turun tapaus taas edusti kolmen projektin sarjaa, jossa syyt osallistumiseen ovat vaihdelleet yhteistyön aikana. Alussa motivoiva tekijä oli oppia EU-projektihakemustekniikkaa, mutta ajan kuluessa henkilösuhteet nousivat keskeiseen asemaan. Molemmissa tapauksissa suomalaisten ja venäläisten kaupunkien väliset ystävyyskuntasuhteet muodostivat toiminnan perustan. Kaiken kaikkiaan syyt osallistua riippuivat haastateltujen henkilöiden asemasta. Tutkitut kaksi tapausta osoittivat, että osallistuminen projekteihin on paljolti ”sattumien summaa”. Lopussa nämä kansainvälistä solidaarisuutta edustavat projektit yhdistetään kestävän kehityksen ideologiaan. Tämä voisi avata mielenkiintoisia näkökulmia jatkotutkimuksiin, joita tarvittaisiin kovasti, sillä EU:n ulkoinen apu on edelleen hyvin vähän tutkittu EU-suhteiden osa-alue.

Avainsanat: paikallishallinto, Euroopan unioni, ulkoinen apu, transnationaali kaupunki, teemahaastattelu, narratiivinen analyysi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

This is an evaluative case study which aims at understanding why the local authorities of the European Union (EU) participate in projects, funded by special programmes of the European Commission[1], in which they themselves are not the final beneficiaries. This is a study of policy implementation as the projects represent the implementation of EU external aid, i.e. development cooperation defined and funded by the Commission. The theoretical perspective gives us a situational analysis of the political actorness of European cities in the turn of the 21st century, especially in the context of the EU.

Gradually since the Treaty of Rome in 1957 the European Community has become more active in using its position in the world-wide community. The European process has not concentrated only on internal integration, but also on creating focused policies with external areas. The external relations have been driven by several forces. The primary goal has been to establish good relations with potential economic and political partners. In addition, the European Community has expressed its desire to advocate some of the values it considers important: among these are democracy, social welfare, human rights and liberalism.[2]

In the EU, external relations development cooperation plays an important role. Since the end of the cold war Eastern Europe and Russia have been the primary interest of the European Commission and the main receiver of EU external aid. At the same time the development cooperation has turned ever more from dialogue-based cooperation to such policies where the beneficiaries of EU trade concessions and aid are demanded to commit themselves to such forms of governance that would be acceptable to Europe.[3]

The current policies of development cooperation reflect a larger phenomenon that has been called *europeanisation* in the theoretical literature. In practise this is a manifold concept describing a broad range of aspects and functions of European integration. Europeanisation refers to changes in external boundaries of the EU, developing institutions at the European level, central penetration of national systems of governance,

[1] On the role of the European Commission in the EU see e.g. Nicoll & Salmon 2001, 129-142.
[2] Arts & Dickson 2004, 1.
[3] Hewitt & Whiteman 2004, 144-145; see also Youngs 2003.

as well as to exporting forms of political organization, and a political unification project collecting all of the previous aspects together.[4]

The manifold processes of europeanisation are a background factor as the Commission defines the implementing instruments of development cooperation. Examples of external aid programmes are the development programmes for post-socialist countries, development aid to Asia or enterprise co-operation with Latin America. In practise the instruments are various funding programmes coordinated by the EuropeAid office – each of the programmes concentrating on a certain geopolitical area. One programme that clearly reflects the recent trends in EU development cooperation is called Tacis. According to the European Commission the aim of this programme is to support the post-socialist New Independent States (NIS) in their development to "stable democratic institutions and market economies". The programme was founded in 1991, just after the end of the Cold War. In practice the programme is implemented through various projects funded under a wide umbrella of specified sub-programmes like Tacis Institution Building Partnership Programme (IBPP) or Tacis Cross-Border Cooperation.[5]

From 1997-2001 the Tacis umbrella covered a sub-programme called Tacis City Twinning (TCT), which was later combined with the IBPP. The TCT financial instrument provided funding only for projects which aim at developing the local administration in the NIS. In practice the projects are carried out local-to-local, i.e. the EU local authorities cooperate with their post-socialist project partners. The forty-page brochure on TCT programme, published by the Commission, describes in great detail what kind of opportunities the post-socialist local authorities may receive through the programme. Only one page is devoted on motivating the EU local authorities to participate.[6]

The main question in this study is to find out how the 'Top Ten Reasons for EU Authorities to Participate in TCT' are realized in practice. The two cases in this study represent two stories from the field; the true nature of local-to-local cooperation funded by Tacis. Both of the cases are approached in the light of the ten reasons that the Commission has listed, but the ambition is to understand how the Tacis cooperation has

[4] Olsen 2002, 924; on "Several Dimension of Europeanisation" see also Longo 2003.
[5] EuropeAid [WWW source].
[6] A Review of the Tacis City Twinning Programme. Learning from Experience 1995-2001.

started on a practical level; what has been the "key" motivator for EU local authorities to participate in these projects. Has it been an urgent feeling of solidarity, or maybe something else?

According to Ralph Genetzke from the TCT secretariat, the top ten reasons for EU local authorities to participate in Tacis programme and to develop the local administration in post-socialist countries are:

1. Solidarity through the people-to-people nature of City Twinning.
2. Common history, culture and shared traditions.
3. Exposure to new cultures and experiences with all the attendant rewards and difficulties.
4. Additional funding to refresh, continue, broaden or refocus existing city twinning relationships at a time when local authorities receive more and more tasks but less and less money.
5. The catalyst effect, local or regional government leading the way for other actors such as the private sector, universities or NGOs.
6. An important element in an overall development strategy in a particular sector such as waste water management. A TCT project can serve as the first attempt to establish sustainable links.
7. Visibility and profile in sectoral and international networks.
8. A track record in EU-funded projects, often a major factor in successful bidding for other initiatives and programmes.
9. The professional challenge for local authority staff, learning to re-examine ideas and practises in the light of different environments.
10. Experience in EU project management techniques, a key competitive advantage in an enlarged Europe.[7]

This study proceeds as an interpretative study. According to Eskola & Suoranta (1998) a study is interpretative when the knowledge of reality is collected through such social constructions as language, knowledge, shared meanings, tools and other artefacts. An interpretative study does not separate the dependent and independent variables in advance. On the contrary, an interpretative study introspects the complexity of human

[7] Ralph Genetzke, TCT secretariat: A Review of the Tacis City Twinning Programme – Learning from Experience 1995-2001, 9.

understanding. It seeks to understand a phenomenon through those meanings that people give to phenomena.[8]

The study reflects the characteristics of a historical-hermeneutic study. According to Klein & Myers (1999) the placing of a phenomenon into its present context and social and historical environment increases the understanding of the studied subject. In this way the study considers the studied phenomena as both the result and producer of history. The societal and social circumstances change constantly, which intermingles with the fact that the studied topic is also in constant status of change. This hermeneutic approach strengthens the potential for the reader to understand the context in which the studied phenomenon appears. The hermeneutical circle includes the idea of understanding a complicated complex step-by-step starting from the prejudices on some parts of the phenomenon and the relations of those parts.[9]

Already in the end of 19th century Wilhelm Dilthey seeked to make hermeneutics a special research method for the "spiritual sciences", which study e.g. history and culture. According to Dilthey the spiritual sciences should have a goal of understanding the way of thinking and the experiences of the studied object. In doing this, it is important to understand the general spirit or atmosphere of the historical period, in which the studied phenomenon takes place.[10]

In the 20th century Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer further developed the ideas of hermeneutics. Gadamer sees that there is no special method of interpretation. He thinks that the hermeneutic dialogue proceeds in such a way, that the tradition gives us a preunderstanding which directs the interpretations. For Gadamer, interpretation is a dialogue between the interpreter and the text. During the process of research the self-understanding of the interpreter increases. In this context, in interpretation, according to Gadamer, the role of the interpreter is as crucial as the role of the studied phenomenon. The goal of an interpretation is not to represent an objective interpretation.[11]

The debate of Jürgen Habermas on the ontological tradition of hermeneutics, represented in dialogue to Hans-Georg Gadamer, also emphasizes the meaning of

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[8] Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 44-52.
[9] Klein & Mayer 1999, 67-90.
[10] Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1986, 65.
[11] ibid., 65-66.

historicization of a phenomenon. The aim in a hermeneutic study is to produce practical knowledge. According to Habermas, the tradition which lies behind the studied phenomenon must be critically approached. Still, as Habermas has noted, there is no such thing as disinterested or interest-free or 'value-free' knowledge. It is just a matter of which interest. The more people pretend that their enterprise is 'value-free', the more likely it is to be value ridden, with unacknowledged interests at play which require unmasking.[12]

In this study, through the situational analysis of EU local authorities we will make a historicization of the studied phenomenon and unmask some groundings, which lay behind the top ten reasons for EU local authorities to participate as listed above. To understand these kinds of project activities in practice we need to examine the situational context in which the EU local authorities engage themselves with such projects as Tacis gives funding to. This leads us to an era when cities are establishing independent political actorness in the arena of international politics. These issues will be in focus in chapters 2 and 3.

The chapter 4 will concern the methodological background of this study. In this chapter we'll introduce the theory of a focused interview. In this study the empirical material consists primarily of four (4) individual interviews and two (2) interviews, which were given in pairs. Chapter 4 will also introduce the methodology of a narrative interpretation, which is the main method of analysis in this study.

In the end, in chapter 5, we will approach two "tales from the field" - to practical stories of TCT cooperation; two stories of the "manifold reasons of solidarity". These stories tell us how the Finnish cities of Tampere and Turku have engaged themselves in Tacis projects with their Russian counterparts.

In the end we will return to the list of the "top ten reasons" and make conclusions of why the EU local authorities participated in the Tacis projects in the light of the two cases studied earlier. The conclusions will also include some ideas and possible ideologies, which are relevant in considering the future of such projects, which have been in focus in this study.

[12] See Habermas 1971; Berndtson 2003, 92.

2 CITIES AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY

2.1 What are Cities?

The focus of this study lies in the European cities which have engaged themselves in transnational activities of local-to-local character. In other words this study concerns the power, status and actions of localities, especially in international politics, i.e. especially in transnational relations in Europe. The “local” is culminated in cities, which are specific systems of social relations, of culture, and in particular of political institutions for self-government.[13]

The political institutions for self-government are local governments. The concept of city is wider than that; a city creates a link between the public administration at the local level and civil society. In other words, the city includes and is built on certain political self-governmental institutions but it is not only a form of public administration. Local public administration takes place in the city, but the city has multiple functions in bringing together political institutions and civil society.[14]

According to Borja & Castells, the city is nowadays primarily a plurimunicipal or metropolitan city. These concepts are difficult to define by population, territory and organization, as the nature of the city has changed. These days a large city is defined by its centrality and the region connected to a city goes beyond its historical borders.[15] In other words, a city is the core of its surrounding regional space. As John Friedmann explains, every urban core needs the surroundings to sustain itself. In various European countries, especially in central Europe, the city-regions are large areas typically extending outward from a core for a distance of roughly one hour’s commuting time, or fifty to one hundred kilometres.[16]

In practice cities are those places where population, activities and power concentrate; they are the source and destination of economic, social and political flows. The process of urbanisation describes how these centres are formed, and reformed, from time to time. Urbanisation is the spatial articulation of inhabitants and activities.[17]

[13] Borja & Castells 1997, 2.
[14] ibid., 90.
[15] ibid., 109.
[16] Friedmann 2002, 3.
[17] Borja & Castells 1997, 203.

In detail, the process of urbanisation is formed by three kinds of factors:

(1) *demographic*, i.e. the human flows which are headed to cities;
(2) *economic*, i.e. the change between rural and urban economic activities, and;
(3) *socio-cultural*, i.e. certain specific characteristics often combined with urbanity.

At the turn of the 21st century the distinction between rural and urban activities is not very clear. According to John Friedmann primary production is becoming such a large, space-extensive business that it blurs over the limits of rural and urban economic activities. Nevertheless, certain socio-cultural aspects describe contemporary urbanity; for example literacy and the tight relation to communication-extensive networks are often combined with urbanity. Actually, according to Friedmann, at the turn of the 21st century the socio-cultural aspect of urbanisation has become highlighted. The communication-extensive networks are creating a new form of urban living, which culminates in a cybercity, as Friedmann calls the future profile of a city.[18]

2.2 "Era of Globalization" Rescaling the International Arena

Today cities represent only one of the challenges to the nation-state centric system of international politics. For a several centuries now the European system of foreign politics has been dominated by nation-states. This international political order was created in the peace of Westphalia in 1648. This was the end of Thirty Years Wars challenging the principle of territorial sovereignty in inter-state affairs. According to David Held, the *Model of Westphalia*,

> depicts the development of a world community consisting of sovereign states which settle their differences privately and often by force (or the threat of force); which engage in diplomatic relations but otherwise pursue minimal co-operation; which seek to place their own national interest above all others; and which accept the logic of the principle of effectiveness, that is, the principle that might eventually make right in the international world – that appropriation becomes legitimation.[19]

[18] Friedmann 2002, 3-5.
[19] Held 1995, 77.

Held says that the Westphalian era depicts Europe until 1945, though many assumptions supporting the model are relevant and still true at the turn of the 21st century. It is crucial to scrutinize the main characteristics of the Westphalian model to understand the following discussion about such processes, which are claimed to cause a "post-Westphalian" period. The Westphalian era can be summed up to the following details, i.e. in the Westphalian era:

1. The world consists of, and is divided by, sovereign states which recognise no superior authority.
2. The processes of law-making, the settlement of disputes and law enforcement are largely in the hands of individual states.
3. International law is orientated to the establishment of minimal rules of coexistence; the creation of enduring relationships among states and peoples is an aim, but only to the extent that it allows national political objectives to be met.
4. Responsibility for cross-border wrongful acts is a 'private matter' concerning only those affected.
5. All states are regarded as equal before the law: legal rules do not take account of asymmetries of power.
6. Differences among states are ultimately settled by force; the principle of effective power holds sway. Virtually no legal fetters exist to curb the resort to force; international legal standards afford minimal protection.
7. The minimisation of impediments to state freedom is the 'collective' priority.[20]

In the Westphalian model, states dominate the space of foreign politics, creating international - 'inter nation-states' - politics. But how does this model suit the late 20th century development Europe? LeGalès claims that the state's grip is loosening as "there are such intergovernmental networks in Western Europe, which have bypassed the state already now". The nation-state is loosing its monopoly in various traditional tasks, like representing its citizens abroad, while both the European Union and local authorities are now taking responsibility in these issues. Even though European integration - as well as the disputable process of globalisation - is a development where the state is an actor and a driving force, both of these processes are transforming the inter-state relations and

[20] Held 1995, 77-78.

disturbing the workings of the nation-state at the turn of the 21st century, claims LeGalès.[21]

The process of political globalisation was initially European globalisation, says Held. According to him, the core of this disputable process is the huge growth in interconnections of states and societies.[22] The rapid communication technology plays a crucial role in this development as it helps various political actors to connect with each other world-wide and to create new forms of communication. Thanks to the new technologies place and time are loosing their meaning.[23]

Held & McGrew see that this “era of globalisation” challenges the traditional distinction of domestic and foreign politics. The Westphalian monopoly of national government is now facing a unique challenge of complex, multi-layered governance of global, regional and local levels that it can no longer control. In the era of globalization the “self-enclosed entities”, if there ever were such, are vanishing as political communities are enmeshed in complex structures of overlapping forces, relations and networks. This is why Held & McGrew see that “the idea that a ‘political community of fate’ would meet with the boundaries of a nation-state only, is not sustainable”. They see that effective government cannot any longer be coterminous with a delimited national territory.[24]

Even though the political scale of nation-states has been relatively fixed, such political scales are always a result of a political project and ultimately temporary. Mark Purcell sees that the last 30 years have rescaled the fixed hegemony of nation-states. It has been the time of *glocalisation.* In this period the larger and smaller political entities than the nation-state have been constructed and advanced by trans- or supra-national agreements, especially through European integration. In practise, more and more political power and economic activity is being reorganized and shifted to local and regional scales – both smaller and larger than the national. In these processes governing power has been “displaced” from nation-states and “replaced” to other institutional forms; governing power has been partly glocalised.[25]

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[21] LeGalès 2001, 95.
[22] Held 1995, 60.
[23] Held & McGrew 2002, 5.
[24] ibid., 5-7.
[25] Purcell 2003, 567-570.

The identity of citizens is also undergoing such a transition, which describes the changes in the political scales. During the Westphalian era citizenship has been connected primarily with the nation-state, i.e. to be a member of any other political community an individual first has to be a citizen of a nation-state. Through this status she gets the membership in both sub- and multinational communities. Mark Purcell argues that this order is now transforming; as multiculturalism is accepted and encouraged the individual can start to seek objects of identification from other, non-national political bases - like neighbourhoods, districts and municipalities, especially the global cities.[26]

Does the nation-state then face an inexorable decline, asks Michael Peter Smith. He maintains that the transnational networks "from above" and "from below" are now ushering in a new period of "postnational" global cultural economy. He claims that these transnational local and regional networks, crossing the borders of nation-states, now take more forms than the traditional international - 'inter nation-states' - relations. This is a serious threat to nation-states creating the "postnational" era. On the other hand, Smith also sees that the era of globalisation can give new vitality to nation-states; in the global world transnational emigration is increasing and this has resulted in the originating states defining their role in the globalising world and promoted the reproduction of transnational subjects. Along the blurring of identities, heightened nationalism – in both the originating and the receiving states – is also a response to the increased transnational migration. In addition, the nation-states still have a strong weapon of power in their hands; they dominate the legitimate means of coercive power as well as the control and protection of national borders. [27]

Joenniemi & Sweedler also see two sides of the coin. In their opinion the statist formations are not as privileged at the end of 20th century as before, though the nation-states still control the spheres of military and political security, demarcation and protection of international borders, extradition treaties and certain macroeconomic questions. The demise of the Cold War and the distinct security threats of a statist character are seen to weaken the status of nation-states in Europe[28], in addition to the globalisation of economy and revolutions in communication and transportations.

[26] Purcell 2003, 571-573.
[27] Smith 2001, 172-173.
[28] After the September 11th, 2001 attacks in the United States there have also been views on increasing state-centrism. See e.g. Hall 2004 [WWW document].

According to Joenniemi & Sweedler new actors and forces entering the traditionally state-centred discourses produce deterritorialization of political space that blurs the limits of domestic and foreign politics. The situation may weaken the ability of the nation-state to wage long and protracted warfare, thus reducing the likelihood of large-scale confrontation. This leads to an era where the nation-state is still the primary, but not the dominant, entity on the world stage as cities and regions increase their importance in the international arena.[29]

2.3 Increasing Importance of Cities in the International Arena

According to Held local issues are those which "involve people in the direct determination of the conditions of their own association". This is a network of public questions and problems, from policing to playgrounds, which primarily affects the local dwellers. The decision-making procedures can be transferred beyond national borders, to the regional or global level, when smaller decision-making units (local and national) cannot properly deal with the issues in question, i.e. when the issues need to be treated at transnational or international level.[30]

According to John Friedmann, there are three reasons why the local starts to increasingly invade the global in the future. As a result of these processes the cities meet with the challenge of transnational communication. At the same time these processes create a future prospect for cities; and an opportunity for cities to increase their importance in the international arena. John Friedmann distils the crucial processes strengthening the cities to the following:

1) the expansion and consolidation of global capital will continue;
2) the urban transition will all but be completed over the next several decades, and;
3) city-mediated, increasingly transnational relations will continue to be strengthened.[31]

We will now pay attention to each of these ideas from the point of view of how they affect the cities. To scrutinize these issues will help us understand which factors affect

[29] Joenniemi & Sweedler 1996, 114-128.
[30] Held 1995, 235-236.
[31] Friedmann 2002, 2.

the political actorness of cities – the history and future of local. The third assumption presents us with the context of the transforming political spaces. The networks of cities are not developed only in national spheres but ever-increasingly in *transnational* levels according to Friedmann. These relations can be expected to widen and become multiple but they will respect the different geopolitical status and history of each city. As Friedmann writes, ‘local responses to global challenges are decisive for the future of cities and preclude any sort of easy prophesying’.[32]

2.3.1 Global Capital(ism) and Cities

David Harvey, an influential urban theorist, claims that the functional imperatives of capital accumulation are the most important in determining the urban future. He sees cities in general as "important production sites of accelerated capital accumulation" and as "storehouses of social surplus value". The present cities are important nodes in supporting and reproducing capitalism. They are “key sites within a systematic ‘urban process’ reflective of the larger evolution of capitalism on global scale”. As Michael Peter Smith comments, functionalist explanations - like Harvey’s exegesis of “the urban process” - reduce urban politics to the requirements and logic of capital accumulation. The highlighting of "the power of capital" diverts attention from situational contingencies as well as political processes that may inhibit or even jeopardize capitalist development and lead to new modes of social change or urban transformation.[33]

In the capitalist world the competition of synergetic capital accumulation cannot be avoided. This drives cities to compete domestically and internationally - "for the location of major businesses or international organisations and for events such as international conferences, major sport events and as locations for international institutions". The competition is not only negative. It also encourages cities to develop themselves. The game of capital accumulation is most favourable to medium-sized cities, which focus on the production and services and which are linked to new information technologies. The losers are often smaller cities or traditionally industrial cities, which have experienced demographic growth based on heavy industries.[34]

[32] Friedmann 2002, 3.
[33] Smith 2001, 24.
[34] Joenniemi & Sweedler 1996, 123-124.

2.3.2 The Story of Increasing Urbanization

In 1800, less than 5 percent of the world population lived in towns and cities. In 1950 the level of urban population had reached 16 percent.[35] And still, the statistics collected during many decades show ‘unequivocally that the urban transition will not be reversed’. According to a Habitat report (a result of a work group on urban issues) as much as 61 percent of a total 8.3 billion inhabitants in the world will be living in cities by the year 2025.[36]

The history of European urbanization reaches far back to the Classical Antiquity, the Greek and Roman city states. In the early medieval time, from 476 to 1000, the urban system was relatively weak as feudal, mostly rural empires were strong. At the time, rural areas supported some urban centres which were either defensive strongholds, administrative or university centres. From 11th century on, thanks to the population growth and limits in the cultivable land, the feudal system started to collapse. When the feudal nobility raised taxes to maintain their income, the peasants were forced to sell more products on markets. This trade started to increase the vitality and size of cities again and started to create merchant capitalism, which gave new power to urbanization.[37]

From 15th to 17th century the Protestant Reformation, scientific revolution and colonisation all had their effect on European urbanization. During this period the European urban system started to extend on a global scale. The era of renaissance from the 17th century on, and especially the formation of the nation-states in the peace of Westphalia, decreased urbanization dramatically. During the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century, urbanization increased again as the industrial society needed labour concentrations, which found their form in the cities. This is when we start to talk about such urbanism which the present ever-increasing urbanization is still reflecting.[38]

Nowadays, as mentioned, most of the world’s population lives in cities and metropolitan zones. One crucial factor in the increasing the power of cities is the ever-increasing urbanisation. Thanks to their increasing population, cities are more and more

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[35] Knox 2001, 410.
[36] Friedmann 2002, 1-2.
[37] Knox 2001, 407-408.
[38] ibid., 408-410.

the real centres of power within a region or a state. This strengthened capacity and power also affects the making of foreign policy. Cities engage in creating transnational relations, especially in foreign commercial and trade policies, but also in immigration, cultural affairs, and border issues. As cities gain more experience in transnational policy and train personnel specialised in transnational affairs, they will exert more influence on the development of national foreign policy and international relations, i.e. the more the cities gain experience in foreign relations, the more they gain political power in foreign policy.[39]

2.3.3 City-Mediated Transnational Relations

For a number of decades cities and sub-national regions have strengthened their role in international affairs. The cities have become less state-defined. Domestic, 'low', politics which used to be the political space of cities, having only marginal cross-border activities, is now overlapping the 'high' politics. The cross-border relations do not solely take place in the state-centred international political space anymore. The competing form of foreign relations is *translocalism*. The cities are re-emerging as actors and places of political decision-making. The entering of cities into the sphere of foreign affairs causes incoherence. When local and regional authorities take an active role in foreign policy, it can be interpreted as 'special interests endangering the more general ones'. Local interests are not mediated to foreign affairs through national institutions as the "cities start to act for their own right". European integration in particular creates possibilities for local and regional interests to express themselves more distinctly than before.[40]

Michael Peter Smith uses the concept of 'transnational networks' to describe such networks which connect actors from different nation-states. According to Smith, these political, economic, and sociocultural practises are based on historically specific, culturally constituted, social relations. These are networks of meaning, which are established between particular spatially and temporally situated social actors. When we consider the meaning of localities in this context, we must bare in mind that the cities are not only seen as objects in the flow of globalization. They are not "empty containers

[39] Joenniemi & Sweedler 1996, 121-122.
[40] ibid., 115-119.

of transnational articulations". The local also reshapes the meaning of globalization. But because each locality, each city, has its own historically specific patterns of politics, culture, and economic life, we cannot define the exact and permanent way in which the local mediates the global. But, as Smith puts it, "any given city receiving particular transnational economic, political, or cultural flows provides a specific configuration of potential opportunities and constraints…into which migrants, investors, or political and cultural brokers enter".[41]

Recent researches show that the transnational relations often take place translocally, i.e. local to local. These transnational relations rely on local identifications and meaning systems; the differences actually sustain translocalism. Michael Peter Smith introduces the idea of *translocality*:

> These relations are constituted within historically and geographically specific points of origin and destination established by transnational migrants, investors, political activists, or sociocultural entrepreneurs. They form a multifaceted connection that links transnational actors, the localities to which they direct flows, and their points of origin. […] The social relations forged by transnational networks link such sending locations with receiving cities in complex ways, generating *translocal* discursive and spatial practices that may reconfigure and even transform relations of power.[42]

The Tacis projects analyzed in this study represent this kind of translocality. In the projects the local and regional authorities from the western EU cooperate with their counterparts in NIS without any mediating role of the national governments. In these projects the local and regional authorities, mostly cities/municipalities, are active political players in planning, developing, applying, organizing and administering the projects. The funding is applied straight from the European Commission, through its specific programs, and when a project application is approved the funds will be distributed to the project partners without the mediating role of the national government.

[41] Smith 2001, 167-168.
[42] ibid, 169-170.

2.4 An Opportunity for the 21st Century City: Transnational City

According to Borja & Castells, the success of a city in the globalizing world depends on the increasing productivity of the city. If the city wants to be successful it needs to pay attention to various issues, which help in creating and promoting productivity. Firstly, the city has to focus on its connectivity. The regional, national and global links between cities are an important factor determining the future success of a city – as we have seen in context of transnational networks. In addition the city has to produce new knowledge, it has to be innovative. This increases the attractiveness of the city and causes multiple synergic effects that support the success of the city. In the globalizing world the city needs to be also institutionally flexible; future success is determined by external autonomy – the changes the outside world gives to a city – but also by internal capacity. When the city reacts to its contemporary surroundings, it faces various new challenges and possibilities. The means, readiness and desire that the city has in adopting the new policies create the internal capacity.[43]

In this study a city, which has committed itself in transnational networks and which by conscious means seeks to strengthen its capacity in international affairs, is called a *transnational city*. As Anne Haila has emphasized, the crucial characteristic for a transnational city is an autonomous development policy which supports and breeds those actions taking place in the city which have the aim of strengthening the transnational links. This kind of internationalization does not depend so much on the size of the city. Not only huge metropolises but also small and medium-sized cities can seek to internationalize themselves; they can also be, or become, transnational cities. For various reasons Haila even advises them to create conscious policies of internationalization.[44]

Berghäll and Aronen say that internationalization aims in strengthening the natural synergic benefits of cities by creating new links to an even wider area or new targets. The need to internationalize is created by the change in the political space where the cities act. Globalization creates new challenges for the cities and even causes big

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[43] Borja & Castells 1997, 14.
[44] Haila 1994, 14.

changes, but at the same time it enables, at least theoretically, new borderless possibilities for cities to grow and develop.[45]

Transnational networks have led cities to a change of scale in the action framework. In this context, cities need to have conditions of production, relationship and residence which allow them to consolidate themselves as attractive and competitive within a space larger than the traditional regional or state framework. The new challenges for cities are largely caused by the increasing competition between cities. To be able to survive in the globalizing world, a city has to adopt new means of action. The primary demands in the competition of increasing productivity highlight the rapid changes and the adoption of the twin concept of 'cooperation-competition' - describing the special relationships which contemporary cities have with each other.[46]

In this situation, and especially in Europe due to European integration, a transnational city is one that has taken the responsibility for its success to its own hands; it doesn't necessarily seek to become a huge metropolis in the globalizing world but it regards the international activities as absolute necessities for its livelihood. This is why a transnational city creates a competent development policy for international affairs.[47]

The creation of a competent development policy is a challenge to the local government. Borja & Castells point out that first of all, local government is facing the challenge of external promotion of the city. To compete and face modern challenges the city has to have a certain marketing attitude. In a competent city the local government also cooperates more and more with other government bodies as well as the private sector. It invests in internal promotion to motivate the citizens to participate and produce the everyday life of the city. This creates and defines what kind of a capacity for transnationalism a city has. The challenge of political administrative innovation makes a cross-section to all the novel functions. The local government has to be innovative in resolving novel problems and promoting wide networks of multi-level co-operation.[48]

According to Aronen the international functions of a city are more and more important these days, not as a goal itself but as an important condition to guarantee the power of

[45] Berghäll & Aronen 1998, 7-8.
[46] Borja & Castells 1997, 204.
[47] ibid., 76.
[48] ibid., 110.

living in a city. The transnational contacts help to renew the means of livelihood as this renewal is highly dependant on the international know-how and the knowledge of international markets. A transnational city, which has vital connections to international know-how, provides a good basis for the function and location of such units as require international contacts. All the transnational networks and international links that a city has help other institutions which benefit from or even require such links in their business environment. A transnational city provides a synergic environment for other actors to locate and function. This is why the cities should invest in internationalization - in concrete means for creating a strategy of international affairs, applying to international projects in different sectors and directing sufficient resources to find funding to transnational projects. For a transnational city it is even reasonable to spend more on funding international projects than is earned through these projects as external project funding and other straight benefits. What level of resources it is relevant to use in internationalization, and how those resources are best used to serve the general strategic goals of the city, has to be defined case by case.[49]

Borja & Castells use the concept of “principle of capacity” to describe the process of defining the amount and quality of those actions which are relevant for each city. When following the principle, certain types of cities can take on or attribute to themselves certain spheres of competence because they generate political, economic, social or technical resources which permit the cities to tackle these actions with guaranteed efficacy. When defining the new functions of the city, proximity, joint agreement, social demand and diversity should also be borne in mind. The principle of proximity is an important aspect of gaining democratic legitimation for transnational actions.[50]

Joenniemi & Sweedler emphasize the crucial meaning of establishing the right kind of external relations; these relations can even determine the future of a city - a future that seems to be very concurrent and largely created by active and conscious policies of the cities themselves. This challenges the cities to engage in long-term planning, and especially in the preparation of local development and/or internationalization strategies. To support their future development, and to fulfil the goals of the strategies, cities

[49] Aronen 2000, 268-269.
[50] Borja & Castells 1997, 111.

search out and establish networks and co-operation across national borders and establish bi-/multilateral links.[51]

In a way, all the transnational cities are *world cities* – smaller or bigger. According to John Friedmann the world cities are those which have some connection with the global economy. And as there is no city anywhere that is not articulated, however tenuously, into the global system, all cities could be described as world cities. In practise, below a certain threshold the individual importance of these cities in the overall accumulation processes of the global world is relatively small. On the other hand Friedmann describes the world cities as assuming the role of leaders in the global economy. This describes the unlimited possibilities that a city has in international activities.[52]

Any city which establishes transnational contacts can in the end become a *global city*. A global city, as defined by Manuel Castells, is a city or city-region, through which flows an important amount of global capital, information, technology and interaction of organizations. It can be a consequence of a network established around a specific branch of know-how, like medicine. The most important aspect of this development is the establishment of a network, which bounds together different areas (even geographically distant areas, thanks to information technology) and gives a special role and hierarchical status to each partner of the network. Castells remarks that in some cases even very improbable areas can become such nodes - in practise at the top of the global nodes there are only a small number of global financial centres: London, New York and Tokyo.[53]

As we have seen a transnational city is facing a wide range of foreseeable and but also unknown possibilities. These days internationalization is not only a duty, but a *right* of each city. It is a consequence of globalization and urbanization, together strengthening the political actorness of the city and reshaping the world order. Nowadays, local governments are agents in international politics and they have the right to participate as such. In other words, cities, their governments and civil society all have the right to establish relations, to set up networks and to participate in international associations

[51] Joenniemi & Sweedler 1996, 123-124.
[52] Friedmann 2002, 7.
[53] Castells 1996, 443-445.

without central governments acting as intermediaries. They also have the right to political innovation.[54]

[54] Borja & Castells 1997, 192.

3 THE POWER OF "LOCAL" IN INTEGRATING EUROPE

3.1 The Effect of the EU on Local Authorities

"Local government and local institutions have developed a new importance in Europe as the nations and states of Europe have drawn closer together", said Robert J. Bennett as early as the beginning of the 1990s[55] European integration creates a special context for local authorities to avail themselves of the right to internationalization. In general, we can represent some characteristics of the 'postnational' order of international relations (as defined earlier), which are important for the political actorness of local authorities. According to Michael Peter Smith (2001) these include, in short,

1. the discursive repositioning of cities in relation to nation-states in the context of globalisation;
2. the emergence of cross-national political and institutional networks;
3. the facilitation of transnational social ties by new technological development, and;
4. (following from these) the special reconfigurations of social networks that facilitate, among other things, the reproduction of political agency "from below".[56]

These factors are crucial and a useful categorization in describing the new political actorness of local authorities in the context of the EU, which provides many of the background drivers for the transnational city to emerge. In this context the EU functions as an organisation which represents a 'postnational' order of international relations in Europe. It is an organisation formed by the nation-states but also creating limits for the actions of individual nation-states. Repositioning the previous model in this context, we can claim that the EU affects the power of local as it:

1. reshapes the nation-state – city relation, especially by emphasising the principle of subsidiarity (i.e. administration as close to citizens as possible – see below) and forming direct power-relations with local authorities;
2. gives opportunities for cross-national political and institutional networks of localities to emerge, for example the Committee of Regions or various smaller

[55] Bennett 1993, 1.
[56] Smith 2001, 166.

scale networks, by emphasising the principle of partnership and financing these relations;

3. supports the development of new technologies and provides web-based means of co-operation and distribution of know-how, and in this way;

4. reconfigures the social networks and reproduces the political agency of the local authorities "from below".

All of these perspectives affect the local authorities in the EU. They affect both external and internal policy-making and are crucial in determining the types of possibilities and challenges an EU city faces. At this point it is interesting to examine in more detail all four of the above-presented views on how the EU affects the political actorness of local authorities.

3.1.1 Nation-state – Local Authority Relation

A crucial principle of good governance in the EU is the decentralisation of power. The decentralisation must take place according to the principle of proportionality, i.e. that

> [F]rom the conception of policy to its implementation, the choice of the level at which action is taken (from EU to local) and the selection of the instruments used must be in proportion to the objectives pursued'.[57]

In practice this creates the principle of subsidiarity, i.e. that local and regional authorities are often given preference in implementing the EU actions. Originally the principle of subsidiarity was to be applied concerning the relations between member states and the Union. These days the principle is mostly connected with sub-state administration as a principle of transferring decision-making as close to citizens as possible i.e. to the 'lowest' level of politics. This means that local authorities are given the right – and some times the duty – to implement, affect and be in contact with Union level policy-making. This political communication is bypassing the national level of administration and requires a strong degree of activeness from local actors to be successful in the rapid pace of European development.[58]

[57] European Governance. A White Paper 2001, 25; 10-11.
[58] Holmroos 1998, 14-15.

Even though local authorities have an important executive role and status in distributing the financial resources of the EU, they are not legal subjects in European law and EU law does not directly regulate local authorities. Local authorities are a part of member states and the norms and rules regulating member states are applied to them also. If a local authority acts in contravention of EU law, these actions are considered as delicts of the member state. In other words, local authorities have the same commitments in implementing EU law as a member-state but they do not share the same responsibilities for it. How wide and deep the municipal self-government is in each member-state, or what is the status or organization of a local authority, is not defined by the EU.[59] Because of this, local and regional administration in the EU is manifold and based on different national systems of government. In the northern countries of the Union local government has traditionally had a strong status. This is especially so because of the weak regional governmental system.[60]

On the other hand, the European Commission wants to highlight the ruling power of nation-states in its development. In the White Book of Governance the Commission emphasizes that the whole creditability and development of the Union depends on the willingness and capacity of the authorities of member states. The rules of the European Community are not foreign laws in the member states but national.[61]

3.1.2 Cross-national Political and Institutional Networks

The European Union directs much of its financial resources to local and regional levels through specific programmes of EU grants. The criteria for projects granted often include the establishment of a partnership, which joins together actors from different countries. These projects create a huge number of transnational networks of local authorities.[62]

European integration has created a wide range of transnational networks as local authorities have faced the new opportunities and challenges of cross-sectioning internationalization, which has to be considered in relation to almost all EU actions.

[59] Mäenpää 2001, 341-349.
[60] Rantanen 1995, 13; 24.
[61] European Governance. A White Paper 2001, 25.
[62] Holmroos 1998, 14-15.

Local and regional development and the possibility of additional funding have given birth to the challenge of learning to build new kinds of partnerships at local level.[63]

The new networks are often established on the basis of the old twinning relations. These contacts are strengthened to exchange experiences and expert know-how. It could be said that local authorities have no other options than to become international in the context of the EU. Internationalization brings in more profit than the municipality must invest in it. International contacts generate new links and strengthen industry and commerce. Foreign policy has not been the primary issue for local authorities traditionally, but European integration has changed the situation as obtaining EU grants requires quite a wide range of international contacts. These connections are of political nature as they are important also in shaping local politics.[64]

There are also “higher level” networks of local authorities which seek to strengthen the status and take care of the interests of local authorities in EU policies[65]. Of these networks, the Committee of Regions has become the most important consultation organ in representing local authorities in Brussels. This organ representing local authorities from all the EU countries negotiates with and assists the Commission and the Council.[66] Local representation in the EU is a channel for the democratic participation of EU citizens. Local and regional administration has the right to participate in decision-making in the European level and this is also reflected in the local policy-making.[67]

3.1.3 New Technologies

New information and communication technologies form an important basis for the direct involvement of regional and local governments in EU policymaking. The formation and operation of the European Information Society policy networks have provided a new opportunity for European regional and local authorities to be directly involved in the process of EU policy-making. This creates an opportunity, when hierarchical layers of competence separated by the subsidiarity principle loose their meaning, and instead a networking arrangement with all levels of governance becomes

[63] Holmroos 1998, 14.
[64] Rantanen 1995, 21.
[65] See e.g. Chorianopoulos 2002, 933-939.
[66] Mäenpää 2001, 342.
[67] Rantanen 1995, 73.

possible in shaping, proposing, implementing and monitoring EU policy together. The new information and communication technologies help the local authorities to reform and improve their governance within their respective community and also to communicate and collaborate with one another across geographical and national boundaries, overcoming the constraints traditionally posed by distance. As Xiundian Dai says, "the outcome of this development is the emergence of a plethora of transnational policy networks, which are poised to play an indispensable role in creating a new mode of European governance".[68]

3.1.4 Reconfiguring Political Actorness from Below

Is has been argued that integration leads directly to the strengthening of decentralized government, giving an especially strong status to local and regional authorities. According to this view, decentralization transfers more and more public authority closer to citizens, i.e. to municipalities and regions. Some member states have already started to strengthen local authorities in the prospect of creating a 'Europe of Regions'.[69].

Rantanen also highlights the significance of entrepreneurs and other actors finding their place in a city in shaping the political actorness and international contacts of a city as local authorities orient their international relations towards developing industry and commerce and acquisition of EU information. The developing industry and commerce in turn depend strongly on competent entrepreneurs, who also participate in developing the international contacts.[70].

According to Joenniemi & Sweedler, European integration reduces interventionist domestic policies by the state. This increases the self-confidence of European cities and sub-state regions, and strengthens the view of cities, already arisen during the depression in 1970s, that in the last hand they are on their own. At the same time, with the centralisation of power to the European level, the political space is becoming decentralised from the state-level, i.e. multi-level governance is taking place more and more. This increases regionality and reacts with urbanisation. The cities seem to take

[68] Dai 2003, 193-195.
[69] Mäenpää 2001, 349-350
[70] Rantanen 1995, 61

themselves more seriously nowadays than some decades ago. They find themselves as 'actors in their own right'.[71]

3.2 Finnish Local Authorities and European Integration

The European parliament has highlighted the participation of citizens instead of the participation of member-states. With this aim regionalization, or localization, functions as means to bring people and the Union together. Regionalization is also seen as beneficial as regards regional development and in recruiting local resources. In Finland, regionalization affects mostly the local sector as no strong regional administration exists.[72] The idea of the EU supporting those regional programmes which are aimed at such activities as do not depend on national policy-making has been important for local actors. National policy-making might still be more important to local authorities in Finland than the European Union, but according to Sandberg, at the end of 1990s the role of the EU has become stronger than could be expected some time ago.[73]

For Finnish local authorities a new era started in the 1990s because of some renewals in municipal self-government. It was a time of organizational freedom that provided new prospects and possibilities for cities to act in their own right.[74] At the time most municipalities thought that the EU primarily held importance for larger communities; the smaller communities had neither enough capacity nor information about EU affairs to participate. Many municipalities were eager to create new networks but instead of connecting these processes to European integration the municipalities started to enhance inter-municipal co-operation as a way of internationalization. The direction was to go east; Finnish municipalities were looking for new twinning arrangements with the Baltic States and Eastern Europe to complement existing links with the west.[75]

During the 1990s there have been various "push and pull forces of internationalism" affecting the Finnish local authorities[76].The state subsidies for local communities have been in decline since the beginning of the economic depression in the 1990s in Finland.

[71] Joenniemi & Sweedler 1996, 123-124.
[72] Rantanen 1995, 24.
[73] Sandberg 2000, 184.
[74] ibid., 189.
[75] von Bergmann-Winberg 1996, 214-215.
[76] Baldersheim & Ståhlberg 1999, 125.

As state subsidies have declined, local authorities have needed to find active measures to improve their economy. Finnish municipalities have become more and more deductible during the last decade and the competition between municipalities has intensified. In this situation tax income is extremely important. This is why the municipalities invest strongly in ‘recruiting’ new tax-payers and companies. EU regional policy, which is based on programmes, partnerships and reciprocity, has led to the formation of larger consolidations of municipalities. The financial situation of local authorities affects both the need and the potenial to participate in various EU projects, which can function as a source of additional funding. Municipalities have also noticed this, as more than 90 % of them have participated in some EU projects at some point during their journey in the EU.[77]

During EU membership the international contacts of local and regional authorities have reached a new, European scale. Their political competence has strengthened and the co-operation is ever more purpose-oriented. The background for co-operation is either to find a project partner or to gain financial support. Individual officials may have a strong role in determining whether the city becomes active or passive in international projects. Usually activeness causes synergic benefits and those municipalities which are already in quite a good economic position have the best possibilities to benefit from additional EU funding. Very often the partnership or the network of an international project is based on old twinning relations.[78]

International co-operation provides more than just financial aid to local authorities. Enhanced co-operation helps new ideas to be imported to Finland, which might lead to the re-examination of old strategies. In addition, various international contacts lead to the formation of a specialized power-elite. The intensified international co-operation has started a constant discussion within the Finnish administration structures in the light of the European Union. Through EU membership the Finnish administration has learned the basics of project work. According to Sandberg, these new working models, like partnerships, are here to stay.[79]

There are huge differences between municipalities in their actions on EU-related activities. Von Bergmann-Winberg identifies so called *key local communities* which

[77] Sandberg 2000, 189-191.
[78] ibid., 195.
[79] Ibid., 196-198.

show remarkable capacity for adaptation and restructuring; they participate actively in the processes of internal restructuring and internationalization and/or external reorganization (lobbying, networking and coalition). These communities often have long traditions in trade connections and export industries, or they have special international contacts through cultural events or tourism. In addition, some Scandinavian cities have identified themselves as a *gateway* or *gatekeeper*, referring to the connections to Russia. It seems to be very important for these key local communities to have an active leadership often formed by one or two persons in medium-sized cities. These *integrational* or *internationalizing visionaries* take action in a situation when it is not yet demanded, and they stay in the frontrunner position as they have strong conviction about future national or regional developments.[80]

3.3 Local Authorities Implementing Europeanisation

In the introduction we shortly examined the process of europeanisation, i.e. a special perspective of the EU that the Commission has especially highlighted. How the process of europeanisation is formed and carried out, depends strongly on the stance that the implementing authorities take on EU matters. For the future of the EU it is important to create real European identity and citizenship, and this is what the Commission is looking for.[81]

On the other hand, why does the European Commission want to delegate power to local authorities, even though at the same time it, ‘the Executive of EU, suffers from a number of weaknesses in terms of its limited power in policymaking’.[82] There are several views on this matter of multi-level policy games[83], like Richardson’s statement:

> By drawing other policy actors into the policy process, the Commission may be able to build coalition in favor of its own notions of desirable policy change. By assisting the formation of networks of ‘relevant’ state and non-state actors, or by ‘massaging’ the way that these networks operate, the Commission can maintain its position as an ‘independent’ policy-making institution and can increase its leverage with the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament. Information and ideas are important building blocks in the process.[84]

[80] von Bergmann-Winberg 1996, 216.
[81] Rantanen 1995, 21; on the role of nation-states in implementing europeanisation see Börzel 2002.
[82] Dai 2003, 197.
[83] See Collinson 1999.
[84] Richardson 1996, 15.

This is also welcome for local authorities as sub-national authorities are seeking more autonomy and participation in European policy games – from below – at the same time as the European Commission is looking for partners and support for territorial and other issues.[85] According to Tom Holmroos, the municipalities should remember that the trend to form networks and partnerships between European regions is a stable one but the financial aid may be only temporary. Networks and partnerships should be given priority, as an important goal of the EU has been to bring together European regions and local authorities. This is to be followed by Finnish authorities also.[86]

Still, for local authorities the need and possibility of EU funding is an important factor in creating transnational partnerships. Because of this economic desire, these relations do not guarantee an adequate solution to the problems associated with governance at the sub-national level. Dai sees that the transnational or cross-border governance by allied European regions and cities evidently tends to be driven by EU funding. But for the Commission, the existence of transnational policy networks might suit very well as a driver for creating a new governance structure within the EU.[87]

In the end, as Dai has remarked, "the implications of the transnational policy networks for European governance remain so far a much-neglected area of research and there is certainly a lack of academic literature systematically dealing with this topical issue."[88] Even though it seems clear that the process of European integration has bred various forms of transnational networks, the nature, function and meaning of these networks has not been in focus in any field of science. To understand some cases of transnational networks will now be a starting point to map out the true nature of europeanisation.

[85] Benz & Eberlein, 1999.
[86] Holmroos 1998, 15.
[87] Dai 2003, 193-195.
[88] ibid., 194.

4 METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

4.1 Triangulation of Methods and Material

This study is a case study. It concentrates on gathering specific, manifold and intensive information on two separate cases. These cases represent a larger group of a phenomenon, those EU local authorities participating in Tacis projects, which is the focus of this study. The cases are studied as processes, i.e. how they have developed and what factors have affected them. They are observed in relation to their surroundings, i.e. the general context of the city. As is usual in case studies, the material was collected using several different methods.[89]

In this study qualitative and quantitative research methods are viewed as complementary to each other and can be difficult to distinguish. The methods are selected with the aim of clarifying the researched phenomenon as far as possible. In terms of data collection they include both "traditionally" qualitative methods, like interviews, and some quantitative methods, such as a questionnaire. The analysis is made qualitatively, in the form of narrative analysis. The concepts of qualitative and quantitative are so well-defined in this context that they can serve as tools in clarifying the description of methods, though their division and separation is questioned. A study can be "mapping, describing, explaining or foreseeing", or reflect several or all of these approaches. This study includes characteristics of all of these aspects, focusing on mapping, describing and explaining.[90]

This study combines in parallel traditionally qualitative methods, like interviews, with a complementary quantitative questionnaire. Hirsjärvi & Hurme give an example of how the interviewer can present a questionnaire to interviewees at the end of an interview. They quote Layder[91], saying that combination of several methods does not have to aspire to increase the validity of the research - it can help to collect different views on the phenomenon, purely to increase the "density of empirical coverage". This increases

[89] Hirsjärvi et.al. 2004, 126-127.
[90] ibid., 127–128.
[91] Original reference: Layder, Derek (1993). New strategies in social research. An introduction and guide. London: Polity Press.

validity but also helps not only in testing theories but also in building and formulating theoretical statements.[92]

According to Colin Robson an important benefit of employing several research methods in a study is the "reduction of inappropriate certainty". When a study is based on a single method, the researcher can believe that they have found 'the truth'. When a study is formulated from more than one complementary method, it may produce different kinds of results that reduce the inappropriate certainty. The use of multiple methods is cited as *triangulation*.[93]

Triangulation is useful to obtain as much information on a phenomenon as possible. In addition to the use of several methods, it can refer to the existence of manifold data within the research, for example official documents, interviews and questionnaires. Combination of methods can be troublesome and every researcher must consider the aim of the research. Eskola & Suoranta acknowledge that "the main question in combining different methods is whether to aspire to as interesting results as possible or as 'clean' methods as possible". As in the present case, it is said that it can be especially beneficial to use several methods when there is an absence of earlier studies on the topic or where earlier research is limited.[94]

In this study the selection of methods originates from the fact that there are no earlier studies on Tacis co-operation of local authorities from the perspective of EU authorities, or at least they are rare and/or small-scale. Because of this background positioning, this study reflects mainly the characteristics of traditionally qualitative research. The study is carried out with triangulation of methods and data combining interviews and questionnaires (forming the new and primary empirical material) as well as official documents as the subject of a narrative analysis. The study is inductive and it seeks to draw common rules on the basis of the selected units. In addition, theory can also offer hypotheses that can be clarified in this study. The meaning of the theory is dual; on one hand it helps in analyzing the empirical material, but it is also the aim of the study to make some new theoretical statements.[95]

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[92] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 30–32.
[93] Robson 1994, 290.
[94] Eskola & Suoranta 2000, 68-72.
[95] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 20-25.

4.2 Theory and Empirical Study: Operationalisation

Operationalisation refers to the finding of operational, empirical equivalents to theoretical concepts. This can be especially problematic in qualitative research as the operational equivalents are often much narrower or wider than the theoretical concepts. The fact that the theoretical concept and its operational equivalent are not identical is acceptable when it is noted in a study. Qualitative concepts always include underlying premises and ultimately it is these premises which determine how the concept is defined. Theoretical thinking and some premises can be said to belong to the formation of every research method. Premises are based on the earlier experiences of the researcher. This pre-understanding directs the selection of themes in an interview study.[96]

Qualitative research can use a theory in two ways: it can be a goal or a means. As a means a theory helps in creating interpretations of the empirical material. These interpretations are based in theory, which helps in formulating the interpretations scientifically. A theory can also be a goal; separate observations make the basis for a common theory.[97]

The profile of a transnational city is the general theoretical background concept in this study. It should be noted that this concept includes much more than the Tacis projects, which are the focus of the empirical part of this study. In this case, the operational equivalent is narrower than the theoretical concept. This operational equivalent can be studied as a part of the wider theoretical concept, however. The theoretical concept of the transnational city and the whole theory scrutinized previously provide a specific point of view for approaching the empirical cases.

The empirical material in this study consists of official documents, interviews and a brief questionnaire. The official documents include internationalisation plans and other relevant documents from the selected cities as well as applications, reports and decisions of the Tacis projects. The primary and new sources of information are interviews, which include four (4) individual interviews and two (2) couple interviews with respondents from the cities and/or the projects. The questionnaire is used to

[96] Eskola & Suoranta 2000, 74-78.
[97] ibid., 83.

complement the data collected in interviews and is presented to the interviewees at the end of each interview.

4.3 Methods of Collecting Empirical Material

4.3.1 Selection of Cases

A case study usually concentrates on only one or two observational units. There are reasons for a case study, for example, when the research questions are new and ground-breaking. Qualitative research is often based on a discretionary sample as the aim is to understand a phenomenon more deeply rather than to look for a new theory on the phenomenon. By interviewing just a couple of respondents it is possible to collect meaningful information, even though a discretionary sample always includes the risk of fallacy. The researcher can aim to prove that there is no systematic fallacy in the selection of the interviewees. Snowball sampling is a way of selecting the observational units. It refers to the method where a couple of respondents are interviewed first and used as key persons in the study. The researcher then asks these key persons to suggest other respondents who might be suitable for interviewing, and who would provide additional or complementary information.[98]

In this study the selection of the research units is based on a discretionary sample. Because of the ground-breaking nature of the study the sample was limited to those Finnish cities which had participated in Tacis programme. This was to limit the expenses of the study and to make it possible to carry out face-to-face interviews. Firstly, a list of all the Finnish cities which had participated in the Tacis programme was collated on the basis of information provided on the internet and with the help of some administrative experts from the ministry of foreign affairs. Then a request for information was sent to these cities[99], followed by a second round of requests. The answers to these two e-mail requests sent to all the Finnish cities, which had participated in Tacis, were analysed and compared qualitatively and the most prominent and interesting cases were selected.

[98] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 58-60.
[99] Appendix 1. The letter of approach sent by e-mail to the cities which had participated in the Tacis programme.

An important factor in the selection of the cases was the feedback i.e. the willingness to and interest of the respondents in participating in the study. The selected cases represent projects which have an interesting wider background in local city politics and which take place in a specific wider context, i.e. that they link to some of the basic functions of the city. In the selection it was an important criterion that the selected cities are not located in border areas, i.e. that they do not represent typical cross-border cooperation. Also the thematic contents of the cases were analyzed and the selected cases were noted as especially interesting because they do not represent environmental issues. In other words the selection criteria were decisive to minimize the “natural” surroundings and common interest for local-to-local cross-border co-operation.

In general the selected cases represent those, which concern interesting themes, pose questions and provide willing respondents for the interviews. After careful consideration, negotiation with the study supervisor and approaches to prominent cities with requests to participate in the study, the cities of Tampere and Turku were selected for closer inspection. These cities were selected firstly, because the thematic contents of the Tacis projects in these cities created the most questions of “why do these cities really cooperate with their Russian counterparts”; secondly, as they represent a comparable pair of Finnish medium-sized cities, both being university cities; and thirdly, because on the basis of the answers to the letter of approach, it was noted that these cases offered interesting material for analysis and also the project personnel were still reachable and willing for interviews. This was an important criteria in the selection as in the world of EU projects the changes in staff are rapid. The cases of Tampere and Turku were selected as in these cases the key persons involved in the Tacis projects represent the personnel of local administration.

The interviewees were selected with snowball sampling. The first letter of approach was usually answered by the key person within the Tacis project i.e. the project co-ordinator or city co-ordinator of the project. These key persons were asked to recommend other interviewees, who could provide interesting information and varying perspectives on the issue. Application of this method produced four (4) interviewees from both cities, representing the project co-ordinators, city administration of a transnational city in question and “fieldwork experience”. The interviewees represent different points of view to the projects – from high level administration to field work experience.

4.3.2 The Focused Interview

A special benefit of interviews is the possibility to study the motives which lie behind the answers given. When the research topic is relatively unexplored, it is difficult for the researcher to know what kind of answers will be received. An interview is useful when it is known that there are manifold perspectives on the topic. The answers then can be put in a wider context. The weaknesses and challenges of an interview include the possibility for fallacy. This method also takes time and produces expenses. The role of an interviewer is challenging and requires training and expertise. For example, the interviewees can be tempted to give “socially acceptable” answers.[100]

An interview is a more appropriate research tool than a questionnaire in cases where a researcher wishes to uncover a diversity of relevant responses. These can include responses which have not been anticipated by the interviewee. A focused interview is relatively nondirective. In other words, ‘it uncovers what is on the interviewee’s mind rather than his opinion of what is on the interviewer’s mind’.[101] In general, interviews are divided into different types according to their degree of structure i.e. how accurately the questions are formed and how much the interviewer controls the situation.[102]

The interviews in this study rely on the theory of “the focused interview”. The focused interview includes certain characteristics, which distinguish it from the other research interviews. Firstly, (1) it is known before the interview that the interviewees have been involved in a particular situation. Secondly, (2) before the interview, the researcher has made a situational or content analysis to find the hypothetically relevant elements, patterns, processes and total structure. This has produced a set of hypotheses. These are used to develop (3) an interview guide, setting forth the major themes of the interview[103]. Finally, (4) the interviews concentrate on the subjective experiences of the interviewees and their definitions of the situation. The responses help in reflecting the hypotheses and the unanticipated responses suggest new hypotheses for a closer investigation. As it is seen, the focused interview is directed to investigate.[104]

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[100] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 34-35.
[101] Merton et. al. 1990, 12-14.
[102] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 43.
[103] Appendix 2. The interview guide in this study.
[104] Merton et. al. 1990, 3-4.

The focused interview doesn't include any fixed pattern of questions. With the help of theory and background information some basic themes related to the research questions are outlined and sorted. These themes represent the main concepts in the study (complemented with sub-concepts), and they direct the conversation. It is important that both the interviewer and the interviewee can specify the themes. The themes are supposed to have sufficient clarity, that the interviewee can give as much and manifold information about the phenomenon as possible. Hirsjärvi & Hurme have described how the themes are formed and appear in a study:

Figure 1. The formation and appearance of themes in a focused interview.

Planning	Interview	Analysis
Research problems/Main classes	Themes/Questions	Classes & Interpretation

This type of increasingly conversational interview, compared to the traditionally structured question-answer interview, has become more and more popular in recent times. The focused interview, which is based on specific themes, is an example of the so called semi-structured interview. It ought to be open, so that the interviewee can talk in a relatively free way.[105]

As has been noted, the questions are formed during the focused interview. All the questions should be short and clear and academic language should be avoided. Questions can be divided into different groups, for example (1) factual questions and (2) opinion questions. The interviewer should know in advance, what kind of information he or she is looking for and be able to form the questions according to the goal. Questions can include (1) opening questions, (2) questions to clear and define the concept and (3) to refresh the memory of the interviewee as well as (4) conclusive, (5) specifying and (6) additional questions. Also time frame provides a means of controlling questions and seeking for the right kind of answers.[106]

Fully unstructured questions are primarily applicable in opening the focused interview, but they can also be used throughout. It has been claimed that this kind of question gives the interviewee complete control over the focus of the topic. During the interview,

[105] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 66-67.
[106] ibid., 102-111.

it can be useful for the interviewer to direct the conversation with semi-structured questions giving some guidance for the interviewee. In structured questions the interviewer assumes almost complete control of the interview, often including suggested responses in the question. All these question types can be used in a focused interview; however the emphasis should be placed on the unstructured questions, complemented with primarily semi-structured questions.[107]

In addition to individual interviews this study includes data which was collected in two group interviews, specifically pair interviews. According to the preferences of the interviewees and because of their close co-operation and personal relationships, two respondents in both cases were interviewed at the same time. These interviews also follow the patterns of the focused interview containing relatively free discussion. The respondents make comments quite spontaneously and produce manifold data on the research topic. A group interview is said to be beneficial when the researcher wants to know what kind of a position the interviewees take together on a question. It is also a way to obtain a lot of information quite rapidly from many interviewees.[108]

In this study the interviews lasted from approximately 45 minutes to 1.5 hours. The discussion was relatively free during the interviews though the interview guide formed a clear basis and structure for the conversations. The interviewer directed the interviews with clear questions related to the interview guide so that the interviews formed an open story of the experiences and views of the interviewees. All the interviews were recorded and afterwards they were written down to analyse the contents of the interviews. The interviews produced some 150 pages of written text all together.

4.3.3 Challenges in an (Elite) Interview

The interviewees in this study are largely experts or specialists in their sector and organisations. Most of the interviewees represent members of an *elite*. Highlighting the differing status of the interviewer and the respondents, elite interviews represent a special challenge for the interviewer. The larger the difference in status, the larger the risk of one-sided communication. Careful preparation and orientation in relation to the background information is extremely important for a successful interview, giving the

[107] Merton et. al. 1990, 15-17.
[108] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 61-63.

interviewer the possibility to direct the conversation. Elite interviews include such uncertainties that they are not recommended as the only research method in a study. Nevertheless, some issues, like unofficial procedures, cannot be explored sufficiently only through analysis of the existing documents. Official documents can offer relevant background knowledge and can also complement the interviews in which more information is acquired.[109]

According to Odendahl and Shaw, a useful approach to an elite individual for an interview is provided by the 'elites' themselves. The selected interviewees can recommend other respondents or even contact them on the researcher's behalf. As noted, in this study the selection of interviewees is based on snowball sampling[110] and it relies only on in-person interviews. As Odendahl and Shaw say, a face-to-face exchange provides more information than a telephone interview as the interviewer can observe the personality of the interviewee and nuances, gestures, omissions, and dynamics during the interview. As elite interviews are based on careful background preparation by the researcher, they often take the form of a semi-structured interview. The relevant issues are outlined in advance, and during the interview the interviewees can be allowed to talk intuitively following a less structured format.[111]

Elite interviews possess some special characteristics, which the researcher should note before and during the interview. To gain reliable answers the interviewer should be prepared to be questioned concerning the purposes and the uses of the research. The 'elites' are often more cooperative if the end product of the interview is interesting and of practical use for the agency also. When it comes to confidentiality, some elites insist upon it, some do not require it. In a case study like this, the interviewees can be easily tracked and pseudonyms would not be useful. The interviews concentrate on the situation in which the interviewees have been involved, not on their personally sensitive ideas as is often the case in focused interviews[112]. In this case, the interviewees were allowed to review the text and the direct quotations. They were also guaranteed access to and the use of the research. There are also some prejudices toward the interviewer as an individual. For example, female interviewers of elite subjects can recognize greater pressure to adapt to the prejudices of the interviewees, whereas on the other hand, the

[109] Mykkänen 2001, 108-111.
[110] See 4.3.1. Selection of Cases.
[111] Odendahl & Shaw 2002, 307-310.
[112] See 4.3.2. The Focused Interview.

youth of an interviewer can even help the respondent to talk more candidly, possibly because the elite respondent discounts the capacity of the researcher to do much with the information.[113]

Elites are usually highly educated and they tend to present arguments in an abstract way. They deal with large issues and try to see far in the future. The interviewees can seek to avoid direct answering by putting the questions in the context of their everyday actions. They can also seek to present the official statement of their background organisation. This phenomenon could be referred to as 'organisational discipline'. The interviewer must be carefully prepared but flexible and also able to direct the interviewee with additional questions, and to sharpen or concretize the answers. Elites do expect that the interviewee will not waste their time in trivialities but pose challenging questions. The interviewer can make certain preparations to get as much and as truthful information as possible. The more seriously the interviewees take the interview, the more reliably they will respond. When the interviewer shows serious interest in the issue, is well prepared and has good background knowledge, he or she also motivates the respondent to give good answers. Careful formation of questions reduces irrelevant information and makes the answers more concrete. It is also useful to send the interviewee a summary of the topics of the interview in advance when those selected themes, and not the background agenda of the interviewee, are expected to control the interview.[114]

Elite interviews concentrate on factual information. It is typical to handle the answers as documents. The answers can help in reconstruction of the whole phenomenon. An answer can be a document but it doesn't give a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon. The aim in analysis is to build such a comprehensive reconstruction of reality. Elites can shape the understanding of the researcher on the topic, i.e. what is relevant or not, and what things are connected to it or not. There are no specific rules for analyzing the kind of material which is collected in elite interviews. In every case, before and during the analysis it is important for the researcher to pay attention to the quality of the material. An elite interview includes a risk that the quality of the material

[113] Odendahl & Shaw 2002, 310-314.
[114] Mykkänen 2001, 118-121.

will be unreliable, for example because of the status gap between the researcher and the interviewee.[115]

4.3.4 Questionnaire

In this study a questionnaire was used to complement the empirical material of interviews and background official documents. The questionnaire was by no means the main source of collecting data and the information received is acknowledged only referentially. A questionnaire is traditionally a standardized form of collecting data, and it is used as such in this study, as all the questions are posed in exactly the same way to all the respondents. The questionnaires are handed out to the respondents at the end of each interview. According to Hirsjärvi this is called a "controlled questionnaire", when the researcher is in direct contact with the respondents and can discuss the questionnaire with them.[116]

The statements in the questionnaire concern knowledge, values and views. As stated above, they are based on the brochure called *Tacis City Twinning Programme 1996-2001. Learning from Experience* and the theoretical literature. Each statement is subject to a scale, where the respondent should choose how strongly he or she agrees or disagrees with that statement. The options are based on Likert-scales, which usually include 5 or 7 steps and where the options form a rising or dawning scale. In this study the scale has 5 steps and it describes the options from "Very important" to "Totally irrelevant".[117][118]

The discussion concerning the claims of the questionnaire is recorded as a special part of the interview. The responses to statements of the questionnaire form an additional source on the preferences and standpoints that the interviewees take on their participation in the project. After the interviewees have had the freedom of telling their story in a relatively free way, the filling out of the questionnaire is used to provoke some additional comments and ideas of the interviewees and to clarify and highlight the story which the interviewer has already heard during the focused interview. In this way

[115] Mykkänen 2001, 123-126.
[116] Hirsjärvi et.al. 2004, 182-185.
[117] ibid., 189.
[118] Appendix 3. The Questionnaire.

the findings based on the questionnaire mostly affect the emphasis of the analysis in both of the studied cases.

4.4 Narrative Analysis

The main method of analysis in this study is narrative structuring. This refers to arranging the text chronologically and in its social context. In narrative analysis, the researcher creates a story on the basis of the interviews. In this description it is important to put the phenomenon into the time, place and culture, to which it belongs. Information about the context is also important to be able to understand the wider social and historical importance of the phenomenon.[119]

Traditionally a narrative is considered to be fiction, as science produces fact. Since the 1980s narratives have evolved into a concept, which help different sciences to approach the human reality. In a narrative, the actions are not connected to each other with causal rules. It is the chronological chain of events and the logic of the meanings of human actions which are relevant. Each narrative includes both a problem and its solution. The subjects act in relation to the actions or their environment and each other. They interpret and evaluate those actions from their own point of view. Narratives are dramatic, as they find their place in a tension-filled space of varying values. They are a fundamental form of understanding, which even science can not escape from. Scientific writing often possesses a narrative aspect. Academic reports can be read as stories of “how the truth was found”, where the researcher can act as a passive or active “researcher of the truth”. Narrative can also be used to open the dominating narratives to question and to look for alternative narratives to the dominating ones.[120]

According to Hänninen, narratives have three purposes in science. Firstly, the meaning of science is to produce scientific narratives about the reality. The reliability of a narrative requires a “reflective anchoring to the reality which the narrative concerns”. A narrative is never a comprehensive description of the reality, but it always includes selections of the facts and interpretation with no empirical criteria. The same actions can be told in many different narratives. The scientific story has to show its creditability via connections to observations about the world. These observations can be collected in

[119] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 137;146.
[120] Hänninen 1994, 167-172.

empirical materials, texts or documents. Secondly, narratives have a critical nature as any rhetorically reliable narrative hides other narratives. The dominating narratives are often narrow and excluding. Thirdly, science is imaginative, narrative foreseeing, which builds alternative conclusions to the current narratives.[121]

Barbara Czarniawska calls narratives "tales from the field". They are often found in case studies, which use chronology as the main organizational device. Story telling is "the never-ending construction of meaning in organizations". Interviews produce and distribute narratives. The intrigue, which the interviewees often provide in their answers by referring to the past or giving background information, is the central point and focus in a narrative.[122]

Every narrative includes a beginning, a middle part and an end. Narratives can be used as resources in research, for example in reading, collecting or writing stories. Reading refers to analyzing the material in a narrative way. The material can be collected or analyzed, or collected and analyzed in a narrative way. Narrative is a comprehensive and special point of view to analyze the material.[123]

"A story begins because somebody has had an idea and wants to realize it, or the other way around, because something has happened and people in an organization feel they have to react to it." According to Czarniawska, a story begins with a description of a context, which provides the scene of the narrative. It is a non-problematical summary of such texts, which are not the main story material, (like interviews), or otherwise not in the focus of the narrator. The story-making proceeds with the development of the narrative, which can be told in one or several voices. The narrator can use "the main storytellers" and "the contestants" and tell many variations of the story in different voices at the same time. At some point it might be relevant to incorporate other narrative material, for example in this study official project documents, in addition to the main source, the interviews. Different voices and differing opinions should still be preserved. This material can function as a "second-hand interview" complementing the main sources. In telling the story, the plot can be developed by localizing the narrative, moving it away from happening at all places at once and in this way making it more detailed. In developing the narrative, the distinct voices are heard more and more clearly

[121] Hänninen 1994, 173-174.
[122] Czarniawska 2002, 734-735.
[123] Eskola & Suoranta 2000, 22-24.

and the “expressions used in the field” can be applied to highlight the respondents’ replies.[124]

Czarniawska acknowledges that the role of the narrator is crucial. The narrator has to consider carefully how to preserve the respondents’ voices and how to use “the narrative privilege” of interpretation. How much the narrator can modify the original narratives depends on the attitude of the researcher, and the precautions that he or she takes. In all cases, the narrator has to remember the responsibility and respect owed to respondents. A researcher has both a right and a duty to interpret the expressions used within the “system of meaning” of the study. As the narrative is a multivocal story told in many voices, the narrator doesn’t have to take a stand on “which is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. Many voices are a strategy, which the author chooses. “The ‘voices of the field’ do not speak for themselves; it is the author who makes them speak in polyphonic form”.[125]

Hänninen highlights that “in a narrative a human being is both subject and object, both a venturesome actor and the objective of actions”. Coincidence affects the narrative as much as rules and laws. In a narrative, the subject is always related to other subjects. But the narratives are unique and common. They concern both subjects and the society and culture, where the narratives take their place.[126]

Czarniawska's views on building a narrative are used as methodological guidance for storytelling in this study. The two stories, which are told in this study, originally begin with the accession of Finland to the European Union in 1995 and the resulting changes, possibilities and demands that cities faced. This is “the situation that the people in an organization feel they have to react to”. The description of the context of the narratives is based on the official documents, like internationalisation plans, concerning the selected cities of Turku and Tampere. In the narratives, we hear the voices of the city representatives, the project representatives and of fieldwork experience. In addition to the interviews (and questionnaires), the narratives have the official project documents like applications, decisions and reports, as the second major source of information, i.e. as “second-hand interviews”.

[124] Czarniawska 2002, 736-741.
[125] ibid., 742-743.
[126] Hänninen 1994, 176-177.

As Czarniawska says, there is no rule pertaining to what the researcher should or should not do with the narratives. Each narrative is an interpretation connected to other texts, voices, times and places. "Much more important than a specific interpretative of analytic technique is the result – an interesting recontextualization."[127]

4.5 Synthesis

Though the narrative analysis is the focus in the empirical part of this study, it is still not the final conclusion. The analysis will be followed by a synthesis, which aims to create a whole picture representing the phenomenon, the Tacis projects, in a new perspective, in the light and context of the theory of the modern city as a political actor and especially in relation to the concept of transnational city. In this way, the cycle proceeds from data to analysis (chopping the data) to synthesis (back to the entity and interpretation). Synthesis, which will be found in "Conclusions" aims at the deeper, theoretical understanding of the phenomenon and the narrative analysis.[128]

In this study the synthesis is done through the "Top Ten Reasons" which formed the starting point for the study. These themes are analyzed in the light of the narratives, i.e. how the reasons listed by the Commission were reflected in the studied cases. In this section we will also pay special attention to the findings based on the questionnaires, which will draw together some common, special or otherwise remarkable findings of the two studied cases.

[127] Czarniawska 2002, 747.
[128] Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 143-144.

5 NARRATIVES FROM THE FIELD

5.1 The Case of Tampere

5.1.1 Situational Context of the Narrative

Tampere is the third largest city in Finland, with just over 200 000 inhabitants. The city is located south-western Finland, less than 200 kilometres north from the capital city of Helsinki. [129] The whole picture of the development of the city of Tampere is defined by a city strategy. This strategy is devoted to analyzing the vision of the city in the year 2012. At that time the city should be growing on a sustainable basis as an information society of city-dwellers and as a centre of know-how. According to this vision the functions of the city should be characterized by brave initiatives, wide networking and regional cooperation.[130]

The sustainable basis of this development refers to that societal and economic development which is adapted to the limits of natural resources[131]. This is not a narrow goal but a widespread direction of all the city development. During the last decade, since the mid 1990s, the city of Tampere has developed separate environmental programmes into a comprehensive Agenda of sustainable development. The Agenda is noted in all the plans and programmes of the city.[132]

Contemporary Tampere has expressed a desire to develop international contacts and create a positive international image of the city. This is done through functioning contacts with the EU and other international organizations, and by creating functioning links with the existing twinning cities; one of these cities is the city of Nizhni Novgorod in Russia which has been a twinning city of Tampere since 1995. The city of Tampere seeks to enhance the international competence of its employees and to promote the exchange of knowledge in EU and international affairs inside the local authority.[133]

The city of Tampere has not established an internationalization plan of its own. Instead the city-region of Tampere, including seven municipalities in the region (Kangasala,

[129] Perustiedot kaupungista 2005 [WWW source]
[130] ”Kaikem paree Tampere”. Tampereen tasapainoinen kaupunkistrategia 2001-2012 [WWW source].
[131] See e.g. Martikainen 1998.
[132] Kestävä kehitys 2005 [WWW source].
[133] Kansainväliset asiat ja edunvalvonta 2005 [WWW source]

Lempäälä, Nokia, Pirkkala, Tampere, Vesilahti and Ylöjärvi) has drawn up an action plan of international cooperation The action plan of international cooperation aims to develop the city region of Tampere as "a world class centre of know-how". To achieve this goal it is crucial to follow the trends of international development and implement best practices which have already been tested in other countries. The action plan emphasizes the significance of EU funding to all the activities of the city. The increase and development of international contacts should become an element of all the sectoral strategies which are drawn up in the city region.[134]

An example of the sectoral strategies is the "Information Strategy of the city of Tampere". According to this strategy, the exchange of know-how and experiences which the city receives through strategic national and transnational, and especially European, networks are important in developing systems of e-governance. In the transnational relations the local-to-local networks in the Northern countries and the connections through the EU should be given the priority. These networks are a part of the "critical factors of success" in the whole development of the IT sector of the city. They form a functioning process and structure in supporting all the other acts which the city takes in active development of e-governance.[135]

According to the working group which has drawn up the action plan of international cooperation for the city-region, the main ways to develop international contacts in the region of Tampere include four types of arrangements. Firstly, at the end of 1990s the city of Tampere established a cooperation office in Brussels to promote the international projects and direct contacts of the Tampere city-region. Secondly, a special project of Invest Promotion was established in the city at the turn of the 21st century. The project aims at directing international enterprises and investments to the city-region of Tampere in the fields of information technology and health technology. Thirdly, the city-region has become active in a Eurocities network, which includes approximately 100 European cities. According to the action plan a sub-network of Telecities has significantly promoted especially the eTampere project of developing information society issues. This has also created a basis for many cooperational projects. In addition, it is noted that

[134] Tampereen kaupunkiseudun kansainvälisen yhteistyön ohjelma 2003, 1.
[135] Tampereen kaupungin tietostrategia 2002, 12-17.

the traditional contacts with twinning cities should be acknowledged ever more in developing new forms of international cooperation.[136]

From February 1999 until March 2001 the city of Tampere participated in a Tacis project called Local Democracy Network (LO.DE.NET). In detail the participant was the Department of Communication and Centre of Information Technology in the conglomerate administration. The goal of the project was to improve democratic development in the russian city of Nizhni Novgorod through electric customer services. The result of the project was determined as "a functioning service data system in the web-pages of Nizhni Novgorod and two PCs for the use of the city dwellers".[137]

The following narrative will tell the story of Tampere's participation in this Tacis project. In the story we will hear the voices of the director of international affairs and director of communication working in the conglomerate administration. The director of communication was also the project coordinator of LO.DE.NET project. In addition we will hear the voices of two IT professionals representing the staff of the city; they work in the Centre of Information Technology and handle the practical issues of IT technology. The emphasis of the narrative is to highlight the key factors which have drawn the city of Tampere to participate in a Tacis project, as well as the standpoints of each of the interviewee and interesting controversies that arose in comparing the stories of each interviewee.

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[136] Tampereen kaupunkiseudun kansainvälisen yhteistyön ohjelma 2003, 2-3.
[137] Local Democrazy Network 2001 [WWW source].

5.1.2 A Tale from the Field: Tampere Building Local Democracy in Nizhni Novgorod

At the end of the 1990s the city of Tampere was creating a profile and developing e-government issues. It had joined the Eurocities and Telecities networks and through these contacts the key people in the city administration, the directors of communication and international affairs, had learned that the city of Bologna in Italy was a "leader" in the field of e-government issues in Europe at that time.

At the same time Tampere had signed a new twinning agreement with the city of Nizhni Novgorod in Russia. This was a result of the collapse of Soviet Union, after which Tampere had established several new twinning agreements with post-socialist cities. The director of international affairs had remarked that after the social revolutions Eastern European cities had a lot to learn about issues in which the city of Tampere had expertise. The twinning agreement with Nizhni Novgorod was from the outset "a contract of concrete cooperation", focusing on various kinds of development projects – wherein IT social issues were an area in which it was seen that Tampere could provide know-how to Nizhni Novgorod. At the end of the 1990s these relations were still lacking real cooperation; they were rather formal assignments on paper than anything concrete. According to the director of communication, "the city of Nizhni Novgorod was something new and strange and there was just a need to achieve cooperation with it".

On the other hand after accession to the EU there was a constant pressure in the unit of international affairs to find out how the city of Tampere could use EU money in twinning relations and various development projects.

> Well, let's see…, in the end there were not so many EU projects done at that time. There were more like several applications done, but very few of these projects had succeeded in establishing some concrete results. So, not so many projects in practice - as I understand.
>
> *- the director of international affairs*

In this situation the city of Bologna, which was also a twinning partner of Nizhni Novgorod, contacted the key authorities in Tampere and asked if they would like to join as the “requested-by-rules” third partner in a project called Local Democracy Network, which was aiming at developing a local civil IT system for the city of Nizhni Novgorod. The directors in the city administration were enthusiastic as this could provide some new vital links with Bologna and in addition this was a welcome idea as it would serve as a practical measure in the strategic goals that Tampere had listed in the twinning agreement with Nizhni Novgorod. Bologna was known to be skilled and have great preparedness to apply and run this kind of EU project. From the point of view of Tampere, all the pieces seemed to fall into place with this project.

> How the cooperation of Bologna and Nizhni Novgorod had started, I don’t really know. But I roughly understood that they wanted such a city to join which was also a twinning city of Nizhni Novgorod in an EU country, and I don’t think that there are many such cities. And well, I don’t think that they had so much of an idea of Tampere at that point, but it was suitable as a partner for the Tacis project and that’s how we got a request to join.
>
> *– the director of communication who became the project coordinator in Tampere*

In the beginning the cooperation relied heavily on the network of the directors of international affairs in each city. As both Bologna and Nizhni Novgorod were very eager to cooperate with each other, Tampere got a minor role in convincing the two other cities of their reciprocal suitability as project partners. The director of international affairs had personal contacts in both cities, and this played an important role for every project partner.

In Tampere the director of communication was appointed as the project coordinator because of the theme of the project. At the outset every participant city made project preparations independently. Bologna gave clear orders via e-mails and phone calls and Tampere filled in the papers and sent them forward. The amount of bureaucratic work that was required in participation surprised the project coordinator. Along the way the project coordinator was engaged in a huge amount of administrative paperwork. For the first time, he was facing the reality of what, when, how and why several detailed things are required in an EU project. The contents and basis of “calculatory financial share” were a new challenge. The rules of the game in EU project administration were revealed bit by bit.

On the other hand the thematic requirements did not seem so difficult; the things expected from Tampere were mostly expertise and some working time from the staff committed to communicating their know-how to Nizhni Novgorod. The project coordinator faced the biggest problems concerning “the challenge of finding a common language” and some cultural differences; namely how the same issues were understood differently in different countries.

> It was a challenge to put together different cultures and languages, and then again concerning this theme the level, needs and requirements of IT technology and e-governance.
>
> - *the director of communication, project coordinator*

During the course of 2000 the project moved on, from ”higher level” decision-making and strategies to concrete implementation. In the spring, as the representatives of the city of Nizhni Novgorod came for a study visit to Tampere for a month, the project coordinator was facing the reality: in Russia the financial resources were “something totally different” from in Tampere, and what was more surprising; the fundamental idea of public, open administration was also questioned. This was a time of growing humility: how to build an e-government system from nothing – how to meet those citizens who have no skills in information technology. The administrative strategies and ideas of e-governance in Tampere were put under a question mark. In a way this was positive for the director of communication; he learned to take a new perspective on these issues.

During their visit the representatives from Nizhni Novgorod familiarized themselves with the IT systems of Tampere. The personnel in the IT centre paid attention to the Russian visitors, and in addition they got to demonstrate how their systems worked. In autumn a new message reached the IT centre: now the conglomerate administration was looking for professionals who could speak at least a little bit of Russian - who could be sent to Russia to consult and educate the Russians in IT issues as “they knew barely anything there”. This was the first time the professional IT staff, who are working with the IT systems of the city, heard of a need and request for them to go somewhere abroad – to play their part in achieving the goals of an international project in this way.

The contents and the meaning of the project seemed quite unclear to the staff in the beginning. Still, two of the personnel in the IT centre were happy to contribute as they had both studied a bit of Russian and it seemed like an interesting opportunity to travel to Nizhni Novgorod – an exotic place which McDonalds had not yet conquered. This was a welcome change to everyday routines, though the connection of the project contents to the "real" work of the staff was questionable throughout.

> Actually everything that we were supposed to do was very undetermined. It was difficult to find out what we were supposed to do there.[..] They didn't really know what we could do – and we didn't really know what they wanted.
>
> - *the IT professionals from Tampere*

After some e-mailing with the Russian partners the staff which were going to Russia had some idea of what was expected from them. The aims of the visit had changed several times along the way though. In practice, the work in Russia was completed in a short time – and the rest of the time was mostly general "hanging around" and exploring the social and cultural aspect of the Russian way to handle things. Partly this was thanks to the public holidays in Russia that coincided with the period that the professionals from Tampere were there. During the visit it turned out that the things that the staff in Tampere had prepared were far too simple compared to the level of know-how in IT technologies that Nizhni Novgorod had already achieved. The work was not carried out in Russian and the professionals did not feel that they really were training anyone. They were rather taking care of some technical matters they were asked to attend to - and that was more or less that.

The experts from Bologna were in Nizhni Novgorod at the same time, but they were concentrated on their own affairs – which were something completely different than what the personnel from Tampere had been asked to do. The staff from Tampere could not really find any true contact with the people from Bologna as there was no interest for professional exchange of know-how from either side – especially as the professional fields were so different. The staff from Tampere did not feel that they received any special know-how during the project which would have helped them in their routine in the everyday-life. But the experience was refreshing – though in the busy run of the everyday activities the frustration with the undetermined meaning and contents of the activities was a negative aspect to the participation. Luckily, the autumn of 2000 was quite quiet in the IT center in general so the professionals were happy to be in Russia anyway.

Once the IT professionals returned to Tampere the visit to Russia was quickly forgotten. The staff did not maintain the contacts created during the project; only some Christmas greetings were sent but the professional exchange of know-how did not find any functional meaning for them. Nobody was expecting any analysis of the visit in relation to the everyday activities of their work or the general context of the city. The atmosphere in Nizhni Novgorod and the whole feeling of the project remained a little controversial: the hospitality and kindness of the local people in Nizhni Novgorod was heart-warming but still some feeling of uncertainty was left behind – caused either by inefficiency in Russian working routines or the undetermined contents of the project work. Which of these it was, even the professionals that were in Nizhni Novgorod could not say.

- Yes, for sure I would go again if it was possible.
- *Me too, if I'd see that I'd get some benefit out it for myself too. But it's just not…*
- Even if I didn't see any benefit, I would go.
- *Yeah - if I was told to.*
- Even if I wasn't told to!
- *No, yes, that.. There might be something out of it, but one has to think what it could be.*
- Or at least that one would have something concrete to give there. That was also so..
- *Other wise it is easily so that the other gives and the other takes.*
- Or like in this case – neither really took nor gave in the end.

-conversation of the IT professionals

Nonetheless, something was given by someone at some point as in the end the object of the project was achieved: Nizhni Novgorod got a local IT system. This was even proven by an eyewitness account; the director of international affairs was in Russia to see how the local city dwellers were using the two PCs that were set up in the city hall of Nizhni Novgorod. He also saw how the web pages of Nizhni Novgorod had developed dramatically during the project.

The project coordinator also sees that Tampere did get exactly those things that it was mostly looking for in this project: preparedness and ideas of e-government issues – though the bilateral cooperation of Tampere and Bologna was "quite weak" as the project really was directed to the development of Nizhni Novgorod. Still, the know-how that Tampere gained during the periods when the personnel from Tampere and the people from Bologna were in Nizhni Novgorod at the same time was very beneficial.

> The technical know-how for the technical staff and the widening of the world view of every participant were important benefits for Tampere.
>
> *- project coordinator, the director of communication*

After the project was concluded a structured cooperation of the three cities did not continue as “when a project is finished, there isn’t really a natural way to continue the cooperation with the strength of three cities”. But the bilateral contacts have continued in one way or the other. The project coordinator kept in touch with the key persons from Bologna, and sometimes with the persons from Nizhni Novgorod too. The contacts mostly consisted of informal e-mails of the “how are you?” type and occasional meetings in conferences.

> For sure there has been more cooperation with Nizhni Novgorod after the project than before - since before the project there was nothing, and after it there has been some cooperation. Well, maybe not so much but anyways we’ve kept these personal contacts and that kind of exchange of experiences and small-scale consultation. We’ve followed the development from one side and the other.
>
> *- the director of communication*

In some other contexts the contacts with Bologna have become remarkably strong. The enterprises and universities in Tampere have established direct links to Bologna but their connection to the Tacis project is questionnable. Nizhni Novgorod, on the other hand, has stayed distant: for some reason St.Petersburg has become an important partner – much more interesting than Nizhni Novgorod even though it is not a twinning city of Tampere. All in all the director of international affairs is satisfied with the results;

> This project worked really well. […]. Network – that really was strength in this project; that we could get so close in the exchange of know-how. The project was really close to the work of the communication departments, and of course the IT centre, which was involved from us, as well as from both Bologna and Nizhni Novgorod.
>
> *- the director of international affairs*

5.2 The Case of Turku

5.2.1 Situational Context of the Narrative

Turku is the oldest city in Finland, currently with approximately 175 000 inhabitants. Among other things, the city seeks to function as an important link in the Stockholm-Turku-St.Petersburg connections.[138] The city of Turku and the city of St.Petersburg established twinning relations as early as 1953. According to an internationalizing plan, which the city of Turku established in 2004, St.Petersburg is seen these days as "Russia's gate to Europe". Turku, on the other hand, seeks to function as the gate of St.Petersburg to Europe. Whether St.Petersburg sees Turku as such a gate is under a question mark, but this is in any case the profile that Turku aspires to.[139]

Some incentives that make the co-operation with St.Petersburg meaningful for Turku are the large material resources of the city, the close connections of St.Petersburg to many European metropolises, and the new economic opportunities for Finnish enterprises arising from economic growth and social stabilization in Russia. In this situation the city of Turku wants to define its co-operative role with St.Petersburg very clearly, promoting especially co-operation which is beneficial for both partners.[140]

In general the aim of all the international activities of the city of Turku is to serve the goals of the city-dwellers and to improve their well-being. The international contacts should also help in creating and promoting the actions of enterprises and other organisations functioning in the city. In this way it is defined at a strategic level that the international contacts of the city of Turku should not be an isolated aspect of city policy but rather a comprehensive service dedicated to the whole development of the city. According to the internationalizing plan the foreign policy of the city, which is carried out through various transnational contacts, should also support the success of Finnish society and values.[141]

The "Finnish values" that the internationalizing plan concerns are not defined in more detail. Instead the city of Turku has determined some of its own key values in a "Turku

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[138] Turku lyhyesti. [WWW source].
[139] "Turku maailmassa – maailma Turussa". Turun kaupungin kansainvälistymisstrategia 2004, 10.
[140] ibid., 11.
[141] ibid., 3.

Strategy”. These values are based on the idea that the city is a service organisation based on democracy and communication with the city-dwellers. To support this idea it is important to constantly improve the know-how and creativity of local services. According to the principle of justice, all the city-dwellers in the city of Turku are to be treated on equal basis. In the Turku Strategy the city has also devoted itself to implementing this same principle of justice in relation to enterprises and organisations; the enterprises and organisations functioning in the city must also be treated on equal basis. In addition the ideology of sustainable development[142] is a key value of the city organisation; this refers to such economic, social and ecological development that guarantees the livelihood of future generations. Last but not least, cooperation is also mentioned as a value in its own right. The value of cooperation is realized at local, regional, and national levels as well as regards international cooperation.[143]

To implement the higher-level values and strategies the city of Turku has committed itself to various specified and thematic development strategies. Among these is for example the policy of sustainable development. For the first time in 2001, the city of Turku established a special programme to support sustainable development. The programme aims at changing all the activities of the city to a sustainable basis in ecological, economic and societal spheres. The implementation is carried out in sectoral administration and it should reach every employee of the city.[144]

Another cross-sectioning ideology in the development of the city is the idea of well-being and public health. This includes various values, like equality in healthcare issues; health provision should be available for all the city dwellers. The public health issues should also be joined with the plans of sustainable development, so that healthcare issues would be handled on sustainable basis. This should create cross-sectoral cooperation in the city administration as public health is not only an issue for the healthcare sector but something that has to be remembered in all the actions of the city. The sharing of resources, know-how and experiences is a gesture of solidarity, in which the city has also engaged itself.[145]

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[143] Turku-strategia 2005-2008 [WWW document].
[144] Kestävän kehityksen politiikka [WWW document].
[145] Mattson 2002 [WWW document].

Since 1997 the city of Turku has been the co-ordinator in three EU-funded Tacis projects. All the projects have concerned healthcare issues. The projects have been formed by a network of three participants: Turku, St.Petersburg and Stockholm/Rotterdam. The first project “Preparatory Project for Intersectoral Cooperation” took place from October 1997 until October 1998. The second project, “Improving Health Planning and Health Promotion in the Municipalities (city parts) of Saint-Petersburg” continued from October 2000 until June 2002. The third project of “Developing Methods and Materials for Improving Male Health in St.Petersburg” started in December 2003 and continue for two years.

The following narrative will tell the story of how the city of Turku has engaged itself in a series of Tacis projects. The story includes the voices of the coordinator of international affairs, the project personnel from a special “Healthy City” office, and an expert on project advisory services. As was the case in Tampere, the interviewees represent both the higher level city administration as well as the practical implementation of the project. Differing from Tampere, the project coordinator in Turku has not been a representative of the higher level city administration but more a practical fieldwork expert devoted especially to Tacis cooperation. This affects the storytelling and the nature of the projects as we will see in the narrative. As there have been three separate projects in Turku and only one project in Tampere, the story of Turku will move on a rather more administrative level and create a picture of the development of continuing cooperation rather than the specified practices of each project.

5.2.2 A Tale from the Field: Turku heals St.Petersburg

Ever since the 1980s the healthcare sector of the city of Turku has employed several internationally-oriented individuals. One of these was a doctor who had encouraged Turku to join a Healthy Cities network – an ideological international network of cities under the umbrella of the World Health Organization (WHO). This network had brought several international contacts to the city. St. Petersburg was also seen as an important city and the association of Stockholm-Turku-St.Petersburg was much appreciated in the WHO. On this basis the director of healthcare had also been effective in various international activities. St.Petersburg was especially close to his heart and thanks to him the staff in the healthcare department had visited hospitals in Russia and participated in charity work.

> Especially concerning St.Petersburg there was a special feeling of solidarity; that Turku – as this size of a unit of less than 200 000 inhabitants – has both resources and obligations to work for its citizens' benefit not only by building services but also by affecting the wider business environment. This is why it was important to go in particular to St.Petersburg.
>
> - *the coordinator of international affairs*

In the mid-1990s the surrounding world started to show more and more signs of expanding international competition of cities. The WHO Healthy Cities network was looking for regional centres, and the EU also brought in new opportunities for cities in international cooperation. The nature of international contacts was changing.

> This, lets say 'the opening of the world', took place exactly in the mid-1990s. The old, very formal twin city relations – that you wrote a contract and once a year you went to shake hands with the partner, drink champagne, see folk dancing, write some protocol and travel home – got new prospects as through the EU funding you had money to do something real and rational together.
>
> - *the coordinator of international affairs*

Only a few people in the city administration understood and were interested in the new opportunities that the EU was bringing. One of these was the director of healthcare. He encouraged two of his personnel to participate in EU training in 1996. As a condition for participation in EU training in Brussels, he demanded that his subordinates would have to draw up a concrete EU funding application – to learn the techniques and principles of getting EU money to the city. In general the atmosphere in the city was to obtain as many EU projects as possible, and the contents of the projects were of lesser importance. It was like taking part in a lottery, and this time the lottery was directed to Russia.

At this time a fluent Russian-speaking economist working in the Healthy Cities office was also contacted. She participated in the preparation of an EU funding application mostly out of pure curiosity; no, she was not going to Brussels, but it had always been difficult to get any signatures to anything from Russia so this was an interesting challenge and an opportunity. Along the way the director of healthcare was visiting Stockholm, and as the Stockholm-Turku-St.Petersburg link was an important strategy of Turku, Stockholm was also invited to join the project. For the personnel preparing the project application this caused some difficulties; the application was underway and Stockholm needed to be included at a rather late stage. In this way Stockholm's influence seemed to be even disruptive; it had its own larger project idea in hand, and the contents of the originally planned Turku-St.Petersburg project were now modified to suit the future plans of Stockholm – this became a "Preparatory Project", PrePic.

The pleasure of getting the signatures from St.Petersburg was at least a satisfying feeling for the "EU application techniques trainees" in Turku. Turku was on its way to becoming a leader of its first Tacis-project with St.Petersburg.

> Well, when we got the signatures from St.Petersburg I think we drank champagne all night long here.
>
> *- the Russian speaking economist, future project coordinator*

The Russian-speaking economist was appointed as the project coordinator mostly because of her language skills. The enthusiasm of the project coordinator drove the project through; she really enjoyed being in Russia and the connections with the local staff in St.Petersburg were functioning well. Stockholm lacked commitment all the way through the project, but fruitful cooperation both with the Russians and with professional training institutions in Turku, like the University of Åbo Akademi, created a positive atmosphere for this kind of cooperation. The support of the director of healthcare was also important throughout.

As the project was ending at the end of 1998 the working group of the Finnish project coordinator and the Russian health care professionals realized that a new call for project proposals was coming from the Commission. Both of the participants were disappointed with the contribution of Stockholm, and there was a clear desire to get a committed third partner involved with the project. After huge uncertainty the third partner to the project was found in Rotterdam; a twinning city of St.Petersburg and also a member of the Healthy Cities organization. Unfortunately the application that was drawn up in such a hurry that it was not accepted.

The PrePic project had left such a positive feeling behind in St.Petersburg that in 1999 they renewed contact with the familiar persons in Turku. This time they had a project idea of their own and they had also negotiated with Rotterdam, which was still interested in joining this kind of a project - the Healthy Cities ideology created a positive attitude to local-to-local cooperation. This was a welcome added benefit to Turku, as they also knew that Rotterdam had high-level know-how of healthcare issues. This was most positive because on this occasion Turku could also rely on the third partner.

In the meantime the project coordinator had moved on and no longer worked for the Healthy Cities office. However when the director of healthcare called her and asked if she would like to continue cooperation with the Russians she was happy to contribute despite the fact that she was not working for the city. The positive contacts and feeling of success were driving forces this time.

> I think that you started to know them [the Russian partners] and they knew us, and then it is like a totally different thing to do any project when you know each other like that. The contacts are in reality extremely important; that you know the trustful people and you know who to contact. Nothing happens if you don’t have a contact person somewhere.
>
> \- *project coordinator*

The atmosphere in the city was also supportive – at least in the beginning when the second Tacis-project started in October 2000. Even though the cooperation with Russia was still functioning well, the city of Turku was facing a time of drastic changes in personnel.

> So in a way; this director of healthcare left, and then the mayors changed – so in a way the commitment to this project from the side of Turku was weakened by all the possible changes in personnel.
>
> - *Healthy Cities coordinator*

On the other hand this was a time when the cooperation of Turku and St.Petersburg was progressing in other fields of action. St.Petersburg established a contact centre for enterprises in Turku. This centre called Bizkon was opened in September 2001.[146] For the administration this was a positive episode, also supporting the Tacis activities which were not directly concerning business matters.

> If we think, who can also benefit of Tacis projects, they are of course Finnish enterprises. And the purpose of the economic policy of a municipality is to improve the business opportunities of its enterprises. So if we have good relations, close contacts and active co-operation with St.Petersburg – like we have at the moment – then we also help also our enterprises. And here in Turku, it has concretized to having Bizkon which is the enterprise contact centre of St.Petersburg in Turku. So I would think that we are like predecessors.
>
> - *the special expert in project advisory services*

At the turn of the 21st century the city administration started to increasingly pay more general attention to EU projects. The development strategies and internationalization at a general level gave a new, comprehensive context to the separate projects. The know-how of EU activities started to shift also from the healthcare sector towards general administration, which was concerned with the follow-up and criteria of project activities. In 2002 the project evaluation system in the city of Turku reached a new level; all the projects that were carried out in the city were analyzed detail by detail.

But not everyone in the city liked the "predecessor" role; some citizens started to ask crucial questions in the opinion columns of the local news papers, like "why does the city waste its money in St.Petersburg even though the veterans of the war are fighting

[146] Bizkon 2005 [WWW source].

for their life with minimum pensions?". Both the project coordinator and the city administration needed to consider the motivation of the activities.

> The city of Turku doesn't give just aid to the poor, but the cooperation has to start from such a basis that we cooperate with partners who may have a bit poorer conditions than we do – but in any case, we are equal partners and the cooperation is reciprocal.
>
> - *the coordinator of international affairs*

> As this Tacis is a programme of EU eastern aid, the aim is not to benefit those here in Turku. I think this is meant to be humanitarian aid – and we benefit then something in the long run.
>
> - *the project coordinator*

During this second project the cooperation of the project coordinator and the Healthy Cities coordinator increased. Despite the changes in the personnel and all the interim difficulties the general atmosphere was still largely positive. Because the same people from Turku and Russia had been working together for a long time now, there was still a desire to keep up the cooperation. Again, as the second project was ending and the project coordinator was visiting St.Petersburg, ideas of a third project were "automatically" in the air. This time the thematic contents came from Turku:

> On one Sunday morning I read an article in the local news paper that the health of men in St. Petersburg is deteriorating. Well, we had been talking already before that a new project would be nice, and then I realized that there we have now a concrete topic for a project in healthcare issues.
>
> - *the project coordinator*

Now the project coordinator had a new link in the city to consult with; the project advisory service in the development unit of the city was a centre primarily concentrating on giving advice and evaluating the EU project applications. To gain some really concrete benefit from the Tacis project Turku now also concentrated on learning something itself; the participants from Turku would now take part in the training that Rotterdam arranged and vice versa. It was also noted both at the practical level and in the city administration that Turku should be open to learning from St.Petersburg too: the larger city, the larger problems, the larger solution.

> This is a good way to develop our own resources and policies. As when our resources are decreasing, we need this kind of project to learn how to make our services more effective. We hear from other countries how they have solved a problem and then we don't fight with these issues alone. This is one way how we survive with decreasing resources.
>
> - *the special expert in project advisory services*

The future prospects of an enlarging EU and the requirements of efficient international cooperation had become important in grounding a project. As the city now had a new person focusing on EU issues the total perspective on projects had changed: vital project activities and function cooperation with Russia was something aimed at building a good reputation with the Commission too. The more Turku would commit itself to the projects, the better chances this would provide for the personnel of Turku seeking jobs in the EU administration. Turku was now representing Finland as a skilled actor in EU affairs – and hopefully this would help Finland to obtain EU money in the future too.

In a very concrete sense the groundings for continuing Tacis cooperation still relied heavily on the functioning personal contacts; as the same people had been involved from St.Petersburg and Turku for a long time, it has been a pleasure for the project coordinator to commit herself to these activities. Even though the city has defined strategic goals of international networking and vital links with St.Petersburg, the concrete support of international projects seems distant.

> In a way there is a controversy; on the one hand the city administration strongly supports the actions, on the other hand these applications are done on unpaid time. I think that if the project coordinator hadn't spent her private time in drawing each of these applications, there wouldn't be any single project.
>
> - *Healthy Cities coordinator*

6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to discover the reasons for EU local authorities to participate in such projects where they are not the primary beneficiary themselves. In the background there was a list of “top ten reasons” defined by the Commission. This study has investigated literature on the political actorness of EU local authorities at the turn of the 21st century as well as including practical information on two cases where Finnish local authorities have participated in developing the local administration in Russia. These projects have been funded by the EU Commissions Tacis programme.

The studied cases show unequivocally that the reasons for EU authorities to participate in the implementation of Tacis programme are manifold. Partially the reasons coincide with the ones that the Commission has laid out, but in practice on the basis of these two cases there can also be a lot of “happy accident” in the scheme. After studying the cases of Turku-St.Petersburg and Tampere-Nizhni Novgorod cooperation it is interesting to return to the “top ten list” of the Tacis City Twinning brochure and set out the reasons once more.

1) The first reason in the list was “solidarity through the people-to-people nature of City Twinning”. In the light of the two cases studied, this seems to be an important factor, especially in successful projects and those projects which are based on earlier contacts and cooperation. In Turku the feeling of solidarity was a profound factor driving the project coordinator to continue the activities – without this the transnational network created in the first Tacis project would have collapsed. The feeling of solidarity is not though something that would motivate this particular EU local authority to apply for funding in the first instance. Neither of the cases that were studied showed that the Tacis project would have been a realization of a “feeling of solidarity”. The primary reason to start cooperation was much more practical: in Tampere the link with the third partner of Bologna, in Turku the application techniques.

2) Secondly, “common history, culture and shared traditions” seemed to be an important factor for participation in the case of Turku, where cooperation with Russia has long traditions. In Turku the Tacis cooperation was seen as important on the basis of the long history of cooperation with St.Petersburg. On the other hand the common history of

Finland and Russia did not have any meaningful effect on the project participation in Tampere. According to the questionnaires none of the interviewees in Tampere saw this factor as significant for participation. Both of the studied cases concerned Finnish-Russian cooperation which has a special, slightly controversial history. This history could both support and weaken the interest of EU local authorities to participate. Russia was not seen as a tempting project partner as such, even though the importance of good relations to Russia was noted.

> We should get the basic staff of the city more involved in these projects. But Russia is a bit like “we don’t want to go there” as a country. If they could go to Paris, I think that the motivation would be totally different.
>
> *- the special expert in project advisory services in Turku*

3) Because of the fact that the studied cases represent Finnish-Russian cooperation, the exposure to new cultures and experiences with all the attendant rewards and difficulties was not among the primary reasons to participate. The Russian culture was not seen as extremely fascinating although, especially in the case of Turku, some curiosity had been driving the cooperation, at least in the beginning. On the other hand, the case of Tampere showed how a Tacis project could provide an interesting link with a third partner of Bologna and tempt the city to participate as it could expose itself to new experiences with the Italian partner.

At a more general level the exposure to new cultures and experiences offered by these projects was noted as an important factor in tempting skilled employees to the local administration and also for motivating the city personnel in a concrete sense, as we saw in Tampere. This factor was crucially only "second hand"; the decision to start a project was done on other bases.

4) The existing city twinning links were crucial in both of the studied cases. In both cases the partnerships were based on twinning agreements. The Tacis programme was in practice used to provide additional funding to refresh, continue, broaden or refocus existing city twinning relationships. At a time when local authorities receive more and more tasks but less and less money the Tacis cooperation functioned as means to deepen the city twinning, but also as a means to widen the network of twinning relations by

connecting several separate twinning cities with each other. This was the situation in both of the studied cases.

The interviewees in Turku emphasized the meaning of revitalizing the existing city twinning links more than the interviewees in Tampere. This might refer more to the previous “non-existence” of twinning actions of Tampere and Nizhni Novgorod before the Tacis project, because of which the additional funding and importance of the twinning connection was not as remarkable in Tampere as it was in Turku. In Turku the twinning relation with St.Petersburg and the additional funding that the Tacis programme provided was based on old traditions and the importance of the twinning city St. Petersburg was of a wider strategic importance to Turku.

5) The catalyst effect, i.e. local government leading the way for other actors like the private sector, universities and NGOs was remarked upon especially by the strategic visionaries of the cities. The experts of international development in both of the cities emphasized the importance of the transnational contacts of the city in creating a functioning environment for other actors. In Tampere the catalyst effect was seen as important especially in smoothing the path for other actors to connect with the expertise of Bologna; in Turku the catalyst effect culminates in the business contact centre of Bizkon dedicated to serving the city-dwellers and enterprises in their connections to St.Petersburg.

6) The IT project of Tampere and Nizhni Novgorod was connected directly to the development strategy of Tampere in a particular sector. Tampere decided to participate in the Tacis project with the idea that it could serve as means of establishing sustainable links – though not with the Russian partner but with the third partner of Bologna. The LO.DE.NET project was an element linking directly to the strategies of developing the information society issues in the city, which was determined even in the vision of the city. On the other hand, also in the case of Turku the Tacis cooperation linked to two more general strategies: the ideology of Healthy Cities and the status of Turku in the Baltic Sea region.

7) Visibility and profile in sectoral and international networks was important in both cases. For Turku the Healthy Cities network of WHO was an important background factor for Tacis cooperation. The Tacis projects, in addition to many other functions,

served to create a positive image of Turku in this other international network. For Tampere the links between cities concentrated on developing the e-government were crucial in motivating also the Tacis cooperation. The Tacis project was seen to be beneficial in establishing transnational links which could be beneficial to the city in other contexts.

8) Neither of the cases showed that at the pragmatic level a structured desire to participate to Tacis projects in search of a track record in EU-funded projects would have been important. There has been a clear difference in this kind of thinking during the 10 years that Finland has been in the EU though, and the importance of EU project experience and the opportunities provided by this experience are slowly becoming a generally understood fact. These days it is realized at least in the city administration that the more the city has experience on EU projects, the better chances it has in bidding for EU money offered through initiatives and programmes. The importance of EU project experience as a factor of success in competing for money and decision-making power in the EU was not something that would have played a crucial role in participation in practice. This was something that was largely noticed a little later, and these days this ideology is creating an ever more positive atmosphere of encouragement and support to Tacis projects.

9) The professional challenge for local authority staff, learning to re-examine ideas and practices in the light of different environments was something that was considered important in participation. As the local authorities cannot compete for skilled employees through attractive salaries, the challenges and changes in the working environment that this kind of international projects offer to local authority staff were important motivators. This was probably one of the most important reasons why the EU local authorities participated in those projects where the primary beneficiary was someone else. How the learning process of the local authority staff then proceeded is another question, as we saw in the case of Tampere. But the general “widening of the world perspective” was mentioned by almost all of the interviewees who saw that the transnational contacts were interesting for them as individuals.

10) Last but not least, the experience in EU project management techniques seems to have motivated the Finnish EU local authorities to participate, especially at the beginning, just after the country joined the EU. In Turku this was probably the most

important reason why the Tacis cooperation started in the first place. How much one Tacis project can teach about EU project management techniques also heavily depends on the effort and resources invested by the city. For some reason Tampere did not find the Tacis project important in this way, as it was "only" a partner, not a coordinator in the project. But as the case of Turku shows, one Tacis project can definitely teach a lot about EU project management – which then again creates a synergic effect and makes vital cooperative relations possible.

In both cities the internationalizing visionaries emphasized that these days, ten years after Finland has joined the EU, the experience of project management techniques can no longer be a motivating factor for the city to participate. In the city of Turku the skills of the "self-learned" project workers in the healthcare sector will now, in the early 21st century, be taken for granted as the "Tacis" activities will start to train other city personnel on EU project management and funding application techniques. This experience gained only through the active interest of internationally oriented individuals may indeed become a key competitive advantage in an enlarged Europe.

All in all, none of the interviewees saw the participation in a Tacis project as important in increasing the political power of the city through the transnational contacts and competence. Concerning the economic status of the city, the interviewees in Turku saw the Tacis projects as more important in the competition for capital and resources than the interviewees in Tampere. The financial grants provided by the EU were noted much more significantly in Turku than in Tampere as a driving force for participating in the Tacis programme.

In the end, the nature of the two cases studied differed from each other dramatically. In Turku the participation in Tacis projects was a long story of committed, personal motivation to Finnish-Russian cooperation. The case of Tampere represented more a sudden coincidence, where not as much effort was put into cooperation and where the potential benefits of the cooperation were also seen as narrower. The city of Tampere lacked commitment to the project, as on the contrary the city of Turku was eager to make the cooperation ever more "serious".

The more the city is ready to invest in the Tacis cooperation, the more it can seek to benefit from it. Sometimes there are not enough resources, sometimes one such project is just a "side track" that fades away into history. But the cooperation can also serve the city in a wider scale. It is always a matter of many coincidences, but in the end it both reflects and creates a certain kind of atmosphere in the city administration. Whether the city is internationally active, open-minded and developing is something that is built of small pieces – both at the practical level and in higher level administrative strategies. The Tacis cooperation does not definitely make any huge difference in the competitiveness of any EU local authority, but it does open a broad spectrum of opportunities – which the city can either try to benefit from, or not.

The ideology of a transnational city was clearly reflected in the interviews of the internationalizing visionaries of both of the cities. The challenge of communication from "higher level administration" to the implementing level seemed to weaken the commitment of both of the cities to the transnational projects.

> In our city other units are more interested and active in some ways, others are passive. So, if we saw in the city administration that this kind of cooperation is beneficial and then the implementing unit is much against it – it just doesn't work.
>
> - *the director of international affairs in Tampere*

In some way the strategic ideology of a transnational city was much stronger in Turku than in Tampere. All the interviewees in Turku showed a desire and enthusiasm to further develop all the transnational contacts that the city has, like the Tacis projects. Based on the interviews, the atmosphere in the city seemed very open to international winds, and the city had clearly identified external relations as an important factor for success. In Tampere the vision of a transnational city might still be just a gleam in the eyes of the director of international affairs. The transnational contacts were not regarded as important in determining the whole success of the city as in Turku. On the other hand, Tampere had a clear profile in its development: the e-government issues created the core of the city profile and also the transnational contacts were created in these terms. In the end, both of the cities seemed to be creating a clear profile for themselves – the one as a transnational centre, the other as "centre of technology". Both of the cities represented in this way a transnational city; they both had taken the responsibility of their development to their own hands - they were "actors in their own right". The Tacis cooperation did not start because someone said so, it started out of the self-willingness of the city, the ideology that Tacis cooperation could provide something beneficial to the city – no matter even though the veterans of the war disagreed.

The prospects of Tacis cooperation are manifold. It will be seen in the future what kind of an effect the ideas of "EcoPolis"[147] or the profile of a "sustainable city"[148] - determined by the EU - has on practical local-to-local projects implementing the idea of international solidarity and developing the less-developed areas of our planet. These ideas were not mentioned in the interviews in this study but both of the cities had committed themselves to development on a sustainable basis. The ideas of EcoPolis and sustainable city could also provide a potential future perspective for projects like Tacis concerning international solidarity.

As we have seen, the ideology of sustainable development is something that cities have to pay attention to in the early 21st century. A critical attitude towards the strategies of the cities should still be preserved. In this context it is not relevant to comment whether the ideology of sustainable development is to be supported or not; in any case it seems to be a vital ideology these days. Many researchers, like Eeva Martikainen, support the ideology by saying that it is necessary because of the ecological facts. If a city is wishing to follow the ideology of sustainable development in reality, international cooperation can no longer be avoided. In this context international solidarity is neither necessary nor unavoidable but it is needed as "without the feeling of international solidarity it is impossible to promote the balance of nature and human life". Only international solidarity can help to build such structures that promote individual countries to act on sustainable ecological bases.[149]

As the development cooperation of the EU in any case remains an understudied area, the perspective of sustainable development would open some interesting ideas for further studies. This would help us to better understand the nature of EU development cooperation in the early 21st century. Further study at both a theoretical and practical level would also be needed, if we desire to find an effective link and grounded bases for high-level strategies as well as the practical implementation of EU external aid. The new perspectives to development cooperation opened by the ideology of sustainable development could also open a new opportunity in making the cooperation globally

[147] Girardet 2004, 254-273.
[148] Perceive, conceive, achieve : the sustainable city : a European tetralogy, 1997.
[149] Martikainen 1998, 8.

efficient and acceptable. Without further studies and new perspectives it is impossible to affect the contents of EU development cooperation. For the benefit of both EU local authorities and for the sake of the less-developed areas it can only be hoped that critical approaches to these issues will become more and more interesting topics for research. To understand a phenomenon is a perquisite to changing the world.

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Appendix 1. Letter of Approach.

Arvoisa Kuntalainen,

Olen loppuvaiheen valtio-opin opiskelija Tampereen yliopistosta. Suunnittelen nyt pro gradu -tutkielmaani suomalaisten kuntien osallistumisesta Tacis -ohjelmaan. Tutkimuksen päätavoitteena on selvittää, mikä on motivoinut suomalaisia kuntia osallistumaan Tacis -ohjelmaan, miten hankkeet ovat syntyneet ja miten suomalaiset kumppanit ovat hyötyneet hankkeista.

Tietääkseni Teidän kunnassanne on ollut tai on tällä hetkellä käynnissä Tacis -hanke. Olisiko hankkeestanne/hankkeistanne mahdollista saada lisätietoa? Tässä vaiheessa tutkimusta etsin sopivia tutkimusyksikköjä ja olisin nyt kiinnostunut seuraavista seikoista:

1) Minkä Tacis -alaohjelman alla hankkeenne toteutetaan/on toteutettu (Tacis CBC SPF/MPF, Tacis City Twinning, Tacis IBPP etc.)?

2) Mikä on hankkeen tematiikka/hankeotsake?

3) Mikä on hankkeen toteuttamisen ajanjakso? Onko hanke jo päättynyt?

4) Kuka on toiminut hankkeen projektikoordinaattorina kuntanne osalta (yhteystiedot)?

Hankkeen tematiikka voi esim. Tacis CBC SPF -ohjelmassa olla local democrazy, energy & environment tms. Tutkimuksen kannalta olisi erityisen kiinnostavaa löytää ns. "local democrazy" -hankkeita, mutta myös muut hankkeet ovat kiinnostavia tutkimuskohteita.

Tutkimus toteutetaan teemahaastattelujen avulla. Olisiko kuntanne hanketta mahdollisuus käyttää tarpeen mukaan yhtenä tutkimusyksikkönä? Mahdollisen yhteistyön myötä kerron mieluusti tutkimuksesta lisää.

Toivoisin vastaustanne maanantaihin 23.2.2004 mennessä.
Kiitos kiinnostuksestanne ja avustanne jo etukäteen.
Ystävällisin yhteistyöterveisin,
Marjukka Laiho
Yht.yo, Tampereen yliopisto

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Appendix 2. Interview Guide of the Focused Interview.

1. Hankkeen syntyhistoria ja luonne (aika ennen hanketta)

kaupungin profiili ennen hanketta
kaupungin toimintaympäristö, tausta – ja motivaatiotekijät, arvot ja asenteet, muut hankkeet & verkostot

kumppanuus (partnership)
kumppanuuden luonne & yhteistyö ennen (ensimmäistä) Tacis–hanketta ja sen merkitys hankkeen syntymiseen

hankkeen aloite ja alkuvaiheet
aloite (mistä, miten?), käytännön järjestelyt, heikkoudet/vahvuudet

tärkein oppi

2. Hankkeen aikana

kumppanuus (partnership)
kumppanuuden luonne, muutokset, heikkoudet & vahvuudet

yhteistyö
toimintamuodot, panokset, heikkoudet & vahvuudet, haasteet & anti

tärkein oppi & anti

3. Hankkeen jälkeen/nyt

kumppanuus (partnership)
kumppanuuden luonne & yhteistyö hankkeen jälkeen

yhteistyö
seuraukset, uudet hankkeet

tärkein oppi/anti
hyödyt, synergiaedut (työllistävät vaikutukset tms.)

kaupungin profiili hankkeen jälkeen
kaupungin toimintaympäristö, arvot ja asenteet, muut hankkeet & verkostot

4. Loppuyhteenveto

Tacis–yhteistyön merkitys kaupungin kansainvälistymisessä

laajentuminen ja EU:n rahoituskanavien muutos
Tacis-yhteistyö ja kokemus tässä viitekehyksessä

kysely: Mitkä tekijät motivoivat EU-viranomaisia osallistumaan Tacis-hankkeeseen?

Appendix 3. Questionnaire.

Ohessa on lueteltu seikkoja, jotka *motivoivat EU-viranomaisia osallistumaan Tacis-hankkeeseen*. Arvioikaa asteikolla 1-5, kuinka merkittäviä nämä seikat ovat käytännössä:

	erittäin merkittävä				ei merkitystä
1. Solidaarisuus, city twinning –toiminnalle ominainen vuorovaikutus ihmisten kesken	1	2	3	4	5
2. Yhteinen historia, kulttuuri ja yhteiset perinteet	1	2	3	4	5
3. Mahdollisuus tutustua uusiin kulttuureihin ja uudet kokemukset, niin osanottajia palkitsevat kokemukset kuin vaikeudetkin	1	2	3	4	5
4. Lisärahoitus olemassa olevien ystävyyskunta-suhteiden uudistamiseen, jatkamiseen, laajentamiseen ja uudelleenkeskittämiseen aikana, jolloin paikalliset viranomaiset saavat yhä enemmän tehtäviä mutta yhä vähemmän rahaa	1	2	3	4	5
5. Katalyyttiset vaikutukset: paikallis- tai aluehallinto edelläkävijänä muille toimijoille, kuten yksityiselle sektorille, yliopistoille ja ei-valtiollisille organisaatioille (NGO)	1	2	3	4	5
6. Tärkeä elementti yleisessä kehittämis-strategiassa tietyllä, erityisellä sektorilla, esim. jätevedenhuolto. Tacis–projekti voi toimia ensimmäisenä yrityksenä saada aikaan kestäviä yhteistyömuotoja	1	2	3	4	5
7. Näkyvyys ja profiloituminen aiheenmukaisissa ja kansainvälisissä verkostoissa	1	2	3	4	5
8. EU–rahoitteisten projektien ansioluettelo, usein suuri tekijä muiden aloitteiden ja ohjelmien haussa	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ammatillinen haaste paikallishallinnon virkamiehille oppia tutkimaan uudelleen ideoita ja käytäntöjä erilaisten ympäristöjen valossa	1	2	3	4	5
10. Kokemus EU–projektien hallinnointitekniikassa, eräs tärkeimmistä kilpailuetuuksista laajentuvassa Euroopassa	1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Poliittisen vallan lisääntyminen kansainvälisten suhteiden ja kokemuksen myötä	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Pyrkimys kansainvälistymis- tai kehityssuunnitelman tavoitteiden toteuttamiseen	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Näkemys ulkosuhteiden merkityksestä kaupungin tulevaisuutta määrittävänä tekijänä	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Kilpailu pääomasta ja resursseista	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Kilpailu suurten yritysten, kansainvälisten organisaatioiden, konferenssien ja instituutioiden sekä urheilutapahtuminen sijaintipaikasta	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Kansainvälistyminen, kansainväliset kontaktit ja yhteistyö tärkeänä ehtona elinvoimaisuuden säilyttämiselle ja elinkeinojen uudistumiselle	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Innovaatioiden ja uuden tiedon tuottaminen kaupungin menestystekijänä	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Taloudellisten, poliittisten ja kulttuuristen suhteiden luoma toimintaympäristö, mikä edesauttaa muuttoliikettä, investointeja sekä poliittisia ja taloudellisia sijoittajia asettumaan kaupunkiin	1	2	3	4	5
9.	EU:n tarjoamat taloudelliset avustukset	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Yhteistyö EU-komission kanssa ja osallistuminen korkean tason päätöksentekoon	1	2	3	4	5

Lisätietoja, mm. muita syitä, jotka motivoivat EU:n alue- ja paikallishallinnon edustajia osallistumaan Tacis-hankkeeseen:

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KIITOS VASTAUKSISTANNE!