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Russian Cities in International Relations: Actors or Observers?

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<u>Contents</u>

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Abbreviations

BaltMet – the Baltic Metropoles Network;

BSSSC – the Baltic Sea States Sub-regional Co-operation Organization;

BTC – the Baltic Sea Tourism Commission;

CoE – The Council of Europe;

CoR - The European Committee of the Regions;

IR – International Relations;

NCG – Non-Central Government;

NTA – Non-traditional Actor of IR (e.g. NGO, INGO, Multinational Corporation, etc.);

TNSA – territorial non-state actor (e.g. region, municipality, city, town);

UCLG – United Cities and Local Governments (The Global Network of Cities, Local and Regional Governments).

A note on translations

In the course of this research I have utilized materials (both textual and audio) which have been in Russian. When analyzing these materials I have necessarily had to provide a workable English translation of them for presentation within this dissertation. Inevitably a microanalysis of the linguistic devices and structures employed in the original language will often be rendered senseless by a translation into another language. I have therefore endeavored to preserve the meaning and tone of the original language in all the translations provided, rather than attempt to provide a literate translation. In cases where I felt that a particular significant word was used in Russian which conveys a different meaning or a nuance from its English equivalent, then I have included the Russian word in parenthesis immediately following the word in question.

Introduction

General Introduction

Diplomacy existed long before the foundation of the first states. It was executed by cities and their unions, which established diplomatic relations through the exchange of representatives and ambassadors. However, the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 ended the cities' monopoly on international relations (IR). State-centricity was further accelerated at the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which resulted in the temporary exclusion of cities from foreign affairs. However, current international conditions (globalization, glocalization, devolution of power, etc.) have led to the situation when states are no longer the only actors on the international stage. Their influence is challenged by international organizations, multinational corporations and also cities. Cities started to participate in IR as full-fledged actors, allowing countries to delegate some responsibilities to the local level.

While academic studies have been carried out on practices of city diplomacy in a number of European (e.g. the Netherlands, Belgium), American (e.g. the USA, Canada) and Asian (e.g. China, Japan) states, no substantive research has been conducted on Russia. Therefore, the study focuses on city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation in a single county – Russia. However, it is intended to be more that a descriptive, country-specific *exposé* of practice in this one country. Instead, this is a case study of how the concepts of *city diplomacy* and *decentralised cooperation* can be more usefully used and studied in academic examinations of non-traditional actors of international relations, and specifically territorial non-state actors (TNSAs). It is thus both an in-depth examination of such new phenomena as city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation, and simultaneously a serious of attempts to come to a better understanding of the Russian view on city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation taken on the case study of St. Petersburg. Of central importance therefore is understanding the relationship between theory and its practical application.

This research primarily deals with St. Petersburg's external activities projecting the results obtained on Russian cities as a whole. Being the second largest city in Russia and a cultural capital, St. Petersburg has been chosen as a case study due to its special status of a city of the federal importance, the longevity of its external relations and a unique border location at the Baltic Sea. The thesis analyses St. Petersburg's city diplomacy in all the major dimensions. The central goal is to create insight in external relations of Russian cities, in order to learn from experience and to determine where there is a discrepancy between theory and practice, and how city diplomacy can further develop in Russia. In this respect St. Petersburg serves a good representation for the total population. This central goal has been translated into the central question:

What is the status of Russian cities in international relations: are they full-fledged actors, second order actors or observers?

City diplomacy entails a broad spectrum of practices and activities. This research is an attempt to map the practice of Russian city diplomacy and to compare the outcomes with theoretical and scientific views on

it. Since city diplomacy is a relatively new research topic, additional questions have emerged during the research. Not all of them could be answered within the scope of this thesis. Questions which will be answered are:

Theoretical questions

- How have globalization, glocalization and urbanization influenced the status of cities in the 20th century?
- What is the definition of city diplomacy? What are the differences between city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation?
- What is the added value of city diplomacy? What motives lie behind city diplomacy?
- Which forms can city diplomacy take?

Questions relating specifically to Russia and St. Petersburg as a case study

- What are the legal grounds for Russian cities' external actions?
- How do contemporary political conditions influence the devolution of power and municipal external relations in Russia?
- Which dimensions of city diplomacy are Russian cities involved in?
- What is the geographical pattern of cities' external relations?

This set of questions will be answered, both from the perspective of the academic views on city diplomacy in general, and of the practical activities within the framework of St. Petersburg's city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation in particular.

Scientific relevance

City diplomacy is a relatively new concept which has not been much studied yet. Contemporary research on city diplomacy mainly concentrates on what can, and what cannot, be headed under the definition of city diplomacy. Most research is exploratory. There are still a lot of subjects and elements of city diplomacy to be researched. What is often lacking in the current level of knowledge is the link with practice. It is however important that linkages are created between theory and practice of city diplomacy in order to provide local governments with a sufficient basis for and professionalization of action.

The research puts the current state of theory in perspective by using a practical example. As a consequence, it could both help practice be further developed and theory elaborated. The research will highlight gaps in contemporary theory which need further research in order to be filled. It raises questions which will function as a basis for the development of theory. In this way, the research elaborates on existing knowledge.

Societal relevance

City diplomacy and decentralized cooperation are new practices for cities of the Russian Federation. Not much relevant expertise and experience have been accumulated in these areas. Most of the practices of international city-to-city cooperation utilised by Russian cities are related to city-twinning. However, as will be shown in the research, the range of activities is much wider and some of them are either underrated or not explored at all. Therefore, by exploring the case of St. Petersburg's city diplomacy attempts will be made to identify the underdeveloped areas of St. Petersburg's external links and draw the attention of city managers to existing gaps in the city's international practices. Furthermore, the research will provide a valid example of successful and non-successful areas of external cooperation on the example of St. Petersburg, so that local governments of other Russian cities can utilise positive experience in developing the external relations of their municipalities and be aware of the challenges faced and possibilities offered by engaging in city diplomacy practices. Hence, the research attempts to contribute to further practical development of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation in Russia as a whole.

Structure of the thesis

In order to achieve the goal of the research and answer the questions posed, the following thesis structure has been adopted. Firstly, the existing literature exploring the phenomenon of city's external relations will be analysed in order to identify existing gaps and omissions in the academic knowledge which can be potentially filled by this research. Secondly, the study will address the problem of city's international relations by exploring city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation in more details to create theoretical ground for further empirical research. Thirdly, legal and political contexts influencing municipal external actions in Russia will be analysed to determine the degree of the devolution of power that Russian cities enjoin in IR. Fourthly, St. Petersburg's practices of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation will be studied. The results obtained will be interpreted and projected on Russian cities as a whole. Finally, general conclusions on the role of Russian cities in IR will be made.

Literature Review of Existing Research on Cities in International Relations

Cities' participation in IR is a relatively new area of academic research. However, in the recent years TNSAs and their external relations have become the subject of academic attention. This section aims to give an overview of research which has been carried out on cities participation in particular areas of international cooperation and in IR in general. This literature review also attempts to identify the existing knowledge on Russian cities' international links as well as any gaps in the academic research on this issue.

Earlier research on the involvement of non-traditional actors (NTAs) in IR was conducted within the neoliberal paradigms of IR theory by Robert D. Putnam, Chris Brown, and particularly by James N. Rosenau, as opposite to Immanuel M. Wallerstein's world systems theory[1]. By investigating the phenomenon of interconnectedness between a state's foreign and domestic policies, the scholars came to the conclusion that states are no longer the only actors on the international stage; other NTAs, such as NGOs, multinational companies along with individuals became influential on the international arena[2][3][4]. Rosenau argued that in the era of a 'multicentric world' different levels of actors can operate at different levels without interfering with each other, therefore, creating the model of parallel diplomacy[5]. However, engaging more critically with these works and theories, it is possible to observe that none of the scholars refers directly to any of TNSAs (cities, regions, municipalities, etc.) as 'new' actors of IR. However, since the list of 'new' actors is not exhaustive, it can be assumed that TNSAs may be included there. It should be further noticed that no other IR school of thought attempted to discuss the involvement of TNSAs in IR. Therefore, Rosenau's contribution to the field was that he managed to lay down theoretical foundations for further research on the participation of TNSAs and particularly cities in external relations.

However, the very first research on TNSAs in IR was based on the combination of neo-Marxian thoughts, urban sociology and political geography. John Friedman combined the neo-Marxian world systems theory, dependency theory and traditional urban theory, which examined hierarchies of national systems of cities, to formulate the Global city theory. In his work '*The World City Hypothesis*'[6] Friedman attempts to understand how certain major world cities form and are formed by the global economy and its changing nature. Friedman's major contribution to the field was that he placed cities on the agenda of international political economy, arguing that the internal life of core cities could only be understood by reference to their connections at the international level and the functions that they fulfil for the world economy[7]. At the same time, the global economy could only be properly understood by reference to the economic functions that certain cities play within it. Despite the fact that Friedman's work is dedicated to the international role of cities, it is fully focused on the role of such global cities as London, New York

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[1]I. Wallerstein, <u>The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century</u>, (New York: Academic Press, 1974);

[2]J. Rosenau, <u>Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity</u> (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990);

[3]R .Putnam, 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logics of Two-Level Games', <u>International Organization</u>, Vol. 23, №3 (1988), pp. 427-460;

[4]C. Brown, <u>Sovereignty, Right and Justice</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002);

[5]Rosenau (1990), p. 243-297.

[6]J. Friedmann, 'The World City Hypothesis', <u>Development and Change</u>, Vol. 17, №1 (1986), pp. 69–83.

[7]Friedmann (1986).

and Tokyo, disregarding the role of medium-sized cities. Furthermore, the study has a clear Marxian economic focus which makes it a one-sided study rather than a comprehensive framework. Nevertheless, despite some minor points of criticism, Friedman's Global city theory has become one of the starting points for further functionalist research in the field.

Friedman's investigation of the linkages between cities and economic globalisation was further elaborated by Saskia Sassen and Yoshio Blank. In her book '*The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*' Sassen argued that the international division of labour, the development of transnational corporations and the emergence of new information technologies accelerated by globalization reduced the controlling functions of states and created a need for new forms of global economic governance. This niche was filled by global cities, since their decentralised and fragmented nature allowed them to match the speed and flexibility of global economy in a way that a centralised state cannot[8]. Blank further developed Sassen's argument on the controlling nature of global cities; he argues that the decentralized nature of contemporary states has made cities relatively independent actors which have begun enforcing international legal norms and standards, influencing domestic along with international law[9]. What sets Sassen and Blank's contribution aside from Friedman's research is that they studied global cities not only as economic hubs, but also as *milieux créatifs* which produced innovations in various spheres including legislation, technologies and arts. Such an approach correlates with the neo-Marxian paradigm of IR theory. However, like Friedman's study, Sassen and Blank's works focus on certain key cities and their roles in global economy, whereas other potentially influential urban areas are neglected. Such omissions do not make the results of their research representative and fully comprehensive. Nevertheless, Sassen and Blank provided certain theoretical explanations as to why and how global cities became important actors on the international arena.

A more comprehensive piece of research on cities' role in IR was conducted by Brian Hocking who argues that cities' international links are not limited to economic cooperation, but cover different aspects of foreign policy including political issues. By analysing the case of the Canada-US Free Trade Negotiations, Hocking concluded that due to the complex multi-layered political environment and overlapping local and national interests, policy-makers tend to pass power to lower levels of political authority, thereby empowering non-central governments (NCGs) to perform a diversity of roles at different stages of the diplomatic cycle[10]. However, critical evaluation of Hocking's work allows us to conclude that the research has been based exceptionally on analysing the relations between central and non-central governments of federal states such as the USA and Canada. The case of a unitary state, which certainly has a different model of relations between the levels of government, has not been studied. Nevertheless, Hocking provided an impetus for a comprehensive and multi-layered study of cities' external actions.

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[8]S. Sassen, The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
[9]Y. Blank, 'The City and the World', Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, Vol. 44, № 3 (2006), pp.875-939.
[10]B. Hocking, Localizing Foreign Policy: Non-Central Governments and Multi-layered Diplomacy (London: Macmillan, 1993).

A similar study on cities in IR was conducted by Chadwick F. Alger[11]. Via meticulous research Alger has shown that cities have become relatively independent and influential actors on the international arena. Owing to their growing independence, they have managed to weave an increasingly complex web when it comes to participation in global governance. Cities and local governments have developed organizations (e.g. World Federation of United Cities, METROPOLIS, United Cities and Local Governments) that have allowed them to have global reach. Alger regarded cities as a vital component of the evolution of the democratic forms of governance in a multi-layered world, and essential tools for the possibility of diffusing democratic practices across overlapping and interrelated political systems. Alger's research is largely based on an institutional approach to cities in IR. Such a theoretical inclination is especially clear in his study on '*The UN System and Cities in Global Governance',* where the scholar discussed the participation of city unions and organizations in the global citizenship building process, constructing a new two-layered international system and direct participation of cities in regional and international organizations including the UN. The research also provides a strong theoretical background for such phenomena as local non-governmental participation in security policy and city diplomacy, which, according to the very nature of power relations between the state and cities, has been considered virtually impossible[12]. However, Alger's research can be criticized for being focused on city unions rather than on cities as individual actors. By understudying external actions of individual cities, the scholar neglected the influence of cities on some facets of IR, namely on international economic cooperation, human rights protection or cultural exchange. Nevertheless, Alger made a significant contribution to investigating the role of cities in international security relations; his findings became sound footings for further research in this fiend.

Alger's research on the 'hard dimension' of cities' international links was heavily continued after 9/11, and conducted by such scholars as Stephen Graham, Arne Musch and Alexandra Sizoo. The first rather complex study on cities and security was produced by Stephen Graham. In his research the scholar made an attempt to study such phenomena as genocide, military operation, terrorism and warfare at the city level. Graham did not attempt to research how cities participate in combating these challenges at the global level. He was rather interested in researching '*urbicide'*, urban war-zones and urban anti-terrorization at the city level: how they are perceived, how they influence local life, how they are combated by local authorities[13]. Graham has analysed several case studies, such as the consequences of the Srebrenica massacre at the local level in Bosnia, urban dimension of the US bombings in Afghanistan, etc. However, the research is too complex and fragmented to provide a clear and comprehensive picture of this 'hard' dimension of cities' activities.

Graham's researches on 'city diplomacy' were further elaborated by Alexandra Sizoo and Arne Musch. In their study the scholars fully focus on the role of cities and local authorities in conflict prevention, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. The authors took a narrow view on the subject and focused their

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[11] Ch. Alger, 'Searching for Democratic Potential in Emerging Global Governance', in B. Morrison (ed.) Transnational Democracy in Critical and Comparative Perspective, (Ashgate, 2003).
[12] Ch. Alger, The UN System and Cities in Global Governance (Springer, 2014), pp.97-104, p.153.
[13] S. Graham, Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

research exclusively on the actions local governments undertake to support their counterparts in troubled regions. The main argument the authors set forward is that most contemporary states have sufficient legal justifications for their local authorities to become involved in peace-building outside their own country. One of such justification is gross human rights violation in the conflict region and the 'responsibility to protect' all human beings in conflict areas[14]. Furthermore, the scholars argue that local governments possess unique knowledge of technical and political processes, and that peace-building and reconstruction are well served by their involvement[15]. Finally, the scholars propose the categories of activities which foreign local governments can perform in an international setting as well as in the conflict area in order to contribute to the peaceful settlement of conflict. Such activities include lobbying, project-activities and political dialogue. Theoretical arguments are supported by a variety of case studies, such as peace-building initiatives of foreign local governments in Colombia, Croatia and the Middle East as well as actions taken by the municipalities of the Netherlands.

Despite the convincing nature of all the major arguments, some points raised by the scholars remain either unclear or controversial. Firstly, when theorising about conflict resolution, the scholars frequently refer to favourable global/international conditions which allowed local authorities to participate in this process. However, when considering case studies, the international environment has been frequently ignored and substituted with local conditions in conflict areas. Therefore, the accuracy of using the term 'city diplomacy' instead of 'city cooperation' or 'city aid' should be reconsidered. Secondly, the legal grounds for the international involvement of local governments are extensively idealised[16]. Human rights protection during armed conflicts can be misinterpreted as a justification for using hard measures and adversarial political lobbying in a conflict region, so that a foreign local government which conducts these actions could achieve its own political goals rather than help to resolve the conflict. Nevertheless, despite the fact that cities' participation in international security is a new areas of academic research, the study provides a well-structured and solid theoretical analysis of different facets and implications of cities' participation in conflict resolution.

However such narrow, area-based approaches to cities in IR, adopted by the scholars discussed above, could not fully explain the degree of involvement and the range of activities local governments undertake in their external actions. Rogier van der Plujim attempted to move to a more comprehensive view on the issue by conceptualising the phenomenon of 'city diplomacy'. In his study on '*City Diplomacy: The Expending Role of Cities in International Politics*' van der Plujim claims that cities have turned from sporadic *ad hoc* relations in separate spheres (e.g. economy or security) to a regular involvement in every facet of international politics. The scholar assumes that city diplomacy is a professional, pragmatic, upcoming diplomatic activity which has become less idealistic, abandoning such forms of cooperation as city-twinning and embarking on realistic forms of cooperation (e.g. regular development projects). Nevertheless, van der Plujim also concludes that orientation towards the short-term cooperation is the

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[14]A. Musch *et al*., City Diplomacy: The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace-building and Post-conflict Reconstruction, (the Hague: VNG International, 2008);

[15]A. Musch *et al* (2008), p.25-26

[16]A. Musch *et al* (2008), p. 28.

major difference between contemporary city diplomacy and the traditional modern diplomacy based on expectations of long-term relations[17].

However, despite the consistency of van der Plujim's study, some of his arguments and notions can be contested. Firstly, the scholar's definition of city diplomacy, which will be discussed later in the research, is rather vague. It does not contain any peculiarities of this process which would significantly distinguish it from state diplomacy. Secondly, the research does not contain a clear list of possible tools for city diplomacy. Although it briefly mentions such diplomatic strategies as city-twinning and assistance projects, it can be assumed that this is not the full list of possible methods. Finally, the research does not elaborate on the issue of control, namely coordination of foreign policy between the state level and the city level, especially taking into account the existence of federal and unitary states, where cities and local governments enjoy different levels of autonomy. Nevertheless, despite some ambiguity of the research, van der Plujim's study provides some useful theoretical insight into the issue and some of his findings have great resonance with the research carried out in this study.

Van der Plujim's comprehensive approach to cities' external relations was further continued by a cluster of scholars, namely David Criekemans, Mark Amen, Fayth A. Ruffin and Steven Curtis. Their studies should be analysed together as they adopted a similar approach to the research by looking at various thematic areas of city activities. Even though the scholars do not claim that states have completely withered away from the international arena over the past twenty years, they argue that the rise of 'flows' and 'network society' were to the detriment of the centralised state and provided sub-state entities with broader opportunities to engage in IR in such areas as environmental protection, public diplomacy and cultural exchanges[18]. The study by Criekemans particularly focuses on the spectrum of diplomatic instruments and the strategies which enable cities to conduct a *'foreign policy'* in parallel with, complementary to or sometimes in conflict with that of their central governmental counterparts. The competitiveness of *'foreign policies'* is especially remarkable in the comparative case study on Quebec, Scotland, Bavaria, Catalonia, Wallonia and Flanders and their respective states[19]. The studies also try to contest the neoliberal idea of a solely interurban competition in a global economy by assessing cross-border, inter-urban cooperation and intergovernmental learning exchange which have become the focus of some municipalities. They argue that the many-sided foreign relations of cities, which have been stipulated by the current international environment, transformed them from purely geo-political, socio-economic locales for accumulation of capital, as has been previously argued by Sassen, to de-centralised places of coordination and collaboration for IR and development of human capital[20].

However, despite a relatively broad discussion on cities' involvement in IR, the studies contain some drawbacks. Firstly, some parts of the research clearly fall short of its stated goals. For instance, the issue

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[17]R. van der Plujim, <u>City Diplomacy: The Expending Role of Cities in International Politics</u> (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations <u>Clingendael,</u> 2007), pp.33-36.

[18]M. Amen *et al,* <u>Cities and Global Governance: New Sites for International Relations</u> (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[19]D. Criekemans, <u>Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today</u>, Leiden: MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2010), pp.37-64.

[20]F. Ruffin, 'Municipal International Relations: The South African Case of Metropolitan Thekwini', <u>Loyola Journal of Social Sciences</u>, Vol. 27, №1 (2013), 119-142.

of contemporary sub-state diplomacy discussed by Criekemans[21] is vague, as no clear line between federal diplomacy and local diplomacy has been drawn by the scholars; therefore, the study tends to focus more on state diplomacy rather on the sub-state one. Secondly, the studies are largely based on empirical data and facts, but little attention is paid to theories and notions underpinning the research. For instance, despite the fact that Curtis mentions that his study is based on institutional liberalism and supported by some constructivist theorising[22], none of the chapters within the research contains clear theoretical grounds, which makes it difficult to read theory 'between the lines' and provokes excessive criticism towards the conclusions of the study.

Finally, except for Ruffin's research and one chapter of Curtis's study, empirical cases used in the aforementioned researches mostly present the evidence on sub-state diplomacy in North America and Western Europe, namely Belgium and the Netherlands. Such one-sided approach to case studies, on the one hand, allows for identifying and explaining the peculiarities of the newly emerged phenomenon of a multifaceted parallel diplomacy of sub-state entities. On the other hand, it can lead to excessive and inaccurate generalizations on the forms, tools, methods and levels of cities' involvement in IR. It can be assumed that multi-layered diplomacy in South-East Asia, South America, South Africa and Russia differs from the studied pattern due to the differences in legislation, political culture and power relations between the centre and regions. However, due to the lack of research on these cases and excessive generalization, sub-state diplomacy is largely understood and studied from the Western European and American perspective. Nevertheless, despite having some remarkable weaknesses, the aforementioned studies marked a new stage in investigating cities' involvement in IR and pointed the way to further research in this area. They also served as a broad platform for theoretical and empirical parts of this thesis.

In sum, as has been observed, despite the fact that the state-of-the-art research in the area of cities in IR is solid and comprehensive, it allows room for further investigations. From the current author's perspective, one of the major gaps in the bulk of research is that it does not cover any dimension of Russian cities' participation in IR, whether it is economic, cultural, political, or involves security ties or relations for the purpose of city branding. Therefore, this dissertation is looking to address this gap in the academic knowledge. As has been already mentioned earlier, the study will be based on the liberal paradigm of IR and comprise of such notions as multi-layered diplomacy, centralization and devolution of power, and city diplomacy. The research should present an interesting case for investigation as it could be assumed that, despite the fact that Russia is a federation which has allegedly granted a certain level of political autonomy to its subjects, it exerts a stronger degree of centralised control over municipalities, which might exclude Russian cities from participation in some forms of external cooperation. Furthermore, the research would attempt to create a pattern alternative to Western (European and American) approach to

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[21]L. Vanden Brande, 'Sub-State Diplomacy Today', in D. Criekemans (ed.) <u>Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today,</u> (Leiden: MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2010), pp. 199-210.
[22]S. Curtis, <u>The Power of Cities in International Relations</u>, (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-16.

cities' participation in IR. Therefore, the study would attempt to fill these academic gaps and answer the existing research questions by presenting solid theoretical grounds and relevant empirical evidence.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework: Growing Roles of Contemporary Cities in Global Politics

1.1. Changing Mode of Foreign Policy in Times of Globalization, Glocalization and Urbanization: the Role of Cities in the Contemporary World

For a long period of time (since the Treaties of Westphalia of 1648) international relations were dominated by the Realist approach which emphasized the value of 'national interests' and the exceptional role of a state in the process of conducting and maintaining relations with other actors[23]. Therefore, the traditional understanding of modern foreign policy was based on three pillars: the conduct of peaceful relations (less frequently wars) between mutually-recognized sovereign states with a long-term perspective. Traditional foreign policy included such elements of diplomacy as exchange of ambassadors and envoys, and refers to a certain pattern of conduct[24]. In essence such a perception of foreign policy is theoretically valid *per se,* as states' practical role in IR is still significant[25].

However, since the end of the Second World War actors other than states have entered IR. Theorists of the liberal and neoliberal IR school, particularly Rosenau, concluded that not only states but also international organizations, NGOs, individuals and other entities, including TNSAs, may become subjects of IR[26]. These changing international conditions challenged the Realist paradigm and made IR theorists acknowledge the existing ties between domestic and international politics[27]. More frequently than ever before domestic problems of one state have started causing international challenges and influencing global affairs[28]. Globalization has become the order of the day.

As a notion, 'globalization' has a variety of definitions, but in most general terms it is understood as 'a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities'[29]. Therefore, globalization has erased boundaries not only between national and international politics, but between subjects that acted purely at the international level (international and subnational organizations), both at the national and international levels (states, NGOs, multinational companies, individuals) and purely at the domestic level (local authorities, mayors, regions, cities, etc.).

Interdependence of national and international politics along with interconnectedness of external and domestic actors has led to a situation whereby global trends and tendencies have started to be projected to the local level (localization of processes, the process of formation of national standards according to the international norms). Simultaneously, local trends started to be upshifted to the global level

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[23]H. Morgenthau, <u>Politics among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace</u> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

[24] G. Wiseman, <u>Polylateralism' and New Modes of Global Dialogue, Discussion Papers No. 59</u> (Leicester: Leicester Diplomatic Studies Programme, 1999), p. 34. <u>http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/pdf/polylateralism_and_new_%20modes_of_global_dialogue.pdf</u>, consulted on 10.02.2015;

[25]Blank (2006), p.884.

[26]J. Rosenau, <u>Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[27]Putnam (1988), p. 460.

[28]M. Simkovic, Secret Liens and the Financial Crisis of 2008, <u>American Bankruptcy Law Journal</u>, Vol. 83 (2009);

[29] N. Al-Rodhan, and G. Stoudmann, <u>Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition</u> (Geneva: Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006).

(globalization of processes, their transformation into the global standards) [30]. Such concurrent downloading and uploading have challenged actors' traditional roles and the division of areas of responsibilities between states and TNSAs. TNSAs have discovered new possibilities for economic, political and cultural involvement in IR. They have become able to act relatively autonomously, in parallel with states, complementing states' traditional functions and responsibilities, and in some (though rare) cases even override them. Subsequent innovations in information technologies and communication further increased the opportunities for peripheral actors to participate in and influence the central decision-making process[31]. In such conditions traditional understanding of foreign policy, though being still viable in theory, has become no longer relevant in practice.

Contemporary foreign policy is characterized by a curious paradox. On the one hand, there is a further growth in internationalization of politics and integration among actors. National governments are unable to tackle such international issues as, for example, climate change or human trafficking on their own without external support. On the other hand, there is a tendency for a devolution of power from states (central governments) to TNSAs (local authorities), as issues in international politics (e.g. drug trafficking, undocumented migration) started to affect a wide range of internal actors[32].Therefore, having acquired several levels, traditional single-tier IR have developed into a 'multi-layered diplomacy' – the conduct of IR on different levels and by different actors from the same country of origin[33]. In their turn, international affairs have become '*intermestic affairs*', the trend for internalization of domestic issues which takes local and regional concerns to the centre stage of global politics[34].

Nevertheless, despite the processes discussed above, from a legal perspective neither TNSAs, nor local governments can independently participate in IR and exercise the same range of activities as sovereign states. These restrictions are primarily embodied in international law, which does not grant international legal personality to TNSAs and local authorities. Being quasi-subjects of foreign affairs, they have no right to establish an independent presence in international institutions, except for organizations specially designed for TNSAs (e.g. United Cities and Local Governments Organization), or permanent missions in other states or foreign municipalities (except for Belgian municipalities which have legal right to establish embassies and missions abroad)[35].

Furthermore, the basic laws (constitutions) of different states with different political systems and national secondary legislation (acts of national governments, presidential decrees, etc.) reinforce these limitations. For example, even though a constitution (especially that of a federal state) may contain provisions which grant a certain degree of decentralization to municipalities, all the decisions related to their external links are subject to prior supervision, in order to ensure that the actions will not violate the law or public

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[30]D. Vizgalov, Brending Goroda (Moscow: 'Institut Ekonomiki Goroda' Foundation, 2011), p. 62.
[31]Van der Pluijm (2007).
[32]Blank (2006), pp. 890-891.
[33] Criekemans (2010).
[34] Amen *et al* (2011).
[35] A. Papisca, 'International Law and Human Rights as a Legal Basis for the International Involvement of Local Governments', in Musch, A., *et al* (eds.) City Diplomacy: The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace Building, Post-Conflict Reconstruction (The Hague: VNG International, 2008), p. 28.

interests. In most cases national policies encourage municipalities to establish independent bilateral ties with other IR actors in the areas of secondary importance, such as 'learning exchanges, domestic and international public-private partnerships, and partnerships with community-based and local non-governmental organizations[36]'.

Nevertheless, recent developments in international law offer some space for the legal justification for TNSAs' participation in external relations. In the first instance this only encompassed the member states of the Council of Europe (CoE), which in 1985 signed and ratified the European Charter of Local Self-Government that guaranteed political, administrative and financial independence of local authorities. Cities of the CoE have their own supranational decision-making body: the Chamber of Local Authorities within the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. A similar development has been observed within the EU since 1994 when regions became a part of the decision-making process through the European Committee of the Regions (CoR). Its 350 members represent both the regions and the cities of their respective countries. Given the significant influence of EU policies on the political, social, economic and cultural environment of cities, CoR is frequently consulted by the European Commission and Council, and independently adopts resolutions on topical political issues. However, neither international legal provisions nor domestic norms [37] say anything directly about empowering cities to act globally. Nevertheless, the objective processes of the world's development lead to a situation whereby not only larger TNSAs, such as regions, but also relatively small and dependent territorial entities, such as cities, become politically influential[38] due to the process of urbanization.

The concentration of population and increased economic activities caused by globalization created auspicious conditions for the development of science, technology and industry in cities during the late 20th century. The process of strengthening the role of cities, and spreading their culture, values and the mode of life acquired a sociological meaning, which started to be described by the term 'urbanization', generally defined as 'the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas'[39]. Hence, cities have become more important than rural areas in terms of economic, political and cultural influence.

The process of global urbanization saw a number of qualitative stages. The first (local) stage of urbanization took place in the countries in Western Europe and North America from the end of 18th to the beginning of the 20th century and was stipulated by rapid industrial development. This stage is characterised with a 'dotty' concentration and development of cities. Cities accumulated their potential and developed their functional and planning structures[40]. However, despite cities' rapid economic growth, the problems within cities, such as transportation, logging, employment, social stratification of the population, also become more scaled and daunting. Cities faced difficulties in tackling these

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[36] Ruffin (2013), p. 126.

[37] Papisca (2008), p. 29.

[38] M. Lebedeva, Mirovaya Politika (Moscow: Aspekt Press, 2007), p. 80.

[39] Urbanization, Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary website, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/urbanization, consulted on 01.05.2014.

[40] J. Gibbs, 'Measures of Urbanization', Social Forces, Vol. 45, №2 (1966), p. 172.

problems on their own due to the limited territorial resources; therefore, they started to grow in territory, which signified the following stage of urbanization.

The second (planetary) stage, which lasted from 1900s to 1950s, started with the spread of imperialism, outflow of capital, industrial and urban development of most regions of the world. In the first 50 years of the 20th century there was a sharp increase in urban population; the number of people living in cities increased by half billion. This stage is characterized by the development of large towns with the population of 100,000 people and more[41]. In this regard, according to Gordon Childe, who equated such concepts as 'civilization' and 'urban community', the second stage of urbanization was the 'urbanistic revolution' and a 'prologue' to a really civilized society of the second half of the 20th century[42].

The third (global) stage of urbanization started in the second half of the 20th century. It is characterized by a qualitative leap in industrial production as well as in a number of non-production activities and services. Contemporary urbanization is primarily characterized by the development of large cities, megalopolises and metropolitan areas with the population of over a million dwellers.[43] The global stage of urbanization not only produces new TNSAs, but also influences them. Regions, cities and towns are becoming more international, cosmopolitan and multicultural due to the increased migration, which has been stipulated by globalization, technical achievements in transportation, and also by regional conflicts [44]. Therefore, cities have become platforms for accumulating capital and places which concentrate people of different nationalities, cultural and religious backgrounds. However, even though most of the world's large cities have gained more autonomy in their international ties and have expanded their authority within their states, some cities have managed to become powerful not only within their states, but also on the international arena.

Academic literature on globalization defines such internationally influential cities with two terms: 'world cities' or 'global cities'. In most cases these notions are interchangeable. However, it is worth noticing that there is a slight difference between these concepts. 'Global cities' differ from 'world cities' by the fact that they are phenomena of contemporaneity; they are territorial entities which have achieved their leading positions owing to the process of globalization[45]. Such ambiguity of key terms has led to introducing a more neutral and widely acceptable notion. Taylor suggested using the term 'leading world cities' in order to emphasize a researcher's neutrality to the sensitive issue of 'a city's globality'. According to the scholar, the neutral notion also stresses the possibility of every city or town in the world to take the leading stand in the chain of the world's most influential cities[46]. Thereby, the terms '*leading*

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[41]Gibbs (1966), p. 174.

[42]V. Gordon Childe, <u>The Dawn of European Civilization</u> (London: Harper Collins Distribution Services, 1973).

[43]D. Smith, 'Rediscovering Cities and Urbanization in the 21st Century World-System', in Dunaway, W. (ed.) <u>Emerging Issues in the 21st Century World-System</u>, (Westport CT: Praeger, 2008).

[44] Van der Pluijm (2007), p. 8.

[45]Y. Mikhailova, 'The Global City and its Functions in the World Economic System', <u>IX All-Russian Scientific-Practical Conference with International Participation «Contemporary Problems of Regional Economy Management»</u>, Saint Petersburg State University of Engineering and Economics, 2012, http://www.freu-conference.engec.ru/upload/files/58-62.pdf, consulted on 30.04.2014.

[46]P. Taylor, 'Leading World Cities: Empirical Evaluations of Urban Nodes in Multiple Networks', <u>Globalization and World Cities Research Network</u> (2005), http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb146.html/, consulted on 01.05.2014.

world cities' or '*global cities'* mean agglomerations with substantial financial, managerial, political and informational functions, which have become centres for the activities of the international community owing to their internal and external resources.

The idea of a 'global city' actively participating in external relations first appeared in the works of Sassen. The scholar introduced the term and articulated a number of theories on how such cities emerge. According to Sassen, firstly, leading multinational corporations expand their geographical reach. That leads to enhancing their central functions. The wider the company's geography of economic operations is, the more complex its central functions (e.g. coordinating, servicing, financing) are. Secondly, these functions become so complex that the headquarters of large global firms outsource them to highly specialized service firms. As a rule, these service firms, which are involved in complex globalized economic relations, are located in large cities[47]. Therefore, the complexity of the required services, the uncertainty and volatility of local and global markets along with the increasing importance of the speed of transactions have become key factors which gave a new impulse to the development of global cities.

Therefore, according to Sassen, global cities are urban areas which due to their strategic locations have managed to concentrate a large number of headquarters of large global firms or highly specialized service firms on their territory, and in so doing have become centres for data processing and accumulated essential knowledge and expertise in the sphere of financial services. Due to the high concentration of financial resources on relatively small territories of global cities, they have direct and tangible effects on global affairs through economic means, but mainly through financial instruments which influence the global trade. Global cities control a disproportionate amount of global business data. A 'global city' is a post-industrial (informational) hub which is centrally integrated into the world economy and, in many respects, draws its resources and opportunities for further development from its interaction into the network of global cities[48].

So far, the agreed list of global cities, also known as the major international financial and business centres, include New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Amsterdam, Los Angeles, Sydney, Hong Kong, Sao Paolo and Mexico City. Remarkably, none of the Russian cities have been included into the 'traditional' list. However, there are alternative lists of global cities such as Globalization and World Cities Research Network (GaWC), Global Cities Index, Global Economic Power Index, Global Power City Index, Global City Competitiveness Index, etc. Although the number of cities included in each list varies from one index to another, 'traditional' global cities remain unchanged. Furthermore, some indexes classify such Russian cities as Moscow and St. Petersburg as global in some dimensions of their activities. The Global City statuses have been granted to these Russian cities due to their growing involvement in the global economic exchange and attempts to become platforms for international political, cultural, sport and other events.

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[47] S. Sassen. 'The Global City: Introducing a Concept', Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol. 11 (2005), p. 43.
[48] N. Sluka, 'Pochemu Voznikli Globalnye Goroda?', Demoscop Weekly (2008), http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2008/0343/tema01.php, consulted on 03.02.2014.

Rapid urbanization and globalization have formed a new understanding of the role of a 'global city'. Nowadays, cities and towns are acting in dramatically different conditions than ever before. Bypassing states' mediation, large cities have become more independent actors on the international arena; they are now empowered to establish the direct links with each other and other IR actors, spread their influence and seek cooperation far outside the territory of their own countries in order to gain and utilize resources for further development.[49] Therefore, the third stage of urbanization discussed earlier has allowed cities to expand their influence both to national and international levels.

Based on varying abilities of different cities to be involved in IR and influence global politics, the following classification of their international statuses can be proposed. Those cities actively participating in the global decision-making process and having significant influence on international economic relations, having a large number of international partners and sharing their expertise in different spheres with other IR actors, including TNSAs, will be classified as full-fledged actors. Although their actions are restricted by domestic and international legal norms, their participation in IR is almost equal to states' one. All the global cities belong to this category of actors. The second category includes cities which participate in IR, but do not influence them. Their actions are strictly limited especially by domestic legislation and internal political conditions. Such cities do not have sufficient knowledge and expertise in different spheres to share with other actors; they adopt existing practices of city-to-city cooperation without producing new creative options. Such cities will be classified as second-order actors. The final category includes the cities which are not actively involved in international processes. They are largely excluded from the global exchange either due to the domestic legal and political restrictions, or economic limitations. Such cities serve as recipients of development assistance from the cities of the first two categories. Hereinafter, such cities will be named as observers. Such classification of actors, though existing in IR theory[50], is not 'classical' and has never been applied to defining a city's international status. Furthermore, although this classification does not contain precise criteria for defining a city's status and is largely based on the author's judgement call, it will be used throughout the research for determining the international status of a city under review.

As has been shown, in the second half of the 20th century traditional single-tier foreign affairs were replaced by a newly emerged multi-layered diplomacy. This process was stipulated by active globalization and glocalization which drew new actors into IR. These new actors, which used to be completely dependent on and controlled by states, were primarily TNSAs, namely regions, cities, towns, metropolitan areas, etc. TNSAs have entered various spheres of foreign affairs again due to the tendency for globalization, and then for glocalization. From all the new TNSAs, cities have become the most important actors due to the process of urbanization which concentrated major activities within these small but flexible 'hubs'. Furthermore, the concentration of activities has led to the situation when some cities,

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[49] Y. Sayamov, 'Globalnie Vyzovy i Ustoychivoe Razvitie Bolshikh Gorodov', <u>Otchet po Meropriyatiu 'Sozdanie i Vnedrenie Innovatsionnoy Obrazovatselnoy Programmy "Monitoring i Upravlenie Globalnimi Processami v Bolshikh Gorodakh"</u> v Ramkakh Deyatelnosti Moskovskoy Kafedry UNESCO MSU po Globalnoy Problematike, 2011, p.10, <u>http://www.msu.ru/projects/amv/doc/h1_1_1_5_nim_7.pdf</u>, consulted on 20. 04. 2014.

[50] H. Kan, 'Actors in World Politics', <u>Government and Politics</u>, Vol. II (2009).

such as London, New York or Tokyo, have become more powerful than others. Having received the status of 'global cities', they have started influencing state politics, though still being subject to legal limitations and state control on their powers. Nevertheless, states' monopoly on foreign affairs and diplomatic relations has been undermined by cities' embarking on international cooperation. Therefore, the following sub-chapter will be dedicated to discussing cities' involvement in IR through city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation.

1.2. Cities on the International Arena: 'City Diplomacy' and 'Decentralized Cooperation'

Increased participation of municipalities in foreign policy and their growing ability to influence global decision-making process has introduced a new stage in IR. Cities have become more autonomous in their external ties in the areas of secondary importance to their respective states (e.g. cultural links, scientific and learning exchange). Their cooperation in the areas of primary importance has also intensified (e.g. bilateral economic projects, political city-twinning projects, etc.). Cities have even started to get involved in the areas of states' exclusive responsibility, such as domestic and international peace and security[51]. Therefore, some scholars argue (Van der Pluijm, 2007; Musch, 2008) that cities' involvement in contemporary IR is characterized by such processes as increased 'city diplomacy' and enhanced 'decentralized cooperation'. Since these theoretical concepts are key notions of this research work, they require detailed explanation.

The notion of 'city diplomacy' might seem a controversial term, as traditionally the concept of 'diplomacy' is associated with sovereign actors, such as states, which are able to conduct their foreign policy independently without any legal limitations. Diplomacy in its traditional meaning is defined as:

> *the conduct of IR through the representatives of states (heads of state, heads of government, external action services, professional diplomats, etc.) with regard to issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment, and human rights*[52].

However, in the pre-Westphalian system of IR diplomacy was not states' *domaine privé*. Before 1648 cities pioneered as diplomatic entities, sometimes even surpassing states. For instance, in ancient Greece cities such as Athens and Macedon were regularly sending and receiving embassies on *ad hoc* basis and appointing representatives to participate in negotiations on behalf of the city-at-large. In Renaissance times the Hanseatic League of German cities and the Italian cities of Venice and Milan were the first to establish permanent diplomatic representations abroad and to create a coordinated system of diplomacy. Furthermore, the Russian charter-cities of Nizhniy Novgorod and Pskov were so diplomatically skilful that they frequently managed to override the decisions of central Kiev and later Moscow governments, remained independent during the Mongol invasion and established their missions in the Golden Horde's

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[51] D. Davis, 'What Kind of Conflict? Cities, War and the Failure of Urban Public Security', <u>Human Security for an Urban Century: Local Challenges, Global Perspectives</u> (Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication, 2006), p. 18.
[52] V. Popov, <u>Sovremennaya Diplomatiya: Teoriya i Praktika. Part 1: Sovremennaya Diplomatiya – Nauka i Iskusstvo</u> (Moscow: Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2003), p. 56.

capital Sarai Batu[53]. Therefore, being a new concept with old historical roots, the notion of 'city diplomacy' requires discussion.

The Committee on City Diplomacy, Peace-building and Human Rights of UCLG defined 'city diplomacy' as:

> *the tool of local governments and their associations in promoting social cohesion, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction with the aim to create a stable environment in which the citizens can live together in peace, democracy and prosperity*[54].

Roger Van der Plujie, the researcher at the *Clingendael* Institute of IR (the Netherlands) defined this term as:

> *the institutions and processes by which cities, or local governments in general, engage in relations with actors on the international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another*[55].

Comparing the two main understandings of 'city diplomacy', it is possible to conclude that the definition proposed by Van der Plujie is more comprehensive, while UCLG's definition is focused and precise. UCLG's understanding of the concept includes both the elements of a classical wartime diplomatic process, e.g. conflict prevention and conflict resolution, as well as the elements of peacetime diplomatic activities in form of post-conflict reconstruction, creation of a stable democratic and prosperous environment. Both of these sets of activities used to be executed only by states, but due to the processes discussed earlier on in sub-chapter 1.1., cities have become involved in these activities, which has been clearly reflected in UCLG's definition.

However, being broad and comprehensive, van der Plujie's definition can include all the elements mentioned in UCLG's definition, depending on the area of city activity that is being researched. Plujie's value-free concept characterises city diplomacy in a more abstract way, putting more emphasis on the emergence of a new type of diplomacy and external relations in general. Focussing on process rather than on purposes and results (conflict resolution, human rights protection, etc.), city diplomacy in van der Plujie's understanding is seen as the communication process between the political entities of local government[56]. Interestingly, this definition eloquently combines major elements of Realist (the notion of 'interest') and Liberal (notion of non-traditional actors of IR) schools of IR with some elements of functionalism ('institutionalization of relations'), without contradicting each other. Therefore, such a combination of elements makes this understanding more coherent and widely applicable without excessive concretization.

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[53]H. Nicolson, <u>The Evolution of Diplomatic Method</u> (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 2001), pp. 7-34.
[54]A. Musch *et al* (2008), p. 10.
[55]Van der Pluijm (2007), p. 8.
[56] R. Coolsaet, 'The Transformation of Diplomacy at the Threshold of the New Millennium', in Chr. Johnsson and R. Langhorne (eds.) <u>Diplomacy</u>, Vol. 3(London: Sage, 2004), p.1.

Nevertheless, despite having a flexible definition of city diplomacy, in 2008 the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the CoE adopted the UCLG's definition in the Recommendation, and added that city diplomacy can be seen as a natural development of the role of cities as members of the international community who shares values of democracy, the rule of law and human rights[57]. However, the CoE's report on City Diplomacy, on which the Recommendation is based, contains a narrow definition of this notion:

> *city diplomacy is defined as the activity whereby a municipal authority in a conflict area receives support from one or more municipal authorities outside of the area[58].*

According to this definition, city diplomacy adds up to a purely wartime understanding of this concept, which has little to do with peacetime activities and does not correspond to the objective reality, especially in the geographic area covered by this research work. Therefore, the narrow definition will not be taken into account during the study.

Different scholars define different spheres of city diplomacy. According to van der Plujie, there are six main dimensions, which could be deduced from the main functions of diplomacy: facilitating communication, negotiating agreements, collecting information, conflict preventing and marking the existence of the world community. On the one hand, differentiating between the dimensions of city diplomacy can be a relatively useless and unnatural task, as in reality many diplomatic activities undertaken by cities can fall under more than one dimension. On the other hand, defining the categories of city diplomacy allows scholars to structure different spheres of the process and systematise city's activities in various fields. Hence, despite the fact that it is possible to define more areas and categories of city diplomacy, the main dimensions are **security**, **development**, **economy**, **culture**, **networks**, and **representation**[59]. Except for culture and economy, where sub-dimensions are too numerous to be clearly distinguished, other dimensions consist of the following sub-dimensions.

Security:

1. Diplomatic activities before any violence occurs;
2. Diplomatic activities in conflict situation;
3. Post-conflict diplomatic activities;

Development:

1. Long-term development assistance;
2. Emergency development assistance;

Networks

1. Number of partner-cities;
2. City-twinning partners;
3. Hosting HQs of international organizations, think tanks, institutions, etc.

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[57]O. Van Veldhuizen, Draft Recommendation on City Diplomacy adopted on 13March 2008, <u>Bureau of the Chamber of Local Authorities CPL/BUR(14)1 REC</u>, 13 February 2008, Article 1.
[58]A. Musch and O. Van Veldhuizen, 'City Diplomacy Explanatory Memorandum', <u>Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe CPL</u> (14) 12 REP, Strasbourg (France), 2008.
[59]Van der Pluijm (2007).

Representation

1. Membership in international organizations;
2. Representations in foreign cities[60].

However, a researcher should be aware of the fact that not always all the six dimensions are present in external activities of cities of a particular state. Due to some subjective internal reasons (legal restrictions, democratization of society, economic liberalization, etc.) and objective external conditions (economic sanctions, armed conflict in the neighbouring country, diversification of partners, etc.) some dimensions might be exempted. Since the empirical part of the research will geographically focus on the external relations of Russian cities it will be mostly dedicated to studying the aspects of city diplomacy which are relevant to **development**, **economy**, **culture**, **networks**, and **representation,** rather than to the **security** dimension, which is not the case for Russian cities due to internal and external reasons (further explanation will be provided in part 2.1. of the empirical part). Hence, for practical purposes Van der Plujie's comprehensive value-free definition of city diplomacy based on Liberal vision of IR with elements of realism and functionalism will be used in this research work. Hence, thereinafter in the study **city diplomacy** is understood as:

> *the institutions and processes by which cities, or local governments in general, engage in relations with actors on the international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another.*

However, by accepting such a broad definition of city diplomacy the author runs the risk of easily confusing this concept with the concept of 'decentralised cooperation'. Therefore, in order to differentiate between the key notions of the research work, the term 'decentralised cooperation' needs to be defined.

Decentralised cooperation is understood as:

> *substantial collaborative relationships between sub-national governments and/or municipalities from different countries, aiming at sustainable local development, implying some form of exchange or support carried out by these institutions or other locally based actors*[61].

Having defined the key notions, it is essential to differentiate between them in order to avoid confusion. As could be seen from the adopted definition of 'city diplomacy', it means activities undertaken by cities and/or local governments on the international arena and with the direct purpose to make their interests count and voice heard at the global level as well as to influence international processes. City diplomacy can be bilateral, but more frequently it is multilateral and institutionalized. 'Decentralized cooperation', in its turn, can happen in the 'international space' (between actors of different 'nationalities'), but it has a direct purpose to influence local processes in one of the actors involved. Unlike city diplomacy,
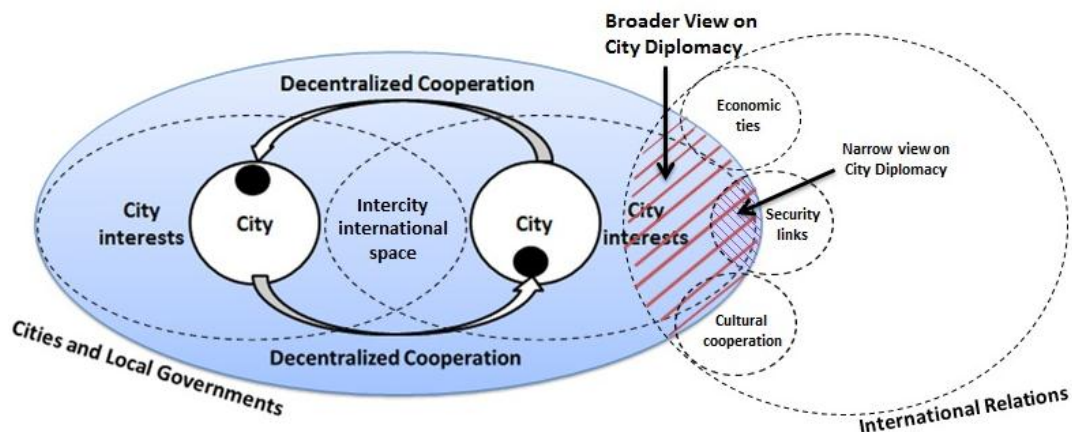
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[60] Van der Pluijm (2007), pp. 19-31.
[61] P. Hafteck, ''An Introduction to Decentralized Cooperation: Definitions, Origins and Conceptual Mapping', <u>Public Administration and Development</u>,Vol. 23, № 4 (2007), p. 334.

decentralized cooperation is based on bilateral links (e.g. development assistance projects), and rarely on multilateral ties or institutional involvement.

However, it should be mentioned that both city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation can take similar forms: **lobbying**, **dialogue**, and **development cooperation** (project work)[62]. These categories of city's external activities do not exclude each other and can be carried out simultaneously. Furthermore, the list of forms is not exhaustive as city's growing autonomy and independence may lead to the emergence of new forms of city's external activities. However, while lobbying and dialogue are more frequently used in the security dimension of city external relations (in pre-conflict phase and post-conflict phase respectively), development cooperation (project work) is more typical for other dimensions of city diplomacy[63]. Hence, as has been explained earlier in the chapter, due to the geographical scope of the empirical part of the research and deeper focus on development, economy, culture, networks, and representation, rather than on security, more attention will be drawn to project work as a facet of the city's external relations, and less to lobbying and dialogue.

Therefore, the conceptual framework for the research can be visualised according to the following scheme:

Figure 1. Author's perspective on city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation

The proposed scheme can invite some questions and initiate scholarly debates. Hence, the author will attempt to elaborate on the most disputable issues to reaffirm the conception of the research. The first issue concerns the possibility of intercity links (e.g. political, economic, security, cultural, etc.) between municipalities situated in different countries and even on different continents. Since most cities do not have national (state) frontiers on their territories, the ties between their external spaces are virtual, rather than real. This represents a significant difference between cities and states, which have borders and real ties in terms of IR and global security. Owing to technological development, the world is no longer a

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[62] A. Musch *et al.* (2008), pp. 17-18.
[63] M. Klem and G. Frerks, 'How Local Governments Contribute to Peace Building', in Musch, A., *et al* (eds.) <u>City Diplomacy: The Role of Local Governments in Conflict Prevention, Peace Building, Post-Conflict Reconstruction</u> (The Hague: VNG International, 2008), p. 47.

union of states, their territories and borders. It is now a complex multi-level structure consisting of a number of different centres, junctions and hubs with links between them. However, despite the conditional and virtual nature of these intercity links, they do exist because of the joint actions of local governments or, more precisely, of sub-national governments on a city's territory. Thereupon, the UCLG research group has suggested defining cities acting on foreign territories as 'foreign local governments' and their activities as 'foreign local governments' involvement[64]'.

The second issue concerns calling the space which arises from cities' cooperation in an '*intercity international space*'. This area is considered to be 'international' because it contains an international element in form of the 'foreign local governments', which participate in relations between TNSAs. Due to the intensive development of the global economy, the influence of states on many issues is lessening. In those political areas, where states are no longer able to perform their duties effectively, such NTAs as cities take over them. A remarkable example is launching local development programs in post-conflict societies. For instance, in 1994 in Rwanda, after a large-scale civil war and genocide, a 'Local Governments Initiative' project was launched. This development aid project, which started in Kigali and later involved major Rwandan cities in five regions, allowed laying the foundations for reconciliation and formation of the democratic central government[65].

Therefore, it could be argued that to a certain extent cities have become 'states in miniature'. Since most of the phenomena of modernity (e.g. economic recessions, scientific discoveries, cultural breakthroughs as well as modern armed conflicts) arise and develop in urban areas, local governments and cities have become the major actors involved in spreading positive practices and experience, and/or eliminating or minimizing negative consequences. The success of these actions largely depends on the quality of a city's external relations. Furthermore, in many post-crisis states (regardless of the nature of the crisis), central governments concentrate their efforts on rebuilding centrally important state structures (e.g. the system of central banks, judicial infrastructure, political institutions), while neglecting similar local structures that become especially important for social cohesion during post-crisis settlement process. In such situations, cities and foreign local governments appear on the international arena to assist their counterparts in improving local conditions[66]. Therefore, in some situations cities not only complement, but substitute states; their actions become not only intercity, but really international.

Nevertheless, to what extent is it relevant or lawful to speak about the diplomacy of actors - cities in this case – which, from the perspective of the international law and domestic legal provisions of most countries, do not have any sovereignty? Indeed, there is a lack of legal clarity on this disputable issue which is further complicated by the fact that cities conduct their foreign activities in two different legal dimensions: national and international. At the national level legal regulations of city diplomacy differ from country to country. As has been discussed earlier in sub-chapter 1.1, while in some states

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[64]Musch and van Veldhuizen (2008), p.14.
[65]V. Musoni, Governance Strategies for Post Conflict Reconstruction, Sustainable Peace and Development, Reconstructing Governance and Public Administration Institutions in Rwanda, <u>7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government</u> (Vienna, June 2007), p. 28.
[66]Van der Pluijm (2007).

municipalities can get intensively involved in international politics and global affairs (e.g., the Netherlands, Belgium), in other countries the possibilities for cities' involvement in international cooperation are severely constrained by national legislation and international mechanisms, a lack of resources (financial, material, human) and appropriate technological development and infrastructure (e.g., Belarus)[67]. At the same time cities act on the international level. However, international law does not recognize their legal personality[68]. Local governments are regarded as the integral parts of their states, having neither the legal position, not the right to be represented or to participate in international organizations/ institutions. Nevertheless, city's external relations do exist on both local and international level owing to legal collisions and deficiency of the international law. Therefore, city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation combined under the umbrella notion of 'city's IR' are curious political phenomena which deserve more attention.

Conclusions

In summation, the new tendencies of globalization, glocalization and urbanization have significantly changed the international environment. These global changes have entailed remarkable shifts in the range of actors being able to participate in external relations. As has been acknowledged by the Liberal school of IR, states lost their monopoly on foreign affairs and now have to share their competences in a previously exclusive sphere with other actors, particularly with TNSAs. Therefore, the place and role of cities and municipalities in IR has significantly changed.

However, while at the beginning of the process of 'international empowerment' only a certain type of cities could establish external links (e.g. such global cities as London, New York, Tokyo) and the range of their activities was limited to economic ties, now theoretically any city may conduct external relations in a variety of dimensions, including security ties or representation. However, the legal nature of city's external relations has been clearly defined neither by international law, nor through domestic legal provisions. Therefore, a lot of legal limitations exist in relation to city's external actions.

Hence, it can be concluded that to a certain degree cities have become 'states in miniature'. Nowadays, they frequently become centres of economic prosperity, technological growth and cultural flourishing, or, on the contrary, epicentres of bankruptcy, theatres of various conflicts including asymmetric wars, ethnic cleansing, social and political disputes. Acting within their proxies established by domestic legislation and international law, municipalities have become responsible for sharing their best development practices or overcoming crisis situations both on international and local level through city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation. It is groundless to assume that it is impossible for both states and cities to be simultaneously active on the international stage. The phenomenon of growing 'city diplomacy' certainly requires a more detailed empirical research. It is especially interesting to be observed and investigated on the example of Russia as no previous research has been conducted on this country and the perception of city diplomacy might be different from its classical theoretical understanding. Therefore, the next chapter

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[67]G. Ignatenko and O. Tiunov, <u>International Public Law</u> (Moscow: Norma-Infra, 1999), p. 37-38.
[68]Papisca (2008), p. 14.

will look at phenomenon of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation in the Russian Federation and attempt to compete theory with practice.

Chapter 2: Russian Cities in International Relations: Actors or Observers?

2.1. Methodology

This study is analytical in nature and designed to get a first rough idea of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation, as compared to theory, in Russia. It is to provide a basis for further research. Based on literature review, expert interviews and analysis of municipal documents, the study analyses city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation in Russia in practice. In this part the research strategy, empirical data collection and analysis methods, as well as the reliability and validity of the research are discussed.

2.1.1. Research strategy

The empirical research concentrates on the case study of St. Petersburg. It describes the activities of the local government in six dimensions of city's external links. This case has been chosen for several reasons. First of all, having a unique Baltic location, St. Petersburg has the longest record of external relations compared to other Russian cities (in the contemporary period, its external relations started as early as in 1953 by establishing cooperation with Turku). It is also the second city in Russia and its former capital. The longevity and diversity of St. Petersburg's external relations make it an interesting case to study.

The form of a case study has been chosen because it is not possible to cover the whole field of practice in one piece of research. The author chose to look at city diplomacy in one city rather than comparing practices of several Russian cities. Such approach has been chosen because there has been no previous research on city diplomacy in Russia and it has not been entirely clear whether this phenomenon exists in Russia as such. Hence, uncovering the issue of city diplomacy on one example has been preferred, as otherwise the author could have run the risk of impossibility to complete the investigation due to the lack of data for comparison. At the same time, the author is aware of the fact that the findings might not be fully generalizable to other cases in Russia due to the differences between the statuses of cities, their locations, financial, social and human capital they possess. To make the results more generalizable and decrease inaccuracy, reliability and validity checks have as well as comparison against independent data have been conducted and results projected to the total population. Therefore, a case study is the best way to research how and why things go the way they go and is, therefore, suited to study the practice decentralized cooperation and city diplomacy[69]. This strategy was chosen also because city's external links is a new and complex phenomenon with a lot of variables and relations between them.

2.1.2 Data collection and analysis

When choosing a case study, multiple methods of data collection are possible. Amongst others these are interviews, observations and content analysis. Interviews and content analysis were preferred over observations because city diplomacy is an abstract process which partially unfolds in people's minds;

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[69] R. Yin, 'Case Study Research: Design and Methods' in Vennix, J. (ed.), *Theorie van empirisch onderzoek*, (Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2004), p. 153.

therefore it is difficult to be observed. Due to the fact that there are no secondary sources on the subject matter and the chosen case study, all the data was collected only by primary data analysis based on the interviews and municipal documents.

Interviews

To gather information on St. Petersburg's external relations in different areas the researcher held five in-depth expert interviews with leading officers of the Department of International Cooperation (Scandinavian and Baltic States Division; Division for the Countries of Central and Southern Europe, USA and Canada; Division for the Countries of Northern Europe, Balkan States, Israel and Cooperation with the EU), Division of CIS and Regions of the Russian Federation and Planning of International Events Division of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg. The data collected through the interviews was used to supplement the data gathered thought secondary sources and content analysis. Interviewing was preferred over observation, because it is hard to observe city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation, since they are abstract processes which occur partly in people's minds and partly across a large amount of physical places and topics[70].

The research makes use of open interviews based on an interview guide[71]. In this type of interview a list of topics (selected by the researcher) is used. The researcher determines the order in which the topics are discussed during the interview. The aim is to let the respondents do the talking. The researcher listens, summarises and asks questions based on comments of the respondent. In this way, all topics were covered but the respondent had enough time and space to talk freely about the things which came up in his/her mind in relation to the subject discussed.

Content analysis

In addition to the interviews, content analysis has been used. The researcher studied the following documents:

1. Municipal (St. Petersburg's) documents on city's international links from 2012 to 2014;
2. Annual reports the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg from 2012 to 2014;
3. The website of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg.

The type of content analysis used in the research is a qualitative-interpretative analysis. This type of content analysis is based on the qualitative research tradition in which theory is compared with practice. Qualitative-interpretative content analysis requires from the researcher that she takes the social context of the document in mind.

Data analysis

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[70] C. Marshall and B. Rossman, <u>Designing Qualitative Research</u>, 3rd Edition (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1999).
[71] M. Patton, 'Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods' in Vennix, J. (ed.), <u>*Ontwerpen van onderzoek,*</u> (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 2003), p. 167.

In qualitative research there is interplay between data collection and data analysis. It happened likewise in this research. First, the expert interviews were held and recorded on tape. Afterwards, transcription of the recorded interviews took place in which two steps were taken. The first step was the exact documenting of the conversation on paper. The next step was data reduction with help of displays (micro categories) of Miles and Huberman[72]. The micro categories were designed along the dimensions and sub-dimensions of city diplomacy discussed in the theoretical part of the research.

The answers of the respondents and relevant parts of the studied documents were translated into the displays in order to make the analysis easier. In this manner, it was possible to compare the theory of city's external relations with practices of Russian cities. Furthermore, by the schemes and tables made after data reduction and displaying, it became possible to identify the main areas of Russian cities' external activities and to compare the results with theory, therefore, answering the major question of the research.

2.1.3 Reliability and validity

The reliability and validity of a research are important criteria for the quality of the research. These two aspects are discussed below.

Reliability

Reliability has to do with the exactness of the data collection. Data are reliable when two measurements lead to the same results[73]. There can be differences in results when there are mistakes in the method of data collection or in the instruments. Reliability can be increased when methods of data collection are standardised. In the research the method of data collection was the use of open interviews. The usage of an interview guide meant that the interview topics were discussed in the same order every interview. This increases the level of reliability.

In general, a concern with qualitative research is that just a small sample is studied. This has as a result that small mistakes are less obvious and have a greater impact on the research. In this research one case is studied and in order to prevent mistakes and increase the reliability, the conversations have been put on paper directly after the recording. In this way it is prevented as much as possible that the researcher's perspective intermingles with the answers of the respondents.

Validity

Validity can best be described with help of the question: is the researcher measuring what he wants to measure? Validity is about structural mistakes in the data collection[74]. Internal validity means that the conclusions of the research are not influenced by other factors than the research data[75]. The internal validity of the research is safeguarded in two ways. The use of open interviews has as an advantage that it

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[72]J. Vennix, *Ontwerpen van onderzoek* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 2003), p. 182-183.
[73] Vennix (2003), p. 99.
[74] Vennix (2003), p. 99.
[75] H. Korzilius, The Core of Survey Research (Assen: van Gorcum, 2008).

leaves space and time for the discussion of other relevant topics besides the scheduled ones, so-called probing. The interplay between data collection and data analysis, resulting from the direct transcription of data in between interviews, leaves room for the verification of interpretations from one interview in the next[76].

External validity means that the conclusions of the research are also valid for another population. To establish external validity the case must be a good representation of the total population. In this research the total population consists of all cases in which a form of city diplomacy or decentralized cooperation takes place. The research focuses on Russia and studies only one of all possible cases. Moreover, every case of decentralized cooperation and city diplomacy is different because of different conditions. Therefore it is hard to establish a research sample which represents the total population well. Conclusions and lessons learned from the research could be valid for other examples of city diplomacy in Russia, but this is not necessarily the case.

2.2. Legal and Political Context of Russian Cities' External Actions

Before proceeding to an empirical assessment of the nature and scope of Russian cities' involvement in IR, it is essential to determine the real degree of the devolution of power in the country. Devolution of power is an essential element of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation. Real devolution of power can be measured by assessing and comparing domestic legal basis for city's external actions with real political situation. In other words, the devolution of power is measured by comparing the full spectrum of warranted rights with those which are actually observed.

When assessing **real devolution of power** in a given state, a researcher should be careful not to compare real political conditions with ideal political conditions determined by the theory. A scholar should be aware of the fact that real political conditions vary, depending on a state's political regime, state structure, administrative and territorial division, while ideal theoretical conditions have been constructed on the example of the Netherland[77]. Furthermore, due to some historical reasons or external situation, a politically liberal state may not delegate a lot of power to its municipalities and cities (e.g. New Zealand or Japan[78]). And vice versa, a state with little political liberalization may delegate a significant amount of power to its municipalities (e.g. the case of Guangzhou city diplomacy in China[79]). Therefore, real devolution of power in Russian will be measured by comparing real political conditions with legal provisions. In that part of the research ideal political conditions will not be taken into account.

A proposed scheme of assessing two subjective categories against each other can be contested, as in an assessment process there should be at least one objectively defined element which is ideal theoretical conditions. However, as has been mentioned earlier, ideal theoretical conditions are not universally applicable, therefore, can also be perceived as subjective. Hence, for the purpose of this research, the

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[76] H. Boeije, Analysis in Qualitative Research, Thinking and Doing (Hoofddorp: Boom onderwijs, 2006).
[77] Van der Pluijm (2007).
[78] X. Zuo Lin, Guangzhou City Diplomacy Research: Master's thesis (Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, 2009), p. 9, http://www.dissertationtopic.net/doc/547535, consulted on 30.04. 2015.
[79] Zuo Lin (2009), p. 10.

legal basis would be regarded as an objectively defined element - an ideal degree of power devolution which a country can guarantee at the moment. By the legal basis the author understands legal provisions of the Constitution and the Federal Laws which determine the due level of the devolution of power in the Russian Federation. Real political conditions, on the other hand, will serve as a subjective variable which will be tested against the legislation. By political context the author understands the level of democratization in the country and its impact on decentralization in Russia. Hence, by assessing these elements against each other real degree of the devolution of power will be determined. It should be further mentioned that, since the analysed criteria are rather abstract, the results obtained would be presented in descriptive and evaluative conclusions.

2.2.1. Legal Framework for Russian Cities' External Actions

Theory defines federalism as a constitutional division of sovereignty and corresponding powers between the central governing authority and constituent political units based upon democratic rules and institutions[80]. The power to govern creates three pillars of competencies in a federal system: national/exclusive competencies of the federation, competencies shared between the central authority and local governments and supportive competencies which are the competencies of local authorities[81]. As stated by Peterson and O'Toole, 'federalism usually gives a rise to less formal intricate structures within which large number of actors, each wielding a small slice of power, interacts[82]'. In this regard, Shekultirov further argues that 'the access to the international arena, which local authorities get, is a characteristic of a democratic model of federalism[83]'. Therefore, this sub-chapter would attempt to assess how Russian legislation distribute rights and freedoms related to external actions among these pillars and what competencies in IR are downloaded to constituent entities.

As the term 'constituent entity of the Russian Federation' will appear throughout the chapter, its meaning must be clarified. A 'constituent entity of the Russian Federation' means a type of subject of the Russian Federation: a republic, a territory, a region, a city of federal importance (Moscow or St. Petersburg) or an autonomous region. The list is exhaustive and cities, other than those of federal importance, are not directly included in this notion. However, it could be argued that, since cities fall under the category of municipalities that is defined by the Federal Law 'On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Government in the Russian Federation' as:

an urban or rural settlement, a metropolitan region, an urban district, an urban district with internal division, Intra-city district or territory of a federal city[84],

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[80] N. Matuzov and A. Malko, State and Law Theory: Student Book (Moscow: Yurist, 2012), p. 39.
[81] Matuzov and Malko (2012), p. 40.
[82] Peterson and O'Toole (2001), p. 300.
[83] B. Shekultirov, 'Konstitutionno-pravovoe regulirovanie mehzdunarodnoy deyatelnosti regionov Rossijskoj Federatsii', Vestnik Adygejskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, № 4 (2005), p. 102.
[84] Art. 2 of the Federal Law 'On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Government in the Russian Federation' of 06.03.2003 №131-FZ adopted by the State Duma on 16.09.2003, http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_174900/, consulted on 30.03.2015.

they are parts of Russian constituent entities. A constituent entity legally defines the status of its municipalities including cities, and, if not stated otherwise in the constitution (charter) of the subject of the Russian Federation or in the municipal charter itself, it enjoys the same amount of rights as a constituent entity it belongs to[85] [86]. Such rule is described in Russian municipal law as the principle of general equality between entities and municipalities of the Russian Federation[87]. The exception to this rule is 44 closed cities determined by the Governmental Order of 2001[88]. Therefore, hereinafter in the chapter, when external competencies of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation are assessed, the results obtained will also be valid for their municipalities including cities.

The Constitution of the Russian Federation, proclaiming Russia to be '[a] democratic federal […] State […][89]', clearly draws the line between exclusive and shared competencies in IR. The central government fully reserves the right to conduct state's foreign policy and IR, defence and security including arms trade, and has jurisdiction on issues of war and peace[90]. On the one hand, it could be argued that the central government does not exercise a great number of powers in foreign affairs. On the other hand, a detailed analysis of federal laws on external relations has shown that such assumptions are inaccurate[91]. The simplified results of the analysis are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Exclusive Competencies of the Russian Federation in International Relations

Foreign Policy and International Relations	Defence and Security
Formulation and Implementation of State Foreign Policy: - To determine foreign-policy course; - To coordinate external actions on issues of war and peace; - To determine potential partners/allies/rival/external challenges; - Other related tasks.	*Territorial and Boarder Defence:* - Border defence; - Protection of territorial sea; - Protection of air space; - Protection of exclusive economic zone; - Protection of continental shelf.
International Agreements of the Russian Federation: - Signing/ ratification/ implementation/ supervision of execution/ denunciation.	*Work with and Protection of Citizens and Compatriots Abroad:* - Protection from external aggression including the threat of terrorism; - Protection of compatriots abroad (diplomatic, consular and military means);
Diplomatic Relations: - Establishing/breaking diplomatic relations; - Establishing/ breaking consular links; - Representation at regional and/or international organizations.	*External Arms Trade:* - Weapons; - Ammunitions; - Military equipment; - Other military property.
*Relations in these areas are conducted by the federal public authorities: the President of the Russian Federation, the Government including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Parliament – State Duma and the Federation Council.	

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[85] S. Avakyan *et al*, <u>Municipal Law of the Russian Federation: Student Book</u> (Moscow: Prospect, 2009), pp. 81-84;
N. Ignatuk *et al*, <u>Municipal Law: Textbook for High School Students</u> (Moscow: Yustitsinfo, 2007).
[86] V. Lisitsa, <u>On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Government in the Russian Federation</u> (Novosibirsk: Institute for Philosophy and Law of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Science, 2015), pp. 1-2.
[87] S. Gorbacheva, 'Principle of Equality as the Basis of Relationship of the Russian Federation and its Subjects: Legal Problems', <u>Vestnik Volzhskogo Universiteta im. V.N.Tatishcheva</u>, Vol. 79, №4 (2013);
[88] R. Yarovitcin, <u>The City That Does Not Exist</u> (Nizhny Novgorod: Lulu, 2012), p. 136.
[89] Article 1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, December 12, 1993 (Moscow: <u>Rossiiskaya Gazeta Newspaper</u>, 1993).
[90] Article 71 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.
[91] A. Kolesnik, ''Russian Federation as a Subject of International Relations', <u>Vestnik Yuzhno-Uralskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta</u>, Vol. 60, № 5 (2006), pp. 280-284.

The macro-competencies defined by the Constitution include a number of medium-scale competencies specified in special Federal Laws on IR of the Russian Federation. Medium-scale competencies further include micro-competencies in the areas vital for a state's existence and development. It could be concluded that, while the number of medium and micro-rights defined by special acts may increase or decrease due to changes in the legislation, macro-competencies of the federal government are stable constitutionally defined categories. Such complex legal structure allows the central government to retain its sovereignty, download more rights to other levels by reducing a number of its own micro jurisdictions or, vice versa, in case on emergency restrict legal devolution of power. Furthermore, it legally debars any occurrence of other power centres participating in IR beyond the federal control[92].

Having concluded that the most important areas of IR are legally concentrated in the hands of the Federation, it is now essential to assess powers shared between Russia and its subjects. The Constitution gives entities of the Russian Federation the right to become subjects of international and foreign economic relations[93]. However, accurately speaking, constituent entities and municipalities are able to establish and develop their international ties, not full-fledged relations[94]. The major reservation to this legal provision is that autonomy is only possible within coordination frameworks established by the federal government. The method of coordination is defined by the Federal Contract of 1992 in the following way: the federal government issues the Fundamentals of Legislation which municipal governments use for adopting local acts[95]. It means that municipalities can act independently only within the legal limitations set by the central government. For instance, although, the Federal Law 'On Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation' entitles local authorities to

[h]ave the right to conduct international and foreign economic relations with entities of foreign federal states, administrative-territorial formations of foreign states, and to participate in the activities of international organization within bodies specially designed for such purposes[96],

these actions should not contradict state politics and must be fully endorsed.

International and foreign economic ties, which local authorities can exercise within shared competencies, include **economy** and **trade, scientific** and **technological** exchanges**, ecological, humanitarian** and **cultural links**, **partnership building** and **representation** in international organizations and other countries/foreign municipalities[97] (the list is exhaustive)[98]. These competencies correlate with Van der Plujie's dimensions of city diplomacy discussed in chapter 1.2, with the exception of **security** which is

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[92] Kolesnik (2006), p. 284.
[93] Article 72 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.
[94] V. Plontikov, 'Normativnyje pravovye akty, reglamentiruyushchie mezhdunarodnye svyazi subjektov Rossijskoj Federatsii', Vlast, №3 (2009), p. 2.
[95] Federal Contract of 31.03.1992 (Moscow, Rossiiskaya Gazeta Newspaper, 1992).
[96] Article 1 of the Federal Law 'On Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation' of 04.01.1999 №4-FZ (Moscow, Rossiiskaya Gazeta Newspaper, 1999).
[97] A. Larichev, 'Mehzdunarodnaya deyatelnost subjektov Rossijskoy Federatsii: kontseptualnaya osnova i aspekty pravovogo regulirovaniya', Biznes v zakone, №2 (2008), p. 36.
[98] Article 1.2 of the Federal Law 'On Coordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation' of 04.01.1999 №4-FZ.

fully reserved to national competencies. Therefore, the first discrepancy between theory and practice is observed. The distribution of competencies in IR in Russia is summarized in Scheme 1.

Scheme 1. Distribution of Competencies in International and Foreign Economic Relations between the Federal and Local Authorities in the Russian Federation

National Competencies	Shared Competencies	Supporting Competencies
• Formulation and conduct of state foreign policy; • International agreements; • Diplomatic relations; • Territorial and border defence; • Protection of citizens; • External arms trade.	• Partnership building; • Economic ties; • Cultural links; • Implementation of International treaties; • Representation.	No jurisdiction in the area of international and external economic relations

Being the sole bearer of the sovereignty, the federation acts as the only subject responsible for formulating and conducting foreign policy and IR of the Russian Federation. It also reserves the right to coordinate external actions of its constituent entities and municipalities, which have no legal jurisdiction for external actions without the Federation's consent. Nevertheless, municipalities are rather free to act within the policy guidelines provided, but only in the areas determined by the legislation. Therefore, it could be concluded that the entire sphere of IR belongs to national (exclusive) and shared competencies, and is centrally controlled. Russian constituent entities have limited legal personality. Although, the legislation allows them to act externally, the devolution of power at the legislative level has not reached the degree which could entitle municipalities to act autonomously. All the external actions are centrally coordinated, which is not typical for a democratic state that Russia constitutionally is. Such contradictions between theory and practice - constitutionally proclaimed democracy and authoritative centralization appearing through active legislation - create the necessary prerequisites for the assessment of the political environment in the Russian Federation and its influence on external relations of its municipalities.

2.2.2. Political Context

As has been stated earlier in the chapter, real political conditions mean the level of democratization and decentralization of power in a given state. Unlike legal conditions, which can be easily assessed by analysing legal documents and the set of rights they grant to different actors, political conditions are not easy to be evaluated. They can be studies through the assessment of secondary sources (existing analytical and research works on political conditions and decentralization of power in contemporary Russia), elite interviews or personal observations. Among the methods proposed, personal observations requires active involvement in political life of the country, which the author lacks of. Therefore, in order to increase objectivity, secondary sources and elite interviews will be used for further analysis.

Political conditions in contemporary Russia are complex and complicated. Besides the general tendency for substituting yet immature democracy with progressive authoritarianism [99] by limiting rights and

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[99] J. Nichol, Russian Political, Economic, and Security Issues and U.S. Interests: Research Paper (Congressional Research Service, March 31, 2014), p. 6,

freedoms in the country, which has become especially remarkable since 2012 president Putin redux and adoption of controversial decrees (e.g. the so-called 'Foreign Agent Law' of July 2012, 'anti-LGBT Propaganda Law' of June 2013, 'Blogger Registration Law' of May 2014[100], etc.), political context represents a mixture of trends and tendencies which, at times, can be regarded as contradictory. For instance, overcoming secessionism within the country (e.g. of such regions as Chechnya and Dagestan) goes side by side with supporting separatist movements in the neighbouring states (e.g. Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, Transnistria in Moldova), constitutional secularity goes parallel with the growing influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, modernization in science and technology is accompanied by depression in industry, calls for diversification of budget incomes side with growing reliance on oil prices, etc. According to a number of scholars (Galkin, 2000[101]; Rutland, 2005[102]; Gelman, 2010[103]; Horsfield, 2014[104]), the major trend observed in the Russian Federation is growing centralization of power. Being the key element of authoritarianism, centralization of power is especially remarkable in economic, political and social spheres of state activities. However, as the research focuses on decentralized cooperation in Russia, centralization of power in centre-periphery relations will be analysed further on in the chapter to determine political context for local authorities' external actions.

Centralization in power relations in contemporary Russia started through creating a 'power vertical' with a number of reforms. Firstly, Russia saw a push for regional enlargement. From 2003 to 2008 the number of subjects of the Russian Federation was reduced from 89 to 83[105]. As has been relatively remarked by Petrukova, firstly, the enlargement of regions eliminated the so-called 'recipient regions' which the state found hard to manage by attaching them to the so-called 'donor regions'. Secondly, it reduced the overall number of units which the state had to supervise, therefore, increased control efficiency[106].

The following step in centralization was grouping all the constituent entities into 9 Federal Districts each headed by a Presidential Plenipotentiary appointed directly by the President. As has been noticed by Druchinin,

taking into account the size of the Russian territory, such grouping was essential for effective governance. Regions and constituent entities, not to mention cities, are too numerous. To increase efficiency of coordination, 9 Federal Districts were formed, thereby creating a rather simple hierarchical structure of governance directly accountable to the President[107].

http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33407.pdf, consulted on 24.04.2015;

[100] Nichol (2014), pp. 10-11

[101] A. Galkin, Authoritarianism in Russia: Dangers for Democracy (Moscow: NATO Information Centre, 1999).

[102] P. Rutland, Why is Russia still an Authoritarian State? (Or, What Would De Tocqueville Say?), (Washington D.C: American Political Science Association, 2005);

[103] V. Gelman, The Politics of Sub-National Authoritarianism in Russia (London: Ashgate. 2010).

[104] D. Horsfield, 'Casting shadows? Authoritarianism in Putin's Russia', Asia Europe Journal, Vol. 12, № 4 (2014), pp. 445-456.

[105] P. Goode, The Decline of Regionalism in Putin's Russia: Boundary Issues (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 34

[106] Interview with Kristina Petrukova, Specialist of the Third Category (Senior Officer) at the Division for the Countries of Central and Southern Europe, USA and Canada of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg (2015).

[107] Interview with Alexander Druchinin, Specialist of the Second Category (Senior Officer) at the Division of CIS and Regions of the Russian Federation of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg (2015).

Creation of Federal Districts should have made state control more targeted, while the posts of Presidential Plenipotentiaries should have increased accountability. However, as argued by Goode, this simple structure has not brought a much desired transparency[108] and put excessive burden of state control on regions, contributing to further growth of authoritarianism.

Centralization pressure continued when direct elections of the governors (*gubernators*) were abolished. From 2004 to 2012 regional governors were appointed directly by the President from the candidate lists adopted by regional administrations. Most of the candidates were the member of the ruling United Russia party[109]. Undemocratic appointing procedure and the party have strengthened discipline in a top-down manner, so that party members in regional and local governments toed the national party line increasing central state control. However, in late 2012 the process was substituted with a hybrid direct and indirect electoral procedure. According to the new procedure, all the parties represented in regional/republic legislatures can propose their candidate lists which are then winnowed by the President to three candidates only. The legislature then selects one of these candidates as a governor[110].

At the same time, new conditions were placed on the election of mayors of regional capitals. As in the case with regional governors, by 2015 mayors of 40 regional capitals have become subjects to appointment[111]. In other cities, elected candidate must be approved by the regional governor[112]. On the one hand, it could be argued that appointment procedure helps to reduce budgetary expenditures on local elections[113]. On the other hands, critics charged that the change was enacted because the United Russia party feared any degree of open electoral competition, which is a clear sign of authoritarian pressure. Appointment procedure infringes the basis of democracy, which Russia has constitutionally agreed to observe[114], and enhances central control over municipal actions, which can potentially infringe municipal rights within shared competencies.

A well-structured 'power vertical' has started to play its role in further centralization. State control is projected to regional and municipal level in form of political frameworks and guidelines. As has been discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.1., entities of the Russian Federation are legally obliged to seek state endorsement to their policies, especially in the sphere of external relations. Therefore, it can be argued that theoretically the right of municipalities to conduct their policies is not violated and meets the letter of the law. However, according to the experts interviewed, in practice subjects/municipalities get policy directions from the centre which they have to follow. As noted by Druchinin,

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[108] Goode (2011), p. 54

[109] N. Dergunova, 'Izbiratelnoe zakonodatelstvo kak mechanism regulirovaniya politicheskoy konkurentsii v Rossii', <u>Problemy teorii i praktiki sovremennoy nauku: socialno-gumanitarnyj aspect</u>, Vol. 214 (2011), pp. 179-182.

[110] Nichol (2014), p. 11.

[111] S. Marchenko, 'Vybory Mera: Vybirat ili Naznachat?', <u>Issues of Local Self-Governance</u>, Vol. 62, №1 (2015), p. 5.

[112] Marchenko (2015), p. 6

[113] Statement by the Spokesperson of High Representative on the New Law on Treason in Russia, Press Release of 25 October, 2012, <u>Council of the European Union</u>, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/133204.pdf, consulted on 15.04.2015.

[114] Article 1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993).

while we (author: Regional Committees for External Relations of St. Petersburg) are entitled to initiate our own projects, in practice we get very clear directives from the Ministry of Regional Development. So international programs are pre-determined and there is no much room for initiative.[115]

As can be seen, rather than uploading an initiative for further endorsement, as prescribed by the law, local authorities receive policy guidelines. Such scheme, although infringing municipal rights, clearly goes in line with centralization of power discovered above.

Interestingly, as further commented by the experts, as a rule local authorities do not feel that their rights are infringed and accept the procedure due to their financial dependency:

We (author: local authorities) are financed from both federal and regional budgets. So it is fair that the government (author: federal government) wants us to follow its course (author: directives) in our work[116].

Following clear state guidelines is a political reality that has a direct impact on municipal international links. Despite being legally entitled to develop freely their international ties, municipalities are unlikely to embark on developing those areas of external cooperation which are not prioritized and/or endorsed by the central government[117] [118]. This is where the deviation from law is especially remarkable. Furthermore, accountability to the central government[119], which is secured by the highly centralized "power vertical", is another element of political context in which municipal external actions unfold.

Hence, it could be concluded that real political conditions in which municipalities develop their external actions are not really favourable. Russian political climate is characterized, firstly, by the reduction of democratic rights and freedoms, secondly, by the high degree of centralization. Political power is concentrated in hands of the President and his administration[120]; a weak multiparty political system is dominated by the ruling United Russia party. The hierarchical structure of governance creates a highly authoritarian environment, which severely limits real devolution of power in the country.

Analysis and Intermediary Conclusion

As has been shown in the chapter, despite constitutionally being a democratic state, in reality Russia is a deficient democracy. Authoritarianism and centralization are remarkable at both levels of assessment: at the level of legislation and at the level of real politics. The analysis of the legislation has shown that Russian municipalities have a very limited, but precise list of rights in the area of external relations. These rights are shared with the central government and all the external activities of municipalities are subjects

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[115] A. Druchinin (2015).
[116] Interview with Anna Pushkareva, Project Officer at Planning of International Events Division of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg (2015).
[117] Petrukova (2015).
[118] Interview with Elena Terekhova, Specialist of the Third Category (Senior Officer) at the Scandinavian and Baltic States Division of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg (2015).
[119] Interview with Irina Vorokhobina, Specialist of the Second Category (Senior Officer) at the Division for the Countries of Northern Europe, Balkan States, Israel and Cooperation with the EU of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg (2015).
[120] Nichol (2014), p. 5.

to its formal approval. Since all these limitations are embodied in laws, it may be assumed that this is the maximum level of freedom which Russia can currently download on its subjects and municipalities.

At the level of real political conditions, besides controversial political trends, an intensive centralization of power is observed. Centralization of power could have gone in line with a limiting legislation, if all the rights granted to municipalities were actually observed. Here the author would like to stress the respect for the right to external actions which, according to the legislation, is limited by state's approval and formal supervision. If these conditions were met, the real devolution of power in Russia would be limited but guaranteed and respected. Municipalities and cities would be able to show initiative in the areas of shared competencies, thereby allowing them to become full-fledged actors[*] of the IR. However, as has been revealed during the research, the right to external actions is heavily violated by the central government and legal provisions are not observed. Therefore, the real degree of the devolution of power is not simply limited by the legislation; it is significantly restricted by the state, giving Russian municipalities a very small, if any, room for manoeuvre on the international arena. Thereby, it can be concluded that Russian cities enter the sphere of IR as second order actors. Based on the theory and previous findings, the following part of the study would attempt to analyse city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation in Russia, a deficient democracy with a limited degree of real devolution of power on the example of St. Petersburg. The research would attempt to determine if Russian municipalities are second order actors or observers in IR.

2.3. St. Petersburg in International Relations: Practical Assessment of City Diplomacy and Decentralized Cooperation in Russia

Having analysed legal and political conditions which influence the devolution of power in Russia and have a direct impact on city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation, the author has preliminary concluded that Russian cities cannot participate in IR as discretionary and full-fledged actors. The assumption is supported by the fact that none of the Russian cities is considered as a classical example of the global city. However, in this part of the research the author would attempt to investigate the actual level of Russian cities' involvement into different areas of external actions, namely **culture**, **development**, **economy**, **networks**, **representation** and **security**.

As has been discussed earlier in the research, the assessment of the external actions of Russian cities will be based on the case study of St. Petersburg. Therefore, to define which areas of external cooperation are the most important for Russian cities and which are underrated, the first step of content analysis of elite interviews and municipal documents was conducted. At this stage of the research the analysis was targeted at defining the priority areas of cities' external relations. At the same time, the author attempted to compare theory, which does not rank areas in order of importance, and practice, which actually does.

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[*]Full-fledged actors within the limitations of the Russian legislations, which is taken as an objectively defined element of the analysis.

The analysis has been conducted in the following way. The interviews and municipal documents have been analysed and micro categories relevant to the research, have been identified and tagged. The data has been reduced to these micro categories. Then it has been estimated how many times each micro category had been mentioned in each resource reviewed. The figures reflecting the number of mentioning for each micro category belonging to the same sub-dimensions of city diplomacy have been summed. The figures received for each sub-dimensions belonging to one of the six dimensions have been further summed. Hence, based on the number of mentioning in the interviews and municipal documents, the major dimensions of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation have been ranked in order of priority. The results of the ranking are reflected in table 2.

Table 2. Ranking of the Areas of City Diplomacy and Decentralised Cooperation in Russia

	Hierarchy of Russian cities' areas of external actions; N= 2018 paragraphs; M=730 mentioning	Count	Percentage
1	Culture	267	36.57 %
2	Economy	253	34.65 %
3	Networks	87	11.91 %
4	Representation	82	11.23 %
5	Development	41	5.64 %
6	Security	0	0 %

As has been revealed on the case study of St. Petersburg, Russian cities mostly engage in cultural relations with their foreign counterparts. Economic cooperation also remains a priority. However, it should be mentioned that the ratio between cultural and economic activities of St. Petersburg have varies depending on the year of the document studied. For instance, the documents of 2013 included more economic activities, while the acts of 2014 are focused on culture. Such differences can be explained by Russian domestic policy (e.g. in 2013 Russia saw a significant economic growth due to the increase in crude oil prices, therefore economic cooperation intensified) and international political situation (e.g. the year of 2014 was marked with Ukrainian crisis and economic sanctions imposed on Russia, therefore economic cooperation was significantly restricted and substituted with politically-neutral cultural relations). Nevertheless, the overall count of categories related to culture has exceeded the number of those related to economic ties. Therefore, in this research work, culture will be regarded as a priority dimension, followed by economy. However, they will be analysed together as the number of projects in these areas is too large to be covered separately and some of St. Petersburg's external activities fall under both categories.

As can be seen further, networks and representation have almost the same number of activities, though being significantly less important than culture and economy. It should also be mentioned that at times it has been challenging to draw a clear distinction between the two categories as some micro displays can be referred to both of them (e.g. it was not very clear which category 'city twinning' should go to, but finally

it was included into 'networking'). Therefore, due to their indivisibility, these categories will be analysed together after culture and economy. Development has turned out to be the least prioritized category, while security is completely excluded from the list. These findings can be explained by the limiting legislation discussed earlier in the chapter, and, in case of development, budgetary and bureaucratic constraints. Empirically proven exclusion of security from the list of city's external activities reveals the second discrepancy between theory and practice.

Finally, the first stage of analysis also highlighted the third discrepancy between theory and practice. Theory does not make any ranking between the areas of cities' external actions, regarding them all as products of the devolution of power and equal elements of decentralized cooperation. In practice it can be seen that in Russia some areas of external links are prioritized over others. Ranking depends both on external condition and country's internal needs. As in the case of the Russian Federation, both of these leverages have influenced the ranking. It is also difficult to determine which of these leverages has a bigger influence on setting priorities for external relations. Nevertheless, it can be clearly seen that no equality exists between the six areas of external cooperation in Russia. These preliminary results also confirm experts' testimonials, which were largely used in sub-chapter 2.2.2. Therefore, further research on the role of Russian cities in IR will be structured in accordance with defined areas of priority.

However, if the priorities in external actions explored on the case study of St. Petersburg are likely to be similar for all Russian cities, geographical focus of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation may vary depending on location. Cities located in the western part of Russia are likely to cooperate more with European cities and regions, cities located in the Far East are presumably more involved in relations with their Asian counterparts. These links are determined by the geographical proximity, which is reflected in infrastructural and logistical matters, as well as shared understanding of local and global issues, common goals, values and challenges which cooperating municipalities face. Taking into account St. Petersburg's location, it is more likely to cooperate with Baltic cities or partners from broader Europe than with municipalities of Kazakhstan or China, for example. The situation is likely to be different for Vladivostok or Novosibirsk. Therefore, it is almost impossible to determine a geographical pattern of Russian cities' external relations. However, what the author will attempt to do in the following step of analysis is to research whether there were any, even minor, changes in the geographical priorities of St. Petersburg's external relations from 2012 to 2014, and will try to interpret the findings in relation to the total population.

In order to analyse possible changes in geography of St. Petersburg's external relations, the author conducted content analysis of Annual reports of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg of 2012, 2013 and 2014 from the geographical perspective. Elite interviews and Acts on International and Inter-regional Activities of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg were not taken into account at this stage because they do not reflect the correlations between the time period and the geographical scope of activities. The analysis of the documents has revealed the following major geographic regions of cooperation (enlisted in the alphabetical order):

1. Asia-Pacific (mainly India, China, Japan, Australia);
2. CIS;
3. Europe;

Remarkably, the so-called 'geographical scope of cooperation' is not purely geographical: while Asia-Pacific and Europe can be regarded as purely geographical areas, the CIS is a 'political' entity. However, since the Annual reports of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg use all these categories in geographical sense, the research will follow the similar pattern in order to increase reliability and validity of the research.

While Europe and the CIS are not odd categories in the geographical scope of St. Petersburg's external links, the presence of Asia-Pacific in the geography of St. Petersburg's external actions creates an interesting finding. Obviously, St. Petersburg does not have any direct geographical links (e.g. shared borders, infrastructural dependency) with the region, however cooperation exists. Cooperation with cities from Asia-Pacific can be explained by Russia's long-term partnerships with some Asian states, mostly with China and India[121]. This finding might, therefore, undermine the assumption concerning the impossibility to determine a geographical pattern of Russian cities' external relations. However, it will be discussed in more details later in the research. Interestingly, St. Petersburg has no extensive relations with cities/municipalities from Africa, Middle East, North America and South America. Although, there are individual projects with certain actors from these regions, they are not numerous. Exclusion of these regions from St. Petersburg's scope of geographic activities can also be explained by the external geographic priorities of the Russian Federation. As relevantly remarked by Khmylev (2010):

Europe, Central Asia and Asia-Pacific are strategic areas for Russia as they have shared borders and historical past. Africa, Middle East and both Americas are less important due to the geographic remoteness and fewer possibilities to influence Russia's internal and external politics[122].

Presumably, the same pattern it valid for the geography of external relations of St. Petersburg and other Russian cities.

Having identified the key regions for cooperation, the author attempted to define their order of importance and see whether there have been any changed over the past 3 years. Content analysis of the Acts on International and Inter-regional Activities of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg of 2012, 2013, 2014 was conducted. Elite interviews and the Annual reports of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg of 2012, 2013 and 2014 were not taken into account at this stage as they do not contain information on the number of projects in a country per year. The analysis was conducted in the following way. All the cities which had joint projects with St. Petersburg were allocated to the countries they belong to. All the countries were further allocated according to the geographical categories identified earlier.

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[121] V. Khmylev, <u>Contemporary International Relations</u> (Tomsk: Tomsk Polytechnical University Press, 2010).
[122] V. Khmylev, p. 142.

The challenge that the researcher faced at this stage of analysis was to differentiate between the states which can be referred to several categories. To eliminate the problem, the following classification has been adopted. The 'CIS' has been defined on the membership in the organization and included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine. The 'EU' category included the EU member-states as well as Norway and Iceland which were added here for statistical purposes. The 'EU' category included the sub-category of the 'Baltic States' which is highly important for the analysis of St. Petersburg's external relations due to the geographical reasons. The 'Baltic States' have been defined on the membership in the Council of the Baltic States and included Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland and Sweden. Although the 'Baltic States' will be included in the tables below as a separate category, it should be kept in mind that this is a sub-category of the EU. European states that do not fall under the 'EU' and the 'Baltic States' categories have been included in the category of 'Broader Europe'. These countries are Albania, Andorra, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Liechtenstein, Macedonia, Monaco, Montenegro, San Marino, Serbia, Switzerland and Turkey. The projects with those cities/countries that did not fall under any of the proposed categories, have been included into the category 'Other'. Cities from such states are not numerous; therefore they have not significantly influenced the outcomes of the research.

The author understands that such division of states is based on a judgement call and can be contested due to its ambiguity; therefore, throughout the analysis particular attention was paid to the essence of a project related to a city from an ambiguous state. After tagging, the projects related to a particular city/municipality were counted and all the activities conducted in the same region were summed. Based on the results of the calculations, geographical areas were arranged in order of importance. The results are summarized in table 3.

Table 3. Geography of St. Petersburg's External Links

	N= 75 paragraphs; M = 72 mentioning;	Count	Percentage
	Year 2012		
1	EU*	42	58.2 %
2	CIS	20	27.7 %
3	Baltic States**	19	26.3 %
4	Asia-Pacific	8	11.1%
5	Other	2	3 %
6	Broader Europe	0	0 %
	N= 57 paragraphs; M = 65 mentioning;	Count	Percentage
	Year 2013		
1	CIS	31	47.7 %
2	EU*	30	46.1 %
3	Baltic States**	22	12.3 %

4	Asia-Pacific	3	4.6 %
5	Other	1	1.6 %
6	Broader Europe	0	0 %

	N= 111 paragraphs; M = 108 mentioning;	Count	Percentage
	Year 2014		
1	CIS	56	52.3 %
2	EU*	33	33.6 %
3	Baltic States**	19	15.8 %
4	Asia-Pacific	17	13.0%
5	Other	1	0.55 %
6	Broader Europe	1	0.55 %

	N= 243 paragraphs; M = 245 mentioning	Count	Percentage
	Overall		
1	CIS	107	43.8 %
2	EU*	105	42.8 %
3	Baltic States**	60	24.5 %
4	Asia-Pacific	28	11.4 %
5	Other	4	1.6 %
6	Broader Europe	1	0.4 %

* The EU category includes the EU member states + Norway and Iceland. The calculations for the EU category also incorporate the calculations for the sub-category of the 'Baltic States'.
**The 'Baltic States' is a sub-category of the EU. Therefore, the figures do not constitute to the overall result and are given exceptionally for statistical and comparative purposes.

Analysis

The analysis has revealed that St. Petersburg's geographic priorities in external relations have changed over the researched period. Firstly, it is remarkable that, while the EU was a priority region for external cooperation in 2012, in 2013 and 2014 it was substituted with the CIS. Such marginalization can be explained by the increased political tensions between Russia and the EU provoked by the crises in Ukraine. However, the overall number of project with the EU in 2013 and 2014 has not decreased remarkably, meaning that the projects did not focus only on politically sensitive areas and some type of cooperation continues. The position of the Baltic States remained stable throughout the period of analysis and has not seen any significant changes. This tendency can be explained by the geographic proximity of the Baltic region and St. Petersburg as well as the duration of mutual cooperation. Stability of the relations with the Baltic States can also reflect mutual dependency and bilateral interests. That means not only St. Petersburg is interested in cooperating with the cities from the Baltic States, but they are similarly interested in having close ties and projects with St. Petersburg. Russian-speaking population living in some Baltic States (e.g. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) might also be the reason for stable cooperation as

some of the programs run by St. Petersburg target compatriots in the Baltic Sea region and the Russian-speaking population.

Secondly, being an important region in 2012, CIS had become a priority region by 2014 with the number of projects almost doubled. Such a remarkable change can be primarily explained by the adoption of a new Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation in February 2013, which stressed the importance of cooperation with the CIS[123]. Therefore, the year of 2013 was a transitional period with an overall decline in the number of projects, while 2014 saw a leap in cooperation with cities from near abroad. This finding also confirmed experts' testimonials on the vitality of central decisions for local political agenda. Moreover, as cooperation with the EU decreased due to the political tensions and economic sanctions imposed on the Russian Federation in March 2014, the need for substitution arose. Therefore, the gap in cooperation was filled by the increased number of project with CIS cities.

Thirdly, the discussed need for substitution also influenced the relations with other regions, namely with Asia-Pacific which was not highly important in 2012 and 2013. However, in 2014, as in the case of the CIS, the number of projects with this region (mostly with Chinese and Japanese partners) doubled. Interestingly, the lack of geographic proximity between St. Petersburg and Asia-Pacific did not serve as an obstacle for cooperation. Fourthly, almost no links have been observed between St. Petersburg and cities from 'Broader Europe' and 'Other' regions. Such findings are explained by the fact that the Russian Federation has a limited cooperation with the countries belonging to the category of 'Broader Europe', as well as with such regions as South and North America, Middle East and Africa included into the category 'Other'. Therefore, similar geographical incline in external relations has been observed in St. Petersburg's external links.

Finally, the analysis has shown that the CIS is a priority region for St. Petersburg's external relations. It can be assumed that this finding would be relevant for the total population, thereby making the CIS a priority area not only for St. Petersburg, but for other Russian cities. The Baltic States, the EU and Asia-Pacific can serve as focal categories for the similar analysis of international activities of other Russian cities, but the results obtained are unlikely to be similar to the findings on St. Petersburg due to the geographical reasons. That means the ranking between these three categories may vary depending on the location of a Russian city. The categories of 'Border Europe' and 'Other' are also likely to be a good representation for the total population, due to the fact that any Russian city will mirror the Russian Federation's pattern of external relations with these regions.

Therefore, in the following part of the analysis not only thematic areas of cooperation, but also geographic regions will be taken into account. However, before proceeding to the analysis of thematic areas, the author has attempted to reveal which thematic areas are more typical for each geographic area.

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[123] Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, adopted on 2 February, 2013, Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation website, http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/869c9d2b87ad8014c32575d9002b1c38!OpenDocument, consulted on 02.05.2015;

The analysis has been based on the data already extracted from Acts on International and Inter-regional Activities of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg of 2012, 2013, 2014, Annual reports of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg of 2012, 2013 and 2014 and elite interviews. Individual projects, already allocated in accordance to their thematic area, have been now allocated in accordance with their geographical focus. The results are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Geographical Areas of Cooperation with Corresponding Thematic Areas of Cooperation

№	Region	Thematic Areas of Cooperation	Percentage of Activities
1	CIS	Economy	41.14%
		Culture	35.1%
		Networks and Representation	23.74%
2	EU	Culture	44%
		Economy	27.8%
		Networks and Representation	16.63%
		Development	11.57%
3	Baltic States	Networks and Representation	31.52%
		Economy	31.52%
		Culture	23.16%
		Development	13.8%
4	Asia-Pacific	Economy	45.66%
		Culture	37.18%
		Networks and Representation	17.16%
5	Other	Networks and Representation;	50.7%
		Economy	43.5%
		Development	5.8%
6	Broader Europe	Culture	100%

It is possible to observe that for politically sensitive regions of Broader Europe, the EU and Baltic States politically neutral areas of cooperation, such as culture and networks and representation, are more typical than areas which can be directly influenced by external political environment, such as economy and development. For Asia-Pacific and the CIS economics seems to be a prioritised area of cooperation. Development is highly marginalized due to the legal and political reasons discussed earlier in the researched. Therefore, in the following part of the research the author would attempt to study separately each dimension of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation in Russia on the example of St. Petersburg with reference to the total population. The results will finally reveal the actual role of St. Petersburg and Russian cities in IR.
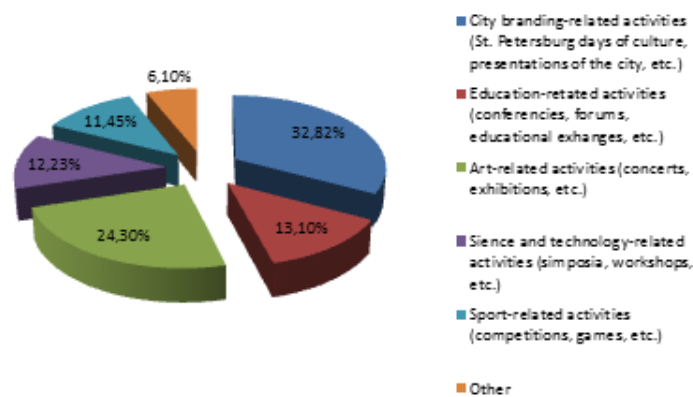
2.3.1. Culture and Economy

As has been noted in the theoretical chapter, cultural and economic dimensions of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation have not been divided into precise sub-dimensions. The preceding empirical research has proven that culture and economy are priority areas of cities' external relations. In the case of St. Petersburg almost 70% of external activities are dedicated to cultural and economic areas (34.52 %

and 32.87 %, respectively). Furthermore, it has also been revealed that some projects are a mixture of economic and cultural activities. Therefore, it has been decided to analyse these categories together by looking at the types of cultural and economic projects ran by St. Petersburg in general, and focusing on mega events hosted by St. Petersburg to give a deeper understanding of this dimension of city diplomacy from Russian perspective.

Culture

Culture has proven to be the major area of St. Petersburg's external activities. The previous analysis of the interviews and documents has shown that culture is the most mentioned category of St. Petersburg's external links (252 mentioning). Since theory does not mark out any precise sub-dimensions of external cultural links at the city level, the author attempted to define such sub-categories herself and made essential tagging and categorizations. All the events have been classified to create a non-exhaustive list of cultural sub-dimensions of city diplomacy and reveal which of these sub-dimensions prevail in St. Petersburg's external activities. The results are summarized in graph 1.

Graph 1. St. Petersburg's Activities in Cultural Dimensions of City Diplomacy

As can be seen, most of St. Petersburg's external activities in the cultural dimension (57.12%) are undertaken within city branding and art-related sub-dimension. That can be explained by St. Petersburg's status of the 'cultural capital' and the growing interest in city-branding among Russian city managers. Projects in such sub-dimensions as education, science and technology, as well as sport are less numerous. However, activities are spread proportionally among these sub-dimensions, which testifies to the fact that they are not completely overshadowed by city branding and art. As has been further explained by Pushkareva, cultural project management team attempts to cover all possible areas of cultural activities in order to avoid one-sided development of St. Petersburg's external cultural links[124]. The category 'other' contains mostly international cultural projects and activities (e.g. foreign days of culture) that St. Petersburg passively hosted. Nevertheless, as can be seen, they are not numerous.

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[124] A. Pushkareva (2015).

Besides identifying the key sub-dimensions of St. Petersburg's external cultural activities, it has been possible to identify which of the projects are initiated/run/co-sponsored by St. Petersburg, and which are passively hosted, as the criterion of 'activeness/passiveness' was taking into account while tagging. Based on this, it could be concluded that more that 90% of activities in cultural dimension have been initiated/run/co-sponsored by the city. This conclusion testifies to the fact that St. Petersburg enjoys the status of an actor, rather than an observer in the cultural dimension of city diplomacy. It can be further argued, that this result is valid for the total population, stating that Russian cities are actors, not observers in their external cultural links, though the distribution of activities among sub-dimensions and the number of sub-dimensions themselves may vary from one case to another.

Economy

Previous empirical analysis has proven that economy is the second important area of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation in Russia, with 240 mentioning in expert interviews and municipal documents. As in the case of culture, theory does not mark out any sub-dimensions of external economic links at the city level. Therefore, some categorizations have been made. All the activities have been divided into two major categories: economic-pulling activities and exporting services and knowledge. It has been revealed that the balance between these sub-categories is directly stipulated by external economic and political conditions. For instance, if in 2012 and 2013 there were significantly more economic-pulling activities than knowledge-exporting ones, in 2014 the number of activities in both sub-dimensions was almost the same, with a slightly prevailing number of economic-exporting projects.

Table 5. Ratio between St. Petersburg's Economic-pulling and Economic-exporting Activities

Year	Percentage of Economic-pulling activities	Percentage of Economic-exporting activities
2012	63,8%	36,2%
2013	58,1%	41,9%
2014	46,4%	53,6%

Such finding can be explained by the fact that in 2012 and 2013 Russia had a positive credit and investment rankings ('BBB Stable' by Standard & Poor's and 'BBB Positive' by Fitch in 2012 and 2013[125]) which attracted foreign capital and investments. However, in 2014, when foreign sanctions were imposed, economic environment of the Russian Federation became unattractive to foreign partners (Russia was downgraded to 'BB+ Negative' by Standard & Poor's and 'BBB- Negative' by Fitch in 2014[126]). Furthermore, as has been discussed earlier in the chapter, at the end of 2013 Russia started deepening relations with the CIS, which, comparing to Russia, are less economically developed (e.g.
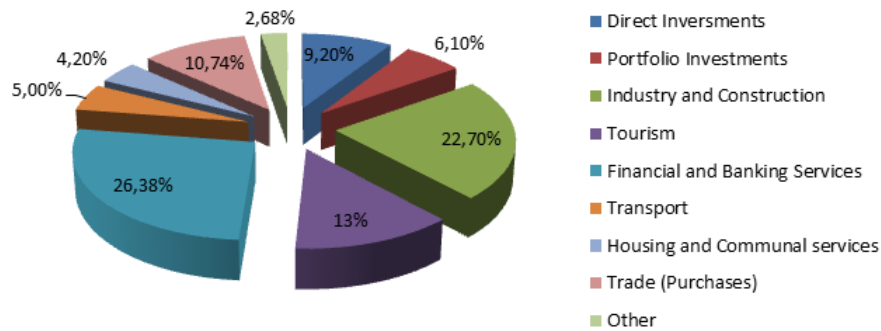
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[125]Standard&Poor and Fitch Credit Rating for Russia in 2012 and 2013, ChartBin Ranking website
, http://chartsbin.com/view/1177, consulted on 1.06.2015.
[126] Standard&Poor, Moody's and Fitch Credit Rating for Russia in 2014, Trading Economics website,
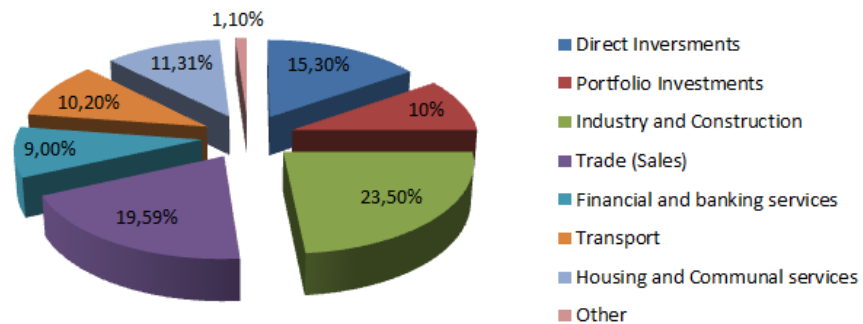http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/rating, consulted on 1.06.2015.

according to IMF, in 2014 Russia's GDP reached 1,857,461 million of USD, while Kazakhstan enjoyed the second highest GDP among the CIS which reached 212,260 million of USD in 2014[127]). Russia started sharing knowledge and expertise with the CIS states, which also caused shifts between these sub-dimensions of St. Petersburg's external economic activities.

Despite having identified the key sub-dimensions, it was still impossible to assess the economic area of city diplomacy in full, as the activities and projects are diverse. Therefore, the following step was to look at each sub-dimension separately and identify which projects/activities prevail. As in the case of cultural dimension, all the projects and activities were further tagged and classified into medium-categories belonging to one of the two sub-dimensions. The lists are non-exhaustive. The results are summarized in graphs 2 and 3[*].

Graph 2. St. Petersburg's Activities in Economic-Pulling Sub-Dimensions of City Diplomacy

Graph 3. St. Petersburg's Activities in Economic-Exporting Sub-Dimensions of City Diplomacy

As has been revealed, in the sub-dimension of economic-pulling activities St. Petersburg is especially active in attracting direct foreign investments and partners in the area of industry and construction. Such activeness can be explained by the city's geography, as well as its internal economic environment (in 2014 World Bank group awarded St. Petersburg with the second highest 'Doing Business' rating in

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[127]Gross Domestic Product per Country in 2014, International Monetary Fund website, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2015/01/weodata/weorept.aspx?pr.x=58&pr.y=19&sy=2014&ey=2014&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&c=001%2C998&s=NGDPD&grp=1&a=1, consulted on 1.06.2015.
[*]The result represents the percentage of St. Petersburg's activities in each medium-category of the sub-dimension from 2012 to 2013 and do not reflect their ratio to St. Petersburg's GDP.

Russia[128]). Tourism is also important for St. Petersburg's economic-pulling, which is explained by the city's historic and artistic heritage. However, at the same time it is not particular active in attracting resources to housing and communal services as well as transport sectors. As a rule, in Russia, these areas of economic activities provide sufficient revenues to neither recipients, nor investors; therefore, they are severely underdeveloped. Furthermore, experts have explained inactiveness in these areas by the fact that St. Petersburg has sufficient expertise in transport sector and housing and communal services; hence, no significant foreign support is required.

In the economic-exporting sub-dimension, sectors of activities are prioritized in a different way. St. Petersburg is particular active in industry and construction, as well as trade. That finding is explained by the fact that economic-exporting is largely targeted to partners from less economically-developed CIS states, therefore allowing St. Petersburg to take a lead in these activities. Among the least exercised activities are financial and banking services, as well as portfolio investments. Underdevelopment of these areas is explained by the fact that most of the financial activities in Russia are coordinated at the central level. As discussed by the experts, while St. Petersburg is free to seek foreign investments, it should get the permission from the central government to provide financial services and investments abroad. Furthermore, the experts have noticed that St. Petersburg does not possess sufficient financial assets to engage in full-fledged investment activities abroad. Therefore, it can be concluded that in economic dimension of city diplomacy St. Petersburg, and Russian cities as a whole, can be regarded as actors actively seeking and sharing knowledge and expertise. Despite legal and political constraints, Russian cities are not excluded from the global economic exchange. However, to assess St. Petersburg's cultural and economic dimensions of city diplomacy, a specific project needs to be evaluated. For this purpose Sport Accord Convention 2013 annual meeting has been chosen as a test case.

Sport Accord Convention 2013

Sport Accord Convention is a 6-day annual gathering of leading representatives from international sport organisations. It was hosted in St. Petersburg from 26 to 31 May 2013. The event encompassed the Congress and General Assemblies of three associations, namely Association of Summer Olympic International Federations, Association of International Olympic Winter Sports Federations and Association of the International Olympic Committee Recognised International Sports Federations, whose membership comprises of 109 International Sports Federations and Associate Members.

The annual meeting was chosen for detailed analysis due to the following reasons. Firstly, unlike the most of the international event hosted in Russia, Sport Accord Convention has a broad and recognisable international profile*. Secondly, it combines elements of cultural and economic activities. Finally, it has both internal and external implications, serving both as a tool of city's economic development and external city-branding. The author would attempt to assess three types of impact corresponding to culture

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[128] Doing Business 2015, *Ease* of Doing Business in the Russian Federation, <u>World Bank Group website</u>, <u>http://www.doingbusiness.org/data/exploreeconomies/russia</u>, consulted on 17.06.2015.
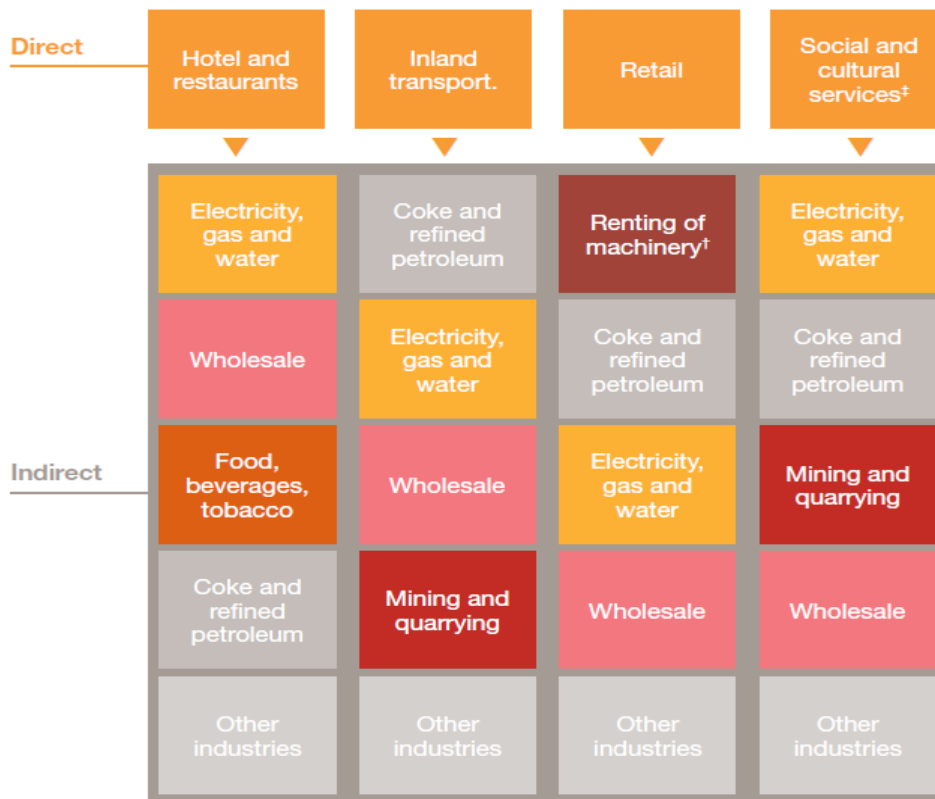
* Other internationally recognizable events hosted in Russia are G8 Summit in St. Petersburg in 2006, Eurovision in Moscow in 2009, 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, 2015 SCO and BRICS Summit in Ufa, 2015 FINA Games in Kazan.

and economy: direct economic impact, indirect economic impact and intangible impacts. The analysis is based on PwC's methodology and previous calculations and estimations.

Economic Impact

Prior to quantifying the economic impacts of the event, the areas in which those impacts occurred should be identified. Direct impact is the change in sales in those industries that initially benefit from spending by the convention's delegates and staff (e.g., hotels, restaurants, transportation, social and cultural activities, retail, and others). Indirect impact is the change resulting from the expansion of spending by the convention's delegates and staff throughout the supply chain of local industries. This supply chain is composed of companies related to those in the industries that sell directly to the convention's delegates or staff. Changes in jobs and income will not be considered due to short duration of the event. The mapping of event's economic impacts is shown in scheme 2[*].

Scheme 2. Mapping of Event's Economic Impacts[129]

†Machinery includes machinery and equipment in the source input-output model used for our analysis

‡ Social and cultural services are a part of the industry 'Other community, social and personal services' in the source input-output model

According to PwC's estimates, Sport Accord Convention 2013 in Saint Petersburg attracted 2,000 delegates, approximately 80% of whom were accompanied by an additional person (partner or spouse). In

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[*] Mapping areas of direct impact was based on the behaviour of participants. Mapping areas of indirect impacts was based on an input-output model of the Russian economy that describes the connection within the industries in terms of intermediate consumption.

[129]PwC, Saint Petersburg: A Unique Platform: Sport Accord Convention 2013 Economic Impact Study (PwC: May 2013), www.pwc.com/gx/en/sports-mega-events/assets/pwc-sac-2013.pdf, consulted on 06.06.2015.

addition, 70 organizers were supporting the event. The direct spending on hotel and catering services was estimated at 3.24 million UDS. Local transportation generated revenues of 160,000 USD. Spending on social and cultural activities reached 120,000 USD, while retail spending was projected to generate 250,000 USD. The total direct economic impact of this event reached 3.77 million USD[130]. Indirect economic impact is a broad estimation due to the input-output model used. Using direct spending on hotel and catering services linkages, it has been estimated that the indirect impact of the hotel-and-restaurant industry on the St. Petersburg's economy reached 2.69 million USD. Using similar model, the transportation industry's indirect impact reached 140,000 USD, while indirect impact of social and cultural events and merchandise reached 230,000 USD, making the total indirect economic impact of this event reach 3.06 million USD. Taking into account direct and indirect economic impacts, the total economic impact of the event was estimated at 6.83 million USD[131]. Being the city of the federal importance, St. Petersburg is able to retain all the generated income without paying off any interest to the Federal budget.

Socio-Cultural Impact

Besides short-term economic impacts, every mega event has intangible impacts associated with wider socioeconomic goals of the host city. As opposed to direct and indirect economic impacts, which occur only once and tend not to change the economic situation of the host city significantly, intangible impacts support the longer-term development of the region. In that sense, the intangible impacts of an event can be more important than the immediate economic benefits. The Sport Accord Convention had several intangible impacts. Firstly, it encouraged activity in areas related to the event by supporting development of social networks and intercultural contacts. It is not possible to estimate how many businesses entered St. Petersburg market after the mega event. However, according to the interviewees, St. Petersburg's experts shared knowledge on hosting mega events with Kazan on 2013 Summer Universiade, Belek and Antalya on 2014 Sport Accord Meeting, Sochi on 2014 Winter Olympic Games and Baku on 2015 European Games. St. Petersburg's actions represent cultural diplomacy and economic-exporting activities. Secondly, it attracted other major events to Saint Petersburg by demonstrating the city's ability to host such events. For instance, 2015 St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, 2016 Ice Hockey World Championship, 2018 FIFA World Cup[132]. This finding not only testifies to St. Petersburg's growing city-branding, but to increasing economic-pulling activities in such sectors as tourism, industry and construction, trade and direct investments.

As could be seen, hosting 2013 Sport Accord Convention and other mega events proves the fact that St. Petersburg is active in cultural and economic dimensions of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation. Active involvement in hosting mega events envisages further development of the city as a global economic and cultural centre. It also aims to establish St. Petersburg as one of the most influential

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[130] PwC (2013), p. 3.
[131] PwC (2013), p. 5.
[132] A. Makarychev, 'The Politics of Sports Mega-Events in Russia: Kazan, Sochi, and Beyond', <u>PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo</u> No. 288 (September 2013).

cities in the north of Europe. Organizing events with top delegates from global associations and companies certainly contributes to promoting the city as a destination for various types of events, while hosting people from all around the world provides an excellent opportunity to promote the city's cultural and historical sites, and encouraging them to visit it again for personal or business reasons. Summing up St. Petersburg's involvement in cultural and economic dimensions of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation, it could be concluded that despite all the political, economic and legal restrictions, the city is an actor, not an observer in these areas of external relations.

2.3.2. Networks and Representation

The sphere of networking and representation is rather broad. As has been stated earlier in the research, it includes such activities as cooperation with foreign cities/regions, international/ regional organizations, and hosting headquarters of international organizations on the territory of St. Petersburg or having its representations abroad. Therefore, it has been impossible to identify a single project which would cover all the facets of these dimensions. This criterion is more quantitative than qualitative. Hence, this thematic area of cooperation will be assessed with the methodology firstly used by A.T. Kearney consultancy together with the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in their joint study on 'Global Cities Index & Emerging Cities Outlook', which has introduced the first ranking of the world's global cities' [133]. Unfortunately, it was not possible to use the existing A.T. Kearney's data on St. Petersburg because it has not been included in the ranking. Nevertheless, the author used A.T. Kearney's methodology on measuring the criterion of 'political involvement' and conducted all the necessary assessments using THE data collected from the interviews and documents. The results of the assessment of St. Petersburg's 'political involvement' with A.T. Kearney's components are summarised in table 5.

Table 5. St. Petersburg's Political Involvement and International Links

№	Element	Number / Description
1.	Number of Twin Cities.	92 cities and 26 regions.
2.	Membership in international/regional organizations.	Member of 14 organisations; Associated member of 10 organisations.
3.	Number of City's Representations Abroad.	15
3.	Hosted Foreign embassies and consulates (Consulates General, Embassy Departments, Honorary Consulates-General and Honorary Consulates).	Diplomatic missions and delegations of 60 internationally-recognized states.
2	Hosted International Organizations and Unions.	Interparliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of CIS; Office of European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Office of Eurasian Development Bank; Interparliamentary Assembly of Eurasian Economic Community; Association for Cooperation with Nordic Countries "NORDEN".
3	International Cultural Funds.	Goethe German Cultural Center (*Goethe-Institut*); French Institute (*Institut français*); Finnish Institute (*Suomen Pietarin instituutti*);

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[133] M. Hales and A. Mendoza Pena, <u>Global Cities Index & Emerging Cities Outlook 2012</u> (Chicago: AT Kearney, 2012), https://www.atkearney.com/documents/10192/dfedfc4c-a862-4162-90e5-2a3f14f0da3a, consulted on 17.03.2014

		The Netherlands Institute (*Het Nederlands Instituut*); Danish Cultural Institute (*Det Danske Kultur Institut*); Polish Institute (*Instytut Polski w Sankt Petersburgu*) Israel Cultural Centre; Italian Institute of Culture (*Istituto Italiano di Cultura*).
4	Local Institutions with International Reach.	St. Petersburg regional branch of the Russian Red Cross (St. Petersburg Red Cross); National Central INTERPOL Branch; St. Petersburg House of Nationalities.
5	Think Tanks with International Reach.	338 research institutions of national importance. Their classification on the global scale is not available.

Analysis and Preliminary Conclusions

One of the major elements of networking and representation is membership in international organizations and forums, which turned out to be one of the effective lines of St. Petersburg's external links. St. Petersburg holds a status of a permanent member of the UCLG, the Union of the Baltic Cities, Baltic Metropoles Network (BaltMet), the Baltic Sea States Sub-regional Co-operation (BSSSC) Organization, the Baltic Sea Tourism Commission (BTC). The city also closely cooperates with regional intergovernmental organizations such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS), the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Baltic Coast Forum, the Baltic Development Forum and the Baltic Sea Chambers of Commerce Association. Since 1998 Saint Petersburg has been an associate member of the network of major European cities 'EUROCITIES' as well as the member of the International Congress and Convention Association. Since 1998 St. Petersburg has actively cooperated with the representatives of the UN-Habitat program. In 2013 the city served as a primary organizer of the International Conference on City Branding (Helsinki, Finland), which was a part of the bigger regional project 'One Baltic Sea Region', and participated in BRICS partner cities Forum in Mumbai. In 2014 cooperation with UNESCO Creative Cities Network was put on the agenda for the first time. Therefore, St. Petersburg's level of networking in international organizations can be characterized as relatively high. However, as a member city, St. Petersburg organizes or hosts only a small number of events within these organizations. As has been relatively noticed by Terekhova, St. Petersburg participates in international forums, but rarely initiates any discussions. It does so only if endorsed by Moscow, for instance as in 2014 when St. Petersburg hosted the third international mayors conference on city diplomacy together with Moscow[134].

Cooperation with foreign cities and regions (city-twinning) also plays an important role in St. Petersburg's international ties. The first step towards St. Petersburg's intercity cooperation was made in 1953 when the links with Turku (Finland), were established, which followed by city-twinning agreements with Gdansk (Poland) and Dresden (Eastern Germany) in 1961. Currently 92 foreign cities and 26 foreign regions have bilateral relations with St. Petersburg. Interviewees have noticed that city-twinning

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[134] Terekhova (2015).

continues even today, but it is currently moving into cooperation with partners from the CIS (e.g. Bishkek in 2012, Gagauzia in 2014, etc.), Asia-Pacific (e.g. Shanghai in 2013) and Middle East (e.g. Manama in 2014). Such networking tendencies go in line with the geographic priorities set by the central government and revealed earlier in the chapter. The experts also noticed that the main lines of cooperation are trade, business, investments, science, culture and tourism, which have been discussed earlier. However, there are specific lines of networking with Scandinavian cities in such fields as ecology, sustainable development and renewable energy as well as anti-corruption activities which will be discussed later in the research.

Therefore, it can be concluded that St. Petersburg is only relatively active in networking and representation. On the one hand, the data shows that St. Petersburg has numerous foreign partner cities and regions. A large number of embassies and consulates, research institutions and think tanks reside in the city. On the other hand, taking into account its special federal status and strategic border location, the number of international organizations it has membership in and it hosts is quite limited. The same can be referred to the individual projects initiated within these organizations. Hence, using A.T. Kearney's terminology for classification, it is possible to conclude that St. Petersburg is characterized with the medium level of political engagement. Although St. Petersburg is intensively involved in international networking and exchange, it does not have much of capacities (or willingness?) to influence global policy dialogue.

2.3.3. Development

As has been discussed in the theoretical part, the sphere of development includes two sub-dimensions, namely long-term development and emergency development assistance. The analysis of the interviews and St. Petersburg's official documents on international cooperation has revealed the following uneven distribution of activities. While St. Petersburg is involved into the sub-dimension of long-term development assistance, the sub-dimension of emergency development assistance is excluded from St. Petersburg's activities. Such exclusion can be explained by the fact that all the external emergency-response activities in the Russian Federation are coordinated at the central level, therefore making Russian cities excluded from this sub-dimension of development from the start. The interviewees further explained such exclusion by the limited city budgets which do not allow cities to reallocate funds and rapidly respond to emergencies both within the country and abroad. Nevertheless, St. Petersburg exercises long-term development activities.

Long-term development assistance

In order to assess St. Petersburg's participation in long-term development assistance initiatives, international activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg, which is responsible for coordinating and running the projects in this area, will be analysed. The timeframe for the analysis has been slightly extended comparing to the general framework of the research, and covers the period from 2011 to 2014.

During the reviewed period, the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg has conducted 13 international projects. The projects covered three major areas: anti-corruption activities, public safety and security during mass events and crime prevention in urban settings. The projects are presented in table 6.

Table 6. Activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg.

Project Area	Number of Projects by Years	Cities Involved	Sharing or Receiving Expertise
Anti-corruption activities	2011 – 2 2012 – 0 2013 – 1 2014 – 0	Oslo (Norway), Stockholm (Sweden), Copenhagen (Denmark); Reykjavik (Iceland).	Receiving Expertise
Public safety and security during mass events	2011 – 0 2012 – 2 2013 – 1 2014 – 0	Hamburg (Germany), London (UK), Warsaw (Poland)	Receiving Expertise
Crime prevention in urban settings	2011 – 4 2012 – 2 2013 – 1 2014 – 0	Amsterdam, the Hague, Maastricht, Rotterdam, (the Netherlands), New York (the USA), Tel Aviv (Israel), London (UK), Turin (Italy)	Receiving Expertise/ Sharing experience

Analysis and Preliminary Conclusions

After analysing the projects in the area of long-term development assistance the following conclusions could be drawn. Firstly, in this area St. Petersburg mostly cooperates with the cities from the EU. This finding goes in line with the results of the geographical distribution of thematic areas of cooperation made earlier in the chapter. Such geographical focus is explained by the long-lasting tradition of city-to-city cooperation in Europe, as well as by the accumulated knowledge and good practices in development assistance within their urban settings. Furthermore, issue-related specialization within Europe (e.g. anti-corruption in Scandinavia, security during mass events in Germany, France and the UK, etc.) also makes it the best partner for St. Petersburg to share best practices and knowledge. However, no development assistance projects in the area of public safety and security, rule of law and justice have been revealed with the CIS. The lack of projects with the CIS is explained by the fact that development assistance in that thematic area is coordinated through the CIS Secretariat, which deals directly with countries. Cities are excluded from the exchange due to their political and economic insignificance as well as lack of long-lasting city-to-city cooperation experience in the region.

Secondly, in most of the areas studied above St. Petersburg serves as a recipient of good practices. While the need for cooperation in corruption-preventing is obvious, given the long history of corruption in Russia, receiving knowledge in public safety and security during mass events poses some questions. However, looking closer at the concrete projects, it becomes clear why St. Petersburg receives practices rather than shares them. In public safety and security during mass events the major focus was made on

Olympic Games[135] and football championships[136]. Before 2013 Youth Olympics in Kazan, neither St. Petersburg, nor any other Russian city had knowledge in handling such mass sport events, therefore receiving expertise was essential to supplement and enhance knowledge in hosting mega events discussed earlier in the chapter.

In the area of crime prevention in urban settings St. Petersburg both received and shared practices. St. Petersburg received expertise in the areas which are new for Russia (e.g. integration of drug-users into the society, support to victims of human-trafficking, etc.) or related to modern technology (e.g. studying the work of 911 systems in Tel Aviv and New York[137]). The city shared knowledge in well-developed areas of city's responsibilities, such as anti-terrorist activities in urban settings[138]. This mutual exchange testifies to the fact that St. Petersburg does not only passively absorb knowledge, but provides some input into good-practice sharing.

Finally, it has been also revealed that the number of international projects in the area of long-term development assistance had reduced from six in 2011 to zero in 2014. Such sharp decrease can be explained by the growing centralization and gradual absorption of development area into the exclusive responsibility of the central government. Furthermore, tense international environment prevents foreign local actors from engaging in experience-sharing activities with Russian TNSAs. It could be predicted that in the following years the number of projects with European partners will not increase, while there might appear some activities with partners from the CIS, especially in public safety and security during mass events (e.g. before Baku 2015 European Games).

It could be concluded that in the area of development St. Petersburg's role is relatively active. While it is completely excluded from emergency response, it is fully involved in long-term development cooperation. In this capacity, St. Petersburg serves both as a direct recipient of good practices and a producer of knowledge and expertise. However, St. Petersburg's actorness is limited and depends on the area of long-term activities exercised. It is likely to be further reduces due to the international and domestic reasons. Therefore, it is possible to say that currently in development cooperation dimension, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities have the status of second-order actors with limited capabilities, which are likely to be further reduced, making Russian cities passive observers on the international scene.

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[135]Information on International and Interregional activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg in 2012, http://gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_zakonnost/current_activities/cooperation_information/svedeniya-o-mezhdunarodnoj-i-mezhregionalnoj-deyatelnosti-za-2012-god, consulted on 13.05.2015.

[136] Information on International and Interregional activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg in 2013, http://gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_zakonnost/current_activities/cooperation_information/svedeniya-o-mezhdunarodnoj-i-mezhregionalnoj-deyatelnosti-2013, consulted on 13.05.2015.

[137]Information on International and Interregional activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg in 2011 http://gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_zakonnost/current_activities/cooperation_information/svedeniya-o-mezhdunarodnoj-deyatelnosti-za-2011-god, consulted on 13.05.2015.
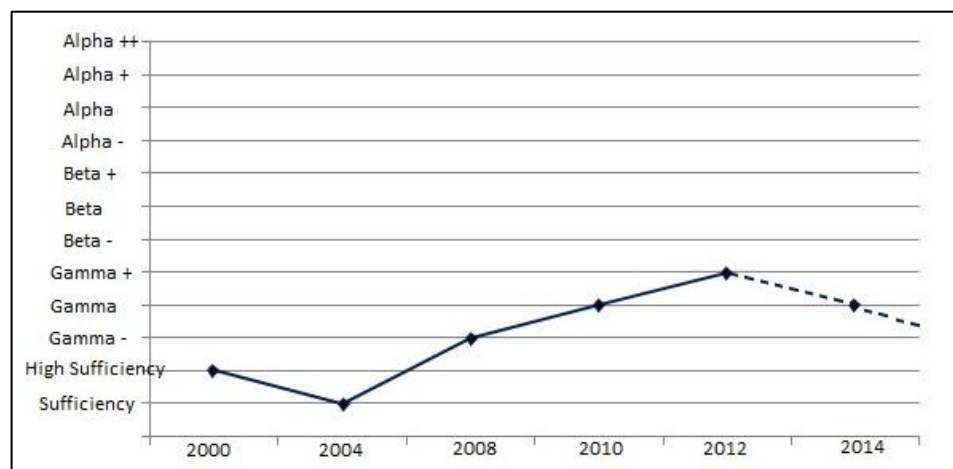
[138] Information on International and Interregional activities of the Law, Order and Security Committee of St. Petersburg in 2012, http://gov.spb.ru/gov/otrasl/c_zakonnost/current_activities/cooperation_information/svedeniya-o-mezhdunarodnoj-i-mezhregionalnoj-deyatelnosti-za-2012-god, consulted on 13.05.2015.

Reliability and Validity Check

In order to estimate the reliability and validity of the research, the results obtained through the assessment of primary (interviews and documents) and secondary (existing research data) sources should be compared to independent assessments. Such triangulation of the information and research data will either confirm the validity of research results and verify the reliability of conclusions, or refute the whole approach to the matter. Since no other researches on St. Petersburg's city diplomacy and external relations of Russian exist, the only independent source containing information on St. Petersburg's international status which can be used for triangulation of information is the World According to GaWC study. The World According to GaWC is a city-centred world of flows in contrast to the more familiar state-centred world of boundaries. Cities are assessed in terms of their advanced producer services using the interlocking network model[139]. Indirect measures of flows are derived to compute a city's network connectivity – this measures a city's integration into the world city network. The connectivity measures are used to classify cities into levels of world city network integration (see appendix 4).

To verify study results and predictions, St. Petersburg's ranking among GaWC cities in 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2012 have been assessed with particular attention to the two final reports. The results of the assessment are summarized in graph 4.

Graph 4. St. Petersburg according to GaWC[140]

Over the period reviewed, St. Petersburg's participation in IR relations had been increasing, though a slight fall was observed in 2004. In 2010 and 2012 St. Petersburg enjoyed the status of the gamma city – a city whose major global capacity is not in advanced services. That finding corresponds to the result of empirical assessment of economic dimensions of city diplomacy, which revealed that St. Petersburg is not greatly involved in global economic exchange as a producer of expertise and practices. Furthermore, it has been predicted that after 2014 the city will be downgraded to Gamma and then to Gamma – status, which also goes in line with the predictions made earlier in the research on the exclusion of St. Petersburg

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[139] P. Taylor, 'Specification of the World City Network', Geographical Analysis, Vol.33, №2 (2001), pp. 181-194.
[140] The World According to GaWC website, http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/gawcworlds.html, consulted on 10.08.2015.

and other Russian cities from some spheres of external cooperation. Therefore, it could be concluded that both according to the research conducted and GaWC study St. Petersburg (and Russian cities as a while) enjoy the status of second order actors in IR.

Conclusions

Having conducted the analysis of the legislation and political conditions in Russia as well as the empirical assessment of St. Petersburg's involvement in IR, the following conclusions can be made. Firstly, external actions of Russian cities are restricted by the low level of the real devolution of power. Despite the fact that Russian legislation allows its municipalities to be involved in almost all the spheres of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation (except for security), tough centralization prevents local actors from exercising their rights in full. Restrictive legal and political conditions of contemporary regime make Russian cities second-order actors of IR from the start.

Secondly, there is a remarkable disparity between the dimensions of city diplomacy in Russia. While some of them are highly prioritized (e.g. culture and economy), other are either marginalized (e.g. development) or excluded from city's activities at the legislative level (e.g. security). This finding draws clear discrepancy between theory of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation, which does not prioritize any dimensions over others, and practice in Russia, which, as has been revealed, does. Prioritising some areas of city's foreign relations over other has been explained by its obligations to comply with the guidelines of the Russian Federation.

Turning to the case study, it has been revealed that geographical areas of city's external links may vary from case to case depending on location. However, there is a general tendency to target external cooperation to the CIS and Asia-Pacific. Such refocusing has been explained by external political conditions (e.g. economic sanctions) and changes in geography of Russian foreign policy introduced by the new Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation. Since cities are following the guidelines of the central government, their geographical priorities are changing accordingly.

The empirical assessment of St. Petersburg's activities in six dimensions of city diplomacy produced the following results. The city appeared to be proactive in the cultural dimension, conducting culture-related projects for the international audience both on its territory and abroad. In the economic dimension the city is actively seeking and sharing knowledge and expertise, though pro-activeness in economic-pulling activities seems to exceed its involvement in economic-exporting projects. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that despite legal and political constraints, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities are not excluded from the global economic and cultural exchange.

The assessment of networking and representation showed that St. Petersburg has a medium level of political engagement. Although, the city has numerous city-twinning partners and holds a membership in several internationally recognized city unions, it rarely initiates any projects within these international structures without the endorsement from Moscow. It is passively involved in these sub-dimensions of city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation by being a hosting platform for international organisations and

think tanks that are not numerous, taking into account St. Petersburg's size and strategic border location. Therefore, it can be concluded that in networking and representation St. Petersburg is a second-order actor. However, as has been stated earlier in the chapter, this result might not be valid for the total population of Russian cities.

In the dimension of development, St. Petersburg holds a status of a second-order actor and a recipient of good practices. It showed pro-activeness in seeking expertise, while little knowledge-sharing has been observed. However, the empirical analysis has revealed that over the past 4 years St. Petersburg's activities in development dimension have remarkably reduced. Taking into account the increasing tendency to coordinate development projects from the centre, this observation is likely to be valid for the total population. Therefore, it could be predicted that St. Petersburg and other Russian cities may become passive observers which might be followed by their complete exclusion from development activities.

In summation, it can be concluded that Russian cities cannot be characterised as full-fledged actors of IR from the start. They are currently enjoying the status of second-order actors which are freer to act in some areas than in other. However, if no positive changes in external and internal political conditions occur, there is a strong probability that Russian cities would enjoy the status of actors only when interacting with their CIS and South-Asian counterparts, while in all other cases they would become passive observers.

Conclusions

This research attempted to define the role of Russian cities in IR by assessing St. Petersburg's city diplomacy and decentralised cooperation. The dissertation defined city diplomacy as the institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage, with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another. It has also been stressed that diplomacy is not static and changes with the continuing dynamics of international politics. As a result, contemporary diplomacy has become a web of interactions with a multi-layered casts of players which interact in various ways depending on the issue, their interests and capabilities to interact in such a complex diplomatic environment. In that sense city diplomacy is regarded as a small element of this multilevel diplomatic game. However, such conclusion would not do justice to the growing scope and importance of cities' global diplomatic activities in the 21st century, as the assessment of theory and practice of city diplomacy have illustrated.

Five main conclusions can be drawn from this research. Firstly, contemporary processes of globalization, glocalization and urbanisation have changed the international environment in such a way that cities have become able to participate in almost every stage of international politics either considerably or marginally, either formally or informally. In doing so, cities have transformed and will continue to shape the contemporary diplomatic processes by further developing such phenomena as city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation. The role of states in the IR should not be underestimated as they remain the main decision-making centres in international politics. However, traditional diplomacy has demonstrated the signs of adjusting to new trends and challenges to accommodate TNSAs and to protect their local interests. Following the examples of their European and Asian counterparts, Russian cities have also embarked on developing their external relations.

Secondly, the phenomenon of city diplomacy as defined in the literature is drawn on the experience of Western liberal democracies and (neo)liberal economies that have embraced the logic of globalization and have been willing to decentralize power. In Russia, statism remains far important as a defining ideology in an attempt to shape processes of globalization and glocalization that are seen as potentially threatening to the integrity of the state. By looking at legal and political context influencing foreign relations of Russian cities, it has been concluded that they operate in the conditions of low devolution of power. The legislation, while being quite restrictive, grants a number of 'shared' rights in international relations to municipalities. However, authoritarian political environment and especially centralization of power have narrowed down all the municipal rights to the obligation to follow central decisions and political guidelines. As has been demonstrated empirically, the influence of political directives imposed by the centre is quite visible in external activities of municipalities, and local authorities have accepted such scheme of cooperation due to their financial dependence. This tendency has been especially remarkable when geography of municipal external relations was assessed. Hence, the political system influences the roles which municipalities can play on an international political stage. Cities' scope for autonomous actions and their capacity to attract resources necessary to pursue this have thus been severely limited.

Deficiency of democracy in Russia has led to the fact that Russian cities enter IR as the second-order actors from the start.

Thirdly, the research has revealed a curious tendency to reorient foreign relations away from the EU towards the CIS and the Asia-Pacific region. As has been shown, this trend has started since the adoption of the new Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation in 2013 and intensified in March 2014 when the economic sanctions were imposed on Russia in relation to the annexation of Crimea. This interesting finding is not only relevant to the foreign policy of the Russian Federation as a whole; it is also visible in foreign relations of its subjects. As has been shown on the case of St. Petersburg, municipalities of the Russian Federation clearly follow the geographic pattern of external relations. After the federal proclamation of the reorientation of foreign relations, Russian municipalities have started diversifying their links targeting the CIS and Asia-Pacific counterparts, and reducing the number of contacts with their EU colleagues. While expanding contacts with the Asia-Pacific region is typical for Russian municipalities located in Siberia and the Far East, for those subjects located in the European and the Central districts such reorientation is quite surprising. That finding has made the author come to an assumption that despite the fact that constitutionally and formally Russia is a Federation, in some aspects of its activities it operates more like a unitary state. It is likely that cities in other, formally unitary states might actually have more freedom of actions than those in the Russian Federation.

Fourthly, in Russia practices of external cooperation are unevenly distributed among the six dimensions of city diplomacy. Some dimensions of decentralised cooperation are prioritised and better developed then others. Formal equality between the dimensions is absent. Russian cities are completely excluded from external cooperation in the sphere of security; therefore they cannot exercise city diplomacy in its narrow sense. Furthermore, while cities are eager to embark on cultural and economic relations, cooperation in the sector of development assistance is marginalized. The status of Russian cities varies from second-order actors to observers, depending on the dimension reviewed. Moreover, it has been revealed that there might be subsequent limitations of municipal rights in IR stipulated by deteriorating external and internal conditions. Such limitations might turn the leading Russian cities into observers on an international stage and may completely exclude smaller Russian cities from external cooperation. It can be concluded that Russian cities do not enjoy the same degree of autonomy as their Western counterparts. Their freedom is restricted both by adversarial internal and external conditions, while the degree of already limited empowerment varies from one dimension of city diplomacy to another. In general, on the case study of St. Petersburg it has been concluded that Russian cities are the second order actors of IR.

Fifthly, it should not be overlooked that city diplomacy (in Russia and globally) is still in its infancy. As a result, many inconveniencies have to be overcome. For example, despite its professionalization and pragmatic nature, city diplomacy is very much oriented towards the short term. This became especially apparent in economy, when the economic impact of Sport Accord Convention 2013 was assessed, and development dimension of city diplomacy, when a number of short-term activities of the Law, Order and

Security Committee of St. Petersburg were studied. Also, states, international organizations and cities still have to find an effective way of cooperation with one another to ensure synergy in those cases where interests and goals overlap and to ensure freedom of choice when there are clear differences between them.

Another major remark which should be made with respect to this research is that it concerns only one case in Russia. However, given St. Petersburg size and location it served as a good barometer for assessing the overall situation. The lessons learned from St. Petersburg could be useful for assessing practices of city diplomacy of other local governments in Russia, but some caution is advisable. Since every situation is unique, different research methods may work than those applied to this case. Readers should still keep in mind that the case of St. Petersburg is mainly representative for city diplomacy of large Russian cities – the so-called regional 'capitals'. The only city that can clearly aspire to a more substantial role would be Moscow itself, as its capital city status gives it economic, financial, cultural, managerial, human and other advantages over the total population of cities in Russia. Nevertheless, while St. Petersburg case is quite representative for giving an overview of the phenomenon, other examples from practice should be studied (e.g. city-branding of Kazan, science-promotion in Novosibirsk, etc.) to cover the whole field of city diplomacy in the Russian Federation.

The study has also suggested several interesting questions for further research, as a comparison of several Russian cities of the kind or Russian and European/American/Asian cities could not be undertaken in a Master's dissertation due to obvious time and volume constraints and limited resources. One of them is how big the influence of Russian cities on international politics really is, which requires insight into the tangible results of the various external activities undertake by other Russian cities. This requires a different empirical research. Another question concerns the differences between the Western and alternative (Asian, American, Russian, etc.) patterns of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation (although the research has demonstrated this difference to some extent, a more detailed analysis is required). Finally, what are the peculiarities of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation exercised by federal and unitary states: what are the main features, how are practices/dimensions vary, how do decisions come about? Answering these questions requires more reflection on city diplomacy and the external environment in which cities act. All in all, this research attempted to lay some groundwork for further study into the diplomatic phenomenon which only few scholars have attempted to research.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Interviewed Experts of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg

Alexander Druchinin - Specialist of the Second Category (Senior Officer) at the Division of CIS and Regions of the Russian Federation of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg;

Kristina Petrukova - Specialist of the Third Category (Senior Officer) at the Division for the Countries of Central and Southern Europe, USA and Canada of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg;

Anna Pushkareva - Project Officer at Planning of International Events Division of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg;

Elena Terekhova - Specialist of the Third Category (Senior Officer) at the Scandinavian and Baltic States Division of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg;

Irina Vorokhobina - Specialist of the Second Category (Senior Officer) at the Division for the Countries of Northern Europe, Balkan States, Israel and Cooperation with the EU of the Committee for External Relations of St. Petersburg.

Appendix 2: Questions Posed to the Experts

1. What is *city diplomacy* from your / Russian perspective?
   - How is *it* understood?
   - Can it be equated with decentralized cooperation or decentralized cooperation includes *city diplomacy?*
   - Do they contradict one another? Can they go parallel?

2. How independent are Russian cities in their external relations?
   - Does being a part of a federation mean acting more independently (comparing to being a part of a unitary state)?
   - What restricts their external freedom (if anything)?
   - Does political context matter?
   - Can it be said that despite legal liberation, in practice we can observe further centralization of the decision-making process in the sphere of municipal external actions?

3. Russian cities: Actors or Observers?
   - In which spheres/ dimensions of external relations St. Petersburg is the most active?
   - Does St. Petersburg produce expertise and practices or adopt existing practices (in which dimensions)?
   - Does it receive expertise from other actors or are subjects to city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation (in which dimensions)?

4. Which forms of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation prevail?
   - Are there any successful projects/examples?

5. What are possible developments in the sphere of city diplomacy and decentralized cooperation in St. Petersburg / in Russia?
   - Is there likely to be more freedom / more restrictions?
   - Which dimensions of city diplomacy will be overemphasized/ underdeveloped?
   - What are your general predictions?

Appendix 3: Differences between Theory and Practice

Theory	Practice in Russia
City diplomacy and decentralized cooperation is mostly exercised by democratic states. The devolution of power should be high and cities must be autonomous.	Despite belonging to a deficient democracy, Russian cities exercise some types of city diplomacy. Although the real devolution of power is not really high and cities cannot act autonomously, some external cooperation is observed.
Legislation provides cities with sufficient freedom from the center to exercise their rights to external relations.	Limiting legislation and growing centralization of power prevent Russian cities from exercising their rights in full.
Cities have competence within all 6 major dimensions of city diplomacy: culture, economy, development, networking, representation, security	Russian cities can exercise their right to external cooperation only within 5 dimensions of city diplomacy. Security is excluded from city's competencies.
Theory does not priorities some dimensions of city diplomacy over other	Culture and economy are prioritized over other dimensions of city diplomacy. Development is highly marginalized.
Establish linkages with civil society and the private sector. Work together with NGOs.	Due to centralization and deficiently of democracy, civil society, NGOs and private sector are excluded from city diplomacy activities. Projects are fully run by local authorities.

Appendix 4: The World According to GaWC Levels[141]

Alpha++ cities	In all analyses, London and New York stand out as clearly more integrated than all other cities and constitute their own high level of integration.
Alpha+ cities	Other highly integrated cities that complement London and New York, largely filling in advanced service needs for the Pacific Asia.
Alpha & Alpha- cities	Very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy.
All beta level cities	These are important world cities that are instrumental in linking their region or state into the world economy.
All gamma level cities	These can be world cities linking smaller regions or states into the world economy, or important world cities whose major global capacity is not in advanced producer services.
Cities with sufficiency of services	These are cities that are not world cities as defined here but they have sufficient services so as not to be overly dependent on world cities. Two specialised categories of city are common at this level of integration: smaller capital cities, and traditional centres of manufacturing regions.

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[141] The World According to GaWC website, http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/gawcworlds.html, consulted on 10.08.2015;

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