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Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy

Subnational governments in international affairs

Alexander S. Kuznetsov

ROUTLEDGE

Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy

This book examines and systematizes the theoretical dimensions of paradiplomacy – the role of subnational governments in international relations.

Throughout the world, subnational governments play an active role in international relations by participating in international trade, cultural missions and diplomatic relations with foreign powers. These governments, including states in the USA and Länder in Germany, can sometimes even challenge the official foreign policy of their national government. These activities, which are regularly promoting the subnational government's interests, have been labelled as "para diplomacy." Through a systematization of the different approaches in understanding constituent diplomacy, the author constructs an integrative theoretical explanatory framework to guide research on regional governments' involvement in international affairs.

The framework is based on a multiple-response questionnaire technique (MRQ) which provides the matrix of possible answers on a set of key questions for paradiplomacy scholarship. This comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy sheds light on the development of federalism and multi-level governance in a new global environment and contributes to the debates on the issue of "actorness" in contemporary international affairs.

This book will be of much interest to students of diplomacy, federalism, governance, foreign policy and IR, as well as practitioners of diplomacy.

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To Sevan and Stepan

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Abbreviations

AER	Assembly of European Regions
BNA act	British North American act
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COR	Committee of the Regions
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CUSFTA	Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
fsQCA	fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KKV	Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sydney Verba
MABAC	Montana Alberta Bilateral Advisory Council
MIIR	Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MNT	Multilateral Trade Negotiations
MRQ	Multiple Response Questionnaire
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NCG	Non-Central Governments
NDP	New Democratic Party
NEG-ECP	Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers
NEP	National Energy Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRDC	National Resources Defense Council
nrg4SD	Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development
PC	Progressive Conservatives
PNWER	Pacific North-West Economic Region
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics
WCS	Western Canadian Select

WTI	West Texas Intermediate
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWII	World War II

1 Introduction

Multiplicity of non-state actors in international relations: the choice of paradiplomacy as the main research object

Globalization and regionalization are key driving forces of the modern world that significantly shape the global political, economic and cultural agendas for the development of all nations with just some exceptions such as the marginal states.[1] The mutual interconnection of both these global development locomotives and their synergy brought forward the circumstances under which the decisions affecting the functioning of the political, economic, cultural and other spheres become less dependent on national state regulations, but more forced by powers that bloomed tremendously in the last few decades on supranational and subnational (regional) levels.

An immutable priority of the national governments to be the only main players in international affairs has been seriously impugned by different newcomers in the last few decades. In this regard, we can mention Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye who, in the early 1970s, were among the first who argued in their co-edited *Transnational Relations and World Politics* about the possibility of "transnational relations" among non-state actors like multinational corporations (MNCs).[2] Evidently, with this work Keohane and Nye opened the floor for further discussions about new players in international relations. Besides MNCs, the focus of researchers has become largely concentrated on the international impact of transnational NGOs and supranational (transnational) regimes, like the EU or NAFTA, for example.[3] Also, the interest in studying the international activities of subnational governments and municipal authorities has grown.[4] In the twenty-first century, especially after the events of 9/11, terrorist networks and, generally, transnational organized criminal groups have received incredible attention from political scientists as one of the most influential newborn actors in the global order.[5] And the most recent trend is an increasing academic interest in studying "individuals" like, for instance, George Soros or Angelina Jolie as independent competitors in international relations, a phenomenon that is often labeled as celebrity diplomacy.[6]

There is no doubt that studies on the rise of new global actors are very important for contemporary social science scholarship, because without understanding those changes it is difficult to give a full picture of the situation that is

taking place in modern international relations and in domestic affairs of particular countries. What one can see today is that modern states have to navigate in international affairs surrounded by various MNCs, NGOs, supranational bodies, "individuals" and high profile issue of "war and peace" that determined international affairs for ages is challenged by so-called "low politics" matters. In these circumstances, it seems absolutely natural that states are increasingly losing their traditional authority and sovereignty. This partial extinction of sovereign states as major global players raises a rhetorical question about states' future – some kind of "to be or not to be" for sovereign states. The clash of views between those social scientists who believe in the end of state and those who strongly oppose these perceptions has become an inherent part of mainstream academic discourse in social sciences.[7] Moreover, the debate on globalization and its consequences has shifted from purely academic grounds to the area of intellectual consumption for masses. In the last two decades in the global book market a number of best-sellers have been published on world economics and politics, written both by representatives from academia and non-academia, and these volumes received attention from the general public, as it used to be in the past with fiction and love stories.[8] Although, there is no lack of opinions on the future of a state and its role in international relations in the anticipated post-state era, that intellectual question is not yet posed by anyone.

This book was written with a strong belief that the crucial mission of political scientists is to describe what is going on and to make an attempt to predict what the potential trajectories of further developments are, and where possible points of bifurcation on its path are. Although the prediction is very hard to complete, and in some cases this mission is impossible by default, it is an important duty of any social scientist to provide the alternative projections on the future changes within and across societies around the world. In other words, scholars should create some discursive practices, the essence of which can be transformed then to reality through a shift from intellectual discourse to policy-makers' agenda. However, by following the above-mentioned values, scholars should not forget about the feasibility of their research and, accordingly, this book does not intend to cover all issues related to the emergence of the new actors in the global scene and there is no aim to demonstrate the future of the sovereign states in international relations in the epoch of new global tendencies. The focus of this book is merely a single component of the whole intellectual puzzle. This book examines the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in its theoretical and practical aspects and paradiplomacy is the main research object of this work.

Outlook on gaps in paradiplomacy research

Paradiplomacy is generally referred to in the academic literature as the involvement of the constituent units (regions) of national states in international affairs, like the provinces in Canada, states in the US, autonomous communities in Spain, the *landers* in Germany, the oblasts and the republics in Russia, and so

on. The regional governments perform actively in international affairs in different ways: they open trade and cultural missions abroad, sign treaties and agreements with foreign state and non-state actors, they participate in international networks of regional cooperation and they sometimes even challenge the official foreign policy of their central governments through their statements or actions. On the one hand, as Michael Keating vividly mentions:

> [...] Unlike the foreign policy of states, regional diplomacy does not seek to represent broad general interests or to be comprehensive in coverage. Regions do not have sovereign governments able to lay down their definition of the "national interest" and to pursue it in a unified and coherent manner. Regions are complex entities containing a multiplicity of groups which may share common interests in some areas but be sharply divided on other issues. Even where there are strong devolved governments, they cannot simply lay down a line to be followed by all but must seek to bring together independent actors around specific programs and issues. They must fit their own activities into a world dominated by national governments and transnational organizations, which they can rarely challenge head on but must work around or with.[9]

On the other hand, as it will be demonstrated later in this book, paradiplomatic activities, even if they only include the articulation of some regional "private interest," often represent the force within a state from its bottom level, which plays a significant role in shaping the foreign and domestic policies of the central governments. Ivo Duchacek expresses this idea of the importance of paradiplomacy very precisely by stating that:

> [...] they [non-central governments] can hardly compete for public attention with wars, arms talks, international terror and other forms of conflict or cooperation among sovereign nations. Their impact on national foreign policy has remained modest. [...] But, these internal concerns with their external dimension significantly affect the welfare of millions, their local and provincial leaders and through them the complex interaction between domestic and foreign politics.[10]

Another central point consists of the fact that, in comparison with all other new players in international affairs that appeared recently, subnational entities are the only actors who have a state-like nature while all others actors like NGOs or MNCs are non-state ones. Actually, all newcomers in international affairs can be affiliated in different degrees to national governments, for example, transnational bodies such as the EU or NAFTA, clearly have a direct link to certain national governments, but unlike regions they are not a constituent part of the state institutional design. In other words, the head of the provincial government of Quebec, the governor of California or minister-president of Bavaria are the representatives of the states the same way the Canadian and

the German prime-ministers and the US president are, but they are the subnational level branch of state power. Hence, it seems fascinating to study paradiplomacy because this phenomenon is not only the major variable for examining contemporary international relations, but also because subnational diplomacy is a crucial factor for understanding those problems related to the interpretation of sovereignty and processes of centralization/decentralization that are taking place within modern states today. Paradiplomacy, in this sense, is a research object that has to be in the scope of interest for representatives from different disciplines – it can be the source of new knowledge for IR specialists, for political comparativists, for students of economics and for many other professionals with various backgrounds in social sciences and humanities.

Despite the high potential of paradiplomacy to be a "sexy" topic for researchers, many experts note that the study of the subnational governments' activities still does not get the deserved comprehensive scientific coverage. For example Noe Cornago remarks:

> […] Literature on sub-state diplomacy has never attracted mainstream attention in diplomatic studies, nor in the field of international relations, but it has become the subject of scholarly debate. Initially, the most influential works were more descriptive than explanatory in content.[11]

A similar opinion was expressed by Andre Lecours:

> […] The international activity of regional governments, or paradiplomacy as it has been termed, has been the focus of a modest but growing literature that details various cases and seeks to make sense of the phenomenon. […] However, this literature suffers from two major weaknesses: the first, and most important, is the absence of a general theoretical perspective that can explain how regional governments have acquired international agency, and what shapes their foreign policy, international relations, and negotiating behavior; the second is a lack of focus on constructing general analytical frameworks that can guide the study of paradiplomacy.[12]

Thus, it seems there is a strong incentive to do research on regional governments' involvement in international affairs, because there are various white spots on the map of paradiplomacy studies that have not been discovered or tackled until today. By taking into consideration the above-mentioned comments of Lecours and Cornago, the scholarly mission of this book is to cover the existing research gap and provide a study on paradiplomacy which will be in the format of a theory proposing project, supplemented with elements of literature accessing and theory testing. The sequence of the research is as follows. First, the evaluation and systematization of the existing theoretical and empirical literature on paradiplomacy will be conducted. Second, on the basis of this summarization, a theoretical model to explain the involvement of constituent units in international affairs will be proposed. And, third, the

proposed explanatory framework of paradiplomacy will be tested by taking under examination the case of the Alberta province paradiplomacy.

The literature accessing mission and the endeavor to construct and to test the integrative model for analyzing constituent diplomacy are probably the most important research tasks that will be addressed in this work. Regarding the literature accessing, as it will be demonstrated later in the book, the paradiplomacy scholarship emerged as a new research field in the 1970s and since that time it has been flourishing and has asserted its own important place in the political science landscape. Scholars with different academic backgrounds (those who used to work on federalism, intergovernmental relations, nationalism, regionalism, international relations, etc.) and with different geographical area interests (Canada, Spain, USA, Germany, etc.) were involved in development of paradiplomacy scholarship. On the other hand, as will be shown in this book, although researchers produced a number of descriptive works and a few theoretical insights on paradiplomacy, the problem in the lack of the systematization of this knowledge is strongly evident. To further illustrate this problem, we can compare the current situation in paradiplomacy studies with the puzzle game, in which players possess many pieces of one whole picture, but may have no idea how this image looks like as a whole till they put all elements in the right order. Figuratively speaking, one of the main goals of this book is to provide as much as possible a full picture of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy by gathering in a systematic manner all academic achievements of the last decades in this field. In order to accomplish this task in this research, an analytical outlook on paradiplomacy studies as an independent subfield in contemporary political science is provided in Chapter 3, and in Chapter 2 the development of the terminology, concepts and discourses within the paradiplomacy scholarship is carefully examined. Also this work studies the evolution of academic interest regarding the problem of participation of subnational governments in international affairs from the moment of its birth until today. In addition, an effort is made to define theoretical schools of paradiplomacy that were shaped as formal or informal networks in academia during that time frame.

Regarding the endeavor to construct and to test the integrative model for analyzing paradiplomacy, this mission is addressed in Chapter 5 by creating an integrated explanatory matrix of constituent diplomacy that may guide the study of paradiplomacy. The proposed theoretical pattern in this book can be considered to be a research tool for conducting case study oriented inquiries on regional involvements in international relations that provide potential answers to the following key questions:

1 What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of an examined region?
2 What are the legal grounds of constituent diplomacy in the country of an examined subnational case?
3 What is the predominant motive of the government of an examined region to be involved in international affairs?

4 How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in an examined region?
5 What is the attitude of the central government towards the paradiplomacy of its constituent entities?
6 What are the consequences of paradiplomacy for the development of the whole nation?

As already been mentioned before, scholars such as Andre Lecours, Noe Cornago and others note the lack of works on the general theoretical explanation of paradiplomacy.[13] Indeed, although there were attempts in the last three decades to build theories that can explain subnational foreign activities, all these theoretical elaborations suffered from explanatory limitations.[14] Peter Bursens and Jana Deforche, after providing a thoughtful literature review on the subject of paradiplomacy, absolutely correctly conclude:

> [...] the paradiplomacy concept has clearly made international relations and comparative politics scholars aware of the external activities of regional entities. The paradiplomacy literature delivered a series of useful conceptualizations and inventories of paradiplomatic activities and instruments. We now have substantial clues about what paradiplomacy exactly is. In our eyes, however the paradiplomacy literature hardly goes beyond this descriptive work. It has so far failed to present a sound theoretical framework from which hypotheses could be derived with respect to the level of foreign policy competences of sub-national entities and the type of foreign policy activities regions develop. [15]

There are two inevitable questions that come up in this situation: (1) Why is there such a big difficulty to construct a comprehensive theoretical framework? (2) Is it possible to circumvent this problem? The answer to the first question can be hidden in the complex nature of constituent diplomacy as a research subject. The review of all existing literature on paradiplomacy gives us a strong vision on the subnational involvement in international affairs as a very multidimensional phenomenon. As a matter of fact, we need to accept that scholars use very different research lenses to observe paradiplomacy. In this book the existing literature on constituent diplomacy is analyzed and eleven major dimensions/approaches which are used in social sciences to examine paradiplomacy are identified.[16] Those eleven dimensions are briefly listed below and further details in this regard will be presented in Chapter 4.

(1) *Constitutional dimension.* Researches of this type are mostly oriented on studying paradiplomacy from the position of legal expertise. The scholars study national constitutions and other legal acts in order to identify those competences that de-jure possess regional authorities in foreign affairs.[17] (2) *Federalist dimension.* Those scholars who study paradiplomacy from this angle try to understand regional activities in the international arena as a significant variable for the development of the federal system and intergovernmental relations.[18] (3) *Nationalism dimension*. The group of researchers who work in this dimension consider

constituent diplomacy mostly as an important factor for understanding nationalist aspirations on the regional level in multinational and multilingual countries.[19] (4) *IR dimension.* This dimension presents the works of scientists who look at paradiplomacy from the broad perspective of the great change that took place in international relations in the recent decades, when, besides subnational units, other newcomers like NGOs and MNCs penetrated and weakened the monopoly of national governments to be the only decision-makers in the international arena.[20] (5) *Area/border studies dimension*. In this type of research, scholars study paradiplomacy in order to understand the general picture of those political, economic and social transformations that challenge concrete area of their intent look.[21] (6) *Regionalization/globalization dimension.* In this category we can subsume works where paradiplomacy is analyzed as an illustrative manifestation of the two global forces – regionalization and globalization.[22] (7) *Security/geopolitical dimension.* In this dimension scholars pay primary attention to security and geopolitical consequences of regional involvement in international affairs.[23] (8) *Global economy dimension.* To this dimension belong those studies that look at paradiplomacy within the broad scholarship on the development of contemporary global economics and world trade.[24] (9) *Environmental dimension*. Environmental studies are among the most popular fields in modern political science; therefore, it is not very surprising that in the constituent diplomacy scholarship ecological perspectives also appeared. In this dimension, social scientists conduct researches on subnational governments' impact on international environmental regimes and standards.[25] (10) *Diplomacy dimension.* Here, the focus is on how subnational diplomacy may affect the domain of the classical central state diplomacy and what the consequences of the decentralization of diplomacy are.[26] (11) *Separatist dimension.* The problem of so-called non-recognized states that was especially actualized after the collapse of the communist federations (Yugoslavia and USSR) brought to paradiplomacy studies a new important separatist dimension. The struggle for statehood and search for international recognition by subnational governments (de facto states) like Kosovo, Abkhazia or South Ossetia fueled further research on the opportunities and limits of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy.[27]

Indeed, most of the studies focus on paradiplomacy from several dimensions and analyze constituent diplomacy from a few perspectives, but the proposed typology of "ideal types" is useful, because it vividly classifies the complex structure of the paradiplomacy scholarship and gives us a convincing answer to why it is difficult to create a universal framework to study the regional involvement in international affairs. Another obstacle in the way of theoretical comprehension and systematization is the problem of the definition and the boundaries of the concept paradiplomacy as such. As you will see in Chapter 2, different scholars have attributed dissimilar meanings to the concept of pardiplomacy and this circumstance makes the concept ambiguous and therefore decreases its theoretical convertibility which is essential for the construction of explanatory patterns.

Hence, this problem of conceptual uncertainty and the presence of eleven dimensions in understanding paradiplomacy can be named as the main stumbling

blocks on the way of those who endeavor to build a theoretical matrix for understanding why regions go abroad. However, the identification of those problems gives us a good opportunity to treat and circumvent them. In Chapter 5 an attempt will be made to reduce the eleven approaches to paradiplomacy to a common denominator and to clearly mark the conceptual boundaries of this phenomenon. In terms of empirical or practical analysis, in order to test the explanatory matrix, Chapter 6 will tackle the case of Alberta paradiplomacy in order to complement the theoretical construction.

Methodology of research: a brief outlook from chapter to chapter

Mark Bevir, one of the most prominent contemporary specialists on social science methodology vividly reflected his view on methodological problems that should be considered seriously by political scientists:

> [...] Many political scientists have long worried about hyperfactualism – the collection of data without proper theoretical reflection. Today we might also worry about hypermethodologism –the application of methodological techniques without proper philosophical reflection.[28]

It is difficult not to agree with the concern raised by Bevir – it is vital that methodological tools for political science research are always chosen in a way to keep an optimal balance between description of facts and their theoretical reflection. So, below a brief excursion through the methodological approaches that were implemented in this research is presented, and this should help to keep the above-mentioned balance.[29]

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this book aim to systematize the existing knowledge on paradiplomacy and therefore this part of the work is based more on a qualitative methodology rather than on a quantitative one, because such systematization of knowledge demands work not with numbers or data sets but mainly with ideas in texts and some field observations on this subject. The key question of this research, particularly in the second and the fourth chapters, is not only what paradiplomacy is as such (or in fact, what we suppose it is) but what do various researchers consider as paradiplomacy and how do they reflect upon this phenomenon in their surveys? Obviously, the configuration of this question lies in the postmodernist philosophical tradition of Bourdieu, the extrapolation of which lets us assume that some idiomatic *habitus* of paradiplomacy may exist, created by the *doxa* (view) of the leading social scientists. The *habitus* dominates the academic discourses and determines our understanding of the essence of paradiplomacy.[30] For the systematization of the existing knowledge on paradiplomacy and searching of the *habitus* of paradiplomacy the following qualitative research techniques will be used: interpretation, discourse analysis and semantic analysis.

Interpretation is one of the most widespread approaches of descriptive inference in social sciences. King, Keohane and Verba (KKV) in their famous

Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research portray in detail the scholarly features of interpretivists. However, from the plethora of characteristics given by KKV to interpretation as a research paradigm, there are three particular characteristics that are most linked to this research project:

> [Interpretivists] seek to place the events they describe in an intelligible context within which the meaning of actions becomes explicable [. . .]. Interpretivists seek to explain the reasons for intentional action in relation to the whole set of concepts and practices in which it is embedded. They also employ standards of evaluation.[31]

In accordance with this definition, I consider myself to be an interpretivist in this book, because one of the aims of the book is to explain the reasons for the intentional actions in relation to the whole set of IR and political science concepts, and also to employ some new standards of evaluation for regions' activities abroad.

Concerning the use of discourse analysis for the purposes of this research, some clarifications must be presented below. As it is generally known, discourse is the concept that originally appeared in linguistics but in the last decades, it has acquired a broad usage in contemporary social science, including political science and international relations. Michel Foucault is the famous French theorist who stipulated in the 1970s a new notion for the term discourse as different from linguistics by presenting discourse not as a subject of language studies but as a system of ideas reflected in linguistic practices that determines the content of social processes, political realities and power relations.[32] Today, the methodology of discourse analysis for social research is properly developed and earns more and more creditability among scholars.[33] Following Howarth, the vital task of discourse analysis in political research endeavors "is to discover those rules and conventions which structure the production of meaning in particular contexts; investigating why and how these systems of meaning change; and how social agents come to identify themselves in discursive terms."[34]

In this research the discourse analysis is implemented as the theoretical tool for searching the meaning of paradiplomacy that was constructed in the academic discourse during the past four decades. Herein, the primary focus is directed to the academic discourse of paradiplomacy that consists of (1) what researchers think about the involvement of subnational governments in international relations, (2) what theories and hypothesis they formulate on the basis of their comprehension of the problem, (3) how they communicate and influence each other in the process of cognition and meaning-making.

The semiological approach is the third element used in the completion of the systematization of the existing knowledge on paradiplomacy. The core principal of semiotics is to interpret and find the contextual (i.e., real or objective) meaning of signs and symbols derived from language practices and texts.[35] Within the framework of this book, semiotics will be used as one of the tools for identifying the meaning of the two keywords for the whole research project –

"paradiplomacy" and "region." Certainly, the problem of both terms resides in their ambiguity induced by broad scientific usage that washed out their definitional boundaries. Therefore, semiotic analysis should help us to find answers for the questions – how are both "region" and "paradiplomacy" shifting in their meanings within different contexts, what definition of these concepts should be accepted in the context of researches on subnational government's external activities, and finally, what synonymic terms can be recognized as meaningfully valid to substitute both terms.

So, these three approaches are used for the second, third and fourth chapters. However, other types of research tools are used in the fifth chapter where a theoretical framework for paradiplomacy analysis is constructed and in the sixth chapter where this framework is tested. The construction of a general theoretical framework is possible by implementing the induction principle to the outputs of the fourth chapter, where the systematization of existing paradiplomacy discourses is conducted. As it is generally known, the method of inductive reasoning has been actively employed by social thinkers since ancient times. Induction is a method of inference of general principles from the observation of individual cases. In regard to this research, this principle is applied in order to build general integrative explanatory pattern of paradiplomacy from random theoretical sketches, which are produced in different scholarly perspectives since the emergence of paradiplomacy scholarship in the 1970s. The eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy presented in the fourth chapter are evaluated as autonomic theoretical elements that can be shifted to a general explanatory framework through induction, which is described in Chapter 5.

The creation of an original integrative analytical framework that can explain the essence of paradiplomatic actions of regional governments and that can guide the study of paradiplomacy definitely brings a significant research value to the whole inference, though this framework needs to be tested in order to demonstrate its operability. Consequently, in the sixth chapter the developed explanatory framework is applied to the case of the Alberta province paradiplomacy. The case study is one of the most prevalent research methods in social sciences that focuses on in-depth examination of a small number of cases. According to Robert Yin this method is primarily appropriate for research inquiries with the "how" and "why" types of questions as and for studies of contemporary events when the relevant behaviors can not be manipulated.[36] The research design of the case study project is determined by sources of evidence used by the researcher and is marked by his/her strategy in the case selection procedure. Usually specialists note six major sources of information on which scholars can rely for doing case studies: (1) documentation; (2) archival records; (3) interviews; (4) direct observations; (5) participant observation and (6) physical artifacts.[37] For this research project, mainly the first three sources are used.

The Canadian province of Alberta is the case that was taken in order to prove the operability of the proposed explanatory framework of paradiplomacy. What are the strategic reasons for this choice? Here I need to confess that the selection of Alberta as case study was affected in many ways by pragmatic and logistical

issues rather than by the idea to implement the most similar, extreme, deviant, pathway or other type of case selection that are usually used by scholars.[38] This pragmatic case selection is not unusual in social science research; thus for example, one of the leading specialists on case study research, John Gerring, has to accept the following reality:

> Evidently, case selection is often influenced by a researcher's familiarity with the language of a country, a personal entrée into that locale, special access to important data or funding that covers one archive rather than another. Pragmatic considerations are often and quite rightly decisive in the case selection process.[39]

Therefore, Alberta is not chosen accidentally, but was purposefully selected to make the successes of the case study as feasible as possible. Canada is among those countries, like Germany, Belgium or Spain, that exercise special federal arrangements that allow regional governments to be quite active in the international arena. However, there are also obvious advantages of basing the case study in Canada. First, the success of the research presumes a large set of interviews: the Canadian governmental system on both federal and regional levels is notably open and transparent and this makes the tasks of collection of the necessary data more feasible. Second, the officials in Canada speak English and the official documents in the archives are also in English – thus, for example, a similar kind of research in Germany or in Spain would be more complicated without the knowledge of the languages of these countries.

Studying paradiplomacy: why qualitative approaches beat quantitative approaches

In conclusion to the introduction, it is necessary to explain in more detail the issue of why the qualitative approach seems preferential in comparison with quantitative techniques in analyses related to paradiplomacy. By examining the existing scholarship on paradiplomacy, one can note that the studies are mostly based on the qualitative methodology. Mainly the case study research strategy is implemented to explore subnational governments' activities in the international arena. The crucial and logical argument for this qualitative supremacy is that it is difficult to invent clear quantitative indexes that relate to paradiplomacy and measure its performance. Paradiplomacy is a phenomenon that is very hard to quantify, not because each case of its display is unique, but simply because the data sets on paradiplomatic activities are mostly unavailable. The huge lack of data sets is clear evidence of the complexity of the procedure of operationalization and definition of the variables that characterize paradiplomatic activities of regions in international arena. A quantitative researcher immediately faces a crucial problem in operationalizing in his/her endeavor. For example, how is it possible to measure and present statistically in numbers the intensity of regional aspirations to go abroad? One of the most visible solutions is to assume that the

indicators of the strength of constituent diplomacy can be evaluated by the number of regional consulates and trade missions in foreign countries, the number of treaties with foreign partners, the number of the regional export/import balance or other statistically tangible factors.

Indeed, this approach to operationalize paradiplomacy sounds quite reasonable. However, can the given quantification style work in practice to provide an insightful explanation of the essence of paradiplomacy? The answer is negative rather than positive. The current attempts of some political scientists to conduct paradiplomacy studies through quantitative analyses demonstrate that formalization/quantification of the performance of regional external activities has many vulnerable points and hence the results of such endeavors cannot be considered to be very convincing. In order to illustrate argumentatively the weaknesses of quantitative-oriented designs in paradiplomacy studies, we can trace the work of the group of four European researchers Joachim Blatter, Matthias Kreutzer, Michaela Rent and Jan Thiele (Blatter *et al.*) who recently applied the technique of fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative analysis (fsQCA) in their research project on the foreign relations of European regional governments.[40] As it is known, the fsQCA is a popular modern research technique in social sciences created by Charles Ragin for the sake of circumventing polarization between qualitative and quantitative approaches. The main idea of Ragin's technique consists in formalizing the logic of qualitative analysis and in applying Boolean algebra methods of logical comparison for the analysis of the selected cases represented as combinations of causal and outcome conditions.[41]

In their research Blatter *et al.* scrutinize the paradiplomacy of eighty one regions of six western European countries (Italy, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Great Britain and France) and make an effort to analyze the necessary preconditions for intensive external regional activities. The large range of units of analysis (eighty-one) which is taken under consideration makes the implementation of classical qualitative case-oriented analysis impossible by definition. In this situation of a large number of cases, the authors prefer to appeal not to statistical techniques but find it useful to apply the fsQCA design with their theoretical framework that begins with the assumption that:

> […] every foreign activity must be based on a "motive" (the independent variable) and facilitated by specific capabilities or restricted constraints (the intervening variables) […] different motives lead to different strategies and that for every motive there are specific logically coherent intervening variables (corresponding capabilities/constraints, which are especially relevant for specific motives).[42]

The designed framework looks smooth only until we start to examine it mindfully. One can easily bring to light a few crucial weaknesses of the proposed research pattern that impugn the validity of the whole research project. Blatter *et al.* propose as the independent variables in their study three types of motives/strategies for foreign regional activities that are usually noted in the literature on paradiplomacy:

economic, political and cultural.[43] However, it seems that the key problem of operationalizing those variables (i.e., the dilemma of how to evaluate in numbers those motives) was not cogently resolved by the researchers. Thus, for example, according to Blatter *et al.* the number of regional offices/representatives in foreign countries expresses the economic strategy of subnational authorities; the number of transnational or cross-border and network partnerships represents cultural activities; the number of employees in Brussels regional offices is considered as the prime example of foreign political activities of the European subnational governments.[44] All these three indicators emerge from the authors' assumptions, and are not based on well-founded arguments and can be easily criticized. For instance, the following statement looks absolutely unsubstantiated:

> [...] networks between regions, such as the Assembly of European Regions (AER) or Bodenseekonferenz (Lake Constance Conference), represent cultural activities, because they are driven by the desire to receive recognition for regional identities and the selection of partners is based on notions of similarity or commonality.[45]

The examination of practicality and the declared missions of those regional networks do not provide enough evidence to think that those organizations are driven by the sublimation of cultural aspirations. In contrast, the official statutes of both the AER and the *Bodenseekonferenz* highlight different primary strategies: the AER proclaims as its first aim "to act as the political voice of the Regions of Europe," while the Lake Constance Conference specifies its objectives as the "preservation and promotion of Lake Constance region as an attractive living, natural, cultural and economic and strengthening regional solidarity."[46] It is hereby more correct to assume that membership in the Assembly of European Regions represents not the cultural but political performance of subnational governments in European affairs and the participation in the international regional network *Bodenseekonfenz* is above all motivated by "house-keeping" paradiplomatic strategy, and not by a cultural one. Also it looks quite questionable the decision of the authors of this work to operationalize the political strategy of subnational governments in international affairs via assumption that the existence of large office in Brussels is the prime index of regional external activities in political field.

Another important limitation of the quantitative-oriented studies brought to light by the discussed research on European regions' foreign activities is the problem of "case selection bias." This is mainly caused by the practical difficulty of collecting even basic information for data sets that include large number of cases. For example, in the work of Blatter *et al.*, the authors employ for their fsQCA analysis the data collected on all regions from Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain and Italy through the following justification:

> [...] In order to be able to concentrate on a few central variables, we have chosen only those regions which have rather similar socioeconomic backgrounds and which have not witnessed any fundamental change in their

> political system in recent times. These considerations lead to the exclusion of East European regions. […] We had to exclude Spanish regions because of language restrictions. Attempts to approach the Spanish regions in English language failed to generate any substantial feedback.[47]

Here we can see a serious problem of "case selection bias" that can be reflected by a number of critical remarks. First, the authors do not clarify at all why changes in the political systems of Eastern European nations are an obstacle for including them in analyzing the paradiplomacy of regional governments from this area. Second, there are no explanations for the absence in the research sample of the Finish, Swedish and other European regions which have similar socioeconomic backgrounds with those subnational units selected by Blatter *et al.* Third, the authors "forced by language restrictions" excluded the Spanish regions from the research analysis. The governments of the Spanish regions like Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia are the most influential players in the international arena among subnational actors not only on the European but on the world scale as well.[48] Definitely those regions' international actions shape in great part the whole design of paradiplomacy in contemporary Europe. Not taking Spanish regions into account in the research on the foreign activities of European regions is approximately the same in a methodological sense as excluding the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in a study on the development of communist regimes in the twentieth century.

Evidently, those problems with "case selection bias" in many ways lie in the nature of quantitative approach itself, whose implementation successes depends significantly on the availability of correct data on large N cases. If a scholar is not able to collect, organize and well-code the information of his/her research interest in proper data sets, then the problem is, in the words of KKV, in "finding the right answers to the wrong questions is a futile activity."[49]

This brief critical review of the research by Blatter *et al.* where the authors apply the fsQCA technique for examining paradiplomacy in Europe therefore illustrates the strong vulnerability of quantitative oriented approaches in paradiplomacy studies. The qualitative methods and particularly the case study one are not perfect as well, but they can be considered among the most appropriate ways to do an in-depth and valid inquiry on regional involvement in internal affairs. The great advantage of the application of a case study inquiry in paradiplomacy scholarship consists in the four crucial features of this method that were precisely formulated by Robert Yin as:

1. Ability "to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. Especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident";
2. Ability "to cope with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points;
3. Ability "to rely on multiple sources of evidence";

4 Ability "to obtain benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis."[50]

In other words, I would like to emphasize that the proposed explanatory framework for paradiplomacy in this book will guide scholars and students of paradiplomacy to apply the case study method. I strongly believe this is a preferable way to learn about paradiplomacy because it helps to better cover the contextual peculiarities of the multidimensional phenomenon. In addition, a case study strategy gives more room for maneuvering in the choice of sources of evidence and techniques of data collection.

Outline of the study

In terms of the research missions the book can be considered as a theory summarizing project, supplemented with elements of literature accessing and theory testing. In Chapter 1 the phenomenon of paradiplomacy is introduced as the main object of the research project. In this chapter I clarify the methodology of the research and give explanations why a qualitative but not a quantitative one is more convenient for achieving the research aims of this project.

The second chapter provides the terminological analysis of two key concepts of the research project – "region" and "paradiplomacy." The precise clarification of both terms "paradiplomacy" and "region" is essential for the success of the whole research. However, one can acknowledge that these concepts have quite ambiguous connotation in social science discourses. Therefore, in order to circumvent the potential confusion, clear boundaries of the meaning for these two terms are needed to be defined.

Chapter 3 offers a comprehensive analysis of paradiplomacy studies as a field of scholarly inquiry from the moment of its birth until today. In this chapter the potential way of classification of the scientific schools within paradiplomacy scholarship are presented. In addition, the chapter attempts to trace the perspectives regarding the further development of paradiplomacy studies.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to analyzing various dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse. The main task in this part consists in examining possible angles of interpretation of the phenomenon of constituent diplomacy. There are eleven defined dimensions of paradiplomacy which can be contingently labeled as constitutional, federalist, nationalist, IR, border, globalized, geopolitical, global economic, environmental, diplomatic and separatist.

Chapter 5 is the most crucial part of the entire research project. In this piece of the work the explanatory framework to study subnational government's involvement in international relations is constructed. The creation of the theoretical model is undertaken on the basis of the knowledge that was systematized in previous chapters of the research.

In Chapter 6, in order to support the reliability of the explanatory model the case-studies of the paradiplomatic activities of the western Canadian province of Alberta is tackled. This case study is used to demonstrate the efficiency of the

proposed explanatory framework and to act as a methodological guide for study of other cases of the constituent diplomacy.

Notes

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2 See Keohane R. and Nye J. *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

3 See Saner R. and Yiu L. "Business–Government–NGO Relations: Their Impact on Global Economic Governance," in *Global Governance and Diplomacy. Worlds Apart?*, ed. by Cooper A. and Hocking B. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ahmed S. and Potter D. *NGOs in International Politics*, (Sterling: Kumurian Press, 2006); Hill C. "The Future of the European Union as a Global Actor," in *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy. The EU in International Affairs*, ed. by Foradori P., Rosa P. and Scartezzini R. (Plymouth: Lexington Books Press, 2007); Tonra B. and Christiansen T. *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

4 See Duchacek I. *The Territorial Dimension of Politics Within, Among and Across Nations*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986); Pluijm R. and Melissen J. "City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Relations," Discussion papers on Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International relations Clingendael, April 2007.

5 See Bunker R. *Non-State Threats and Future Wars*, (London: Routledge 2002); Kenney M. *From Pablo to Osama. Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies and Competitive Adaptation*, (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

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7 For instance, among those who regularly proclaims the end of nation state is Ohmae Kenichi. This author argues that nation state became more and more inefficient in modern transnational world and therefore it will be substituted by region-states without borders and with high openness to outside world. See, for example, Ohmae K. *The End of the National State: The Rise of Regional Economies*, (New York: Free Press Paperback, 1996); Ohmae K. *The Next Global Stage: Challenges and Opportunities in Our Borderless World*, (New Jersey: Wharton School Publishing, 2005). From another side of the "intellectual barricade" is one of the most influential contemporary IR scientists Stephen Krasner who says that "those who proclaimed the death of sovereignty misread history … the nation-state has a keen instinct for survival and has so far adapted to new challenges – even the challenge of globalization." See, Krasner S. "Sovereignty," *Foreign Policy*, No. 122, 2001, p. 20.

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9 Keating M. "Paradiplomacy and Regional Networking," Working paper, Forum of Federations, Hanover 2000, www.forumfed.org/libdocs/ForRelCU01/924-FRCU0105-eu-keating.pdf accessed on 05.15.2010.

10 Duchacek I. "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 2.

11 Cornago N. "On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, No. 5, 2010, p. 12.
12 Lecours A. "Paradiplomacy: Reflections on the Foreign Policy and International Relations of Regions," *International negotiations*, No. 7, 2002, p. 92.
13 See, Lecours A. *Paradiplomacy: Reflections on the Foreign Policy and International Relations of Regions, International negotiations*, No. 7, 2002, pp. 91–114; Cornago N. "On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, No. 5, 2010, pp. 11–36.
14 See, Duchacek I. "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations" in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 1–33; Soldatos P. "An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign-policy Actors," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 34–53; Michaud N. "Canada and Quebec on the World Scene: Defining New Rules?," in *Canada Among Nations 2006*, ed. by Cooper A. and Rowlands D., (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press), 2006, pp. 232–247; Bellini N. and Bramanti A. "Sustainable Glocalization: a Framework to analyze the International Relations of Local and Regional Governments," Working Paper CERTeT, No. 14, 2008,http://portale.unibocconi.it/wps/wcm/connect/resources/file/eb119a00ec88c5d/wp14.pdf, accessed on 07.31.2010.
15 Bursens P. and Deforche J. "Going Beyond Paradiplomacy? Adding Historical Institutionalism to Account for Regional Foreign Policy Competences," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, No. 5, 2010, p. 157.
16 During my work on this research project I was able to collect mostly all books, journal articles and conference presentations that are available in Canadian, US and European libraries. I took into account only works that were published in the English language. Although there are some works on paradiplomacy in Spanish, French, German and other languages, the majority of the works are in English. In addition, even non-native English speaking researchers published all their major papers on international activities of subnational actors in English.
17 See, for example, Trone J. *Federal Constitutions and International Relations*, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press), 2001; *Constitutional Origins, Structure and Change in International Relations*, ed. by Kincaid J. and Tarr A., (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Craven G. "Federal Constitutions and External Relations" in *Foreign Relations and Federal States*, ed. by Hocking B., (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), pp. 9–26.
18 See, for example, *Dialogues on Distribution Powers and Responsibilities in Federal Countries*, ed. by Blindenbacher R. and Ostien A., (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Michaud N. "Canada and Quebec on the World Scene: Defining New Rules?," in *Canada Among Nations 2006*, ed. by Cooper A. and Rowlands D., (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2006), pp. 232–247; Duchacek I. *The Territorial Dimension of the Politics: Within, Among and Across Nations*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).
19 Lecours A. and Moreno L. "Paradiplomacy and Stateless nations: a Reference to Basque Country." Unidad de Politicas Comparadas (CSIS), Working Paper 01–06, http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/1472/1/dt-0106.pdf, accessed on 07.31.2010.
20 See, for example, Hocking B. "Regionalism: An International Perspective," in *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, ed. by Keating M. and Loughlin J., (London: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 90–111; Latouche D. "State Building and Foreign Policy at the Subnational Level," in *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments*, ed. by Duchacek I., Latouche D. and Stevenson G., (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 29–42.
21 See, for example, Maillat D. "Transfrontier Regionalism: The Jura are from Basel to

Geneva," in *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments*, ed. by Duchacek I., Latouche D. and Stevenson G., (Westport:Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 199–211; Rutan G. "Micro-diplomatic Relations on the Pacific Northwest: Washington State – British Columbia Interactions," in *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Goverments*, ed. by Duchacek I., Latouche D. and Stevenson G., (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 163–188; Skhlyar N. "Russian Regions in Subregional Cooperation," in *Building Security in the New States of Eurasia: Subregional Cooperation in the Former Soviet Space*, ed. by Dwan R. and Pavliuk O. (New York: M.E. Sharp Publisher, 2000), pp. 87–118.

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23 See, for example, Cornago N. "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy in the Redefinition of International Security: Dimensions of Conflict and Cooperation," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 40–57; Boucher J. and Roussel S. "From Afghanistan to 'Quebecistan': Quebec as the Pharmakon of Canadian Foreign and Defense Policy," in *Canada Among Nations 2007: What Room to Maneuver?* ed. by Daudelinand J. and Schwanen D., (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), pp. 128–156.

24 See, for example, Kukucha C. *Provinces and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008); *States and Provinces in International Economy*, ed. by Brown D. and Fry E., (Berkley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press), 1993.

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33 See, for example, Fairclough N. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2003).

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36 Yin K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, (Washington D.C.: SAGE Press, 2009).

37 Ibid., p. 101.

38 Gerring J. "Case Selection for Case Study Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Techniques," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, ed. by Box-Steffensmeier J., Brady H. and Collier D., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 647–648.

39 Ibid., p. 677.

40 Blatter J., Kreutzer M., Rentl M. and Thiele J. "Preconditions for Foreign Activities of European Regions: Tracing Causal Configurations of Economic, Cultural and Political Strategies," *Publius*, vol. 40, No. 1, 2009, pp. 171–199.

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42 Blatter J., Kreutzer M., Rentl M. and Thiele J. "Preconditions for Foreign Activities of European Regions: Tracing Causal Configurations of Economic, Cultural and Political Strategies," *Publius*, vol. 40, No. 1, 2010, p. 172.

43 Herein, I would like to mention that nevertheless, those three sets of motives are commonly mentioned in literature as principal incentives for regions to go abroad, the list of motives could be expanded by including the strategy of "cross-border housekeeping." This motive for paradiplomacy was defined by John Kincaid and it takes into account the aspirations of neighbor regions to cooperate for solving common environmental challenges or to manage other "low politics" projects beyond spheres of economics, politics or culture.

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Conference, Article 2, www.bodenseekonferenz.org/bausteine.net/file/showfile.aspx?downdaid=7559&domid=1043&fd=2, accessed on 08.19.2010.

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48 See, Lecours A. and Moreno L. "Paradiplomacy and Stateless Nations: a Reference to Basque Country," Unidad de Politicas Comparadas (CSIS), Working Paper 01–06, http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/1472/1/dt-0106.pdf, accessed on 08.20.2010; Totorigaguena G. "The Political Agency of Ethnic Diasporas: Paradiplomacy and the Construction of Political Communities in World System," in *Opportunity Structures in Diaspora Relations: Comparisons in Contemporary Multilevel Politics of Diaspora and Transnational Identity*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), pp. 235–262.

49 King G., Keohane R. and Verba S. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 38.

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2 Region and paradiplomacy
In search of definition

Finding definitions for the concepts of "region" and "paradiplomacy" is an everlasting challenge for political scientists. "Region" can be considered as one of the most polysemantic terms in modern social science, whereas "paradiplomacy" is still not a well-known and well-elaborated concept. The aim of this chapter is to conceptualize the terms "region" and "paradiplomacy" and make them clear and meaningful units of research on subnational government involvement in international relations.

Region – clarification of the concept

What is a region? This term is widely used by representatives of different sciences, including geography, economics, cultural studies and political science; moreover since the 1950s "region" became the central research object for the whole academic discipline "regional science."[1] The popularity of the concept determined its high ambiguity and the emergence of a large number of metaphors and cognate words and expression. For example, if we look only at the political science field, we can find a significant number of wide perceptions of "region" that does not allow us to easily identify universal parameters and boundaries of this concept. However, it is generally possible to construct a three level pyramid based on scholarly perception of the concept "region." On the first bottom level, the term "region" labels geographical meta-entities like Asia, Latin America, Eurasia, North America or Europe; on the second level, "region" is perceived as geographically, historically, economically, linguistically or culturally united areas like Central Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Great Lakes or Middle East; and on the top of the pattern is the postulation of a "region" as an administrative territorial unit of a state, like Tatarstan in Russia, Bavaria in Germany or Alberta in Canada. The given gradation certainly does not provide the exhaustive definition of the region – the number of levels is not final and they can easily overlap or appear and disappear as a result of various kinds of changes. Thus, for instance, with the end of the Cold war and the collapse of the USSR in a research landscape of political science as a consequence of the new political and historical reality, some new areas of scholarly interests emerged, such as "post-communist" or "post-soviet" regions.

The solution to overcome this conceptual deadlock was proposed by Walter Issard and Andrew Isserman who refer to the region as a "live organism." According to them, "region appears to be primarily a tool of science; it disappears when we engage in pure spatial theorizing, only to reappear as a concept to be tolerated in order to validate our doctrines."[2] In this perspective, the meaning of the concept "region" is defined by the research problem. The acceptance of this relativist approach helps to circumvent the confusion about the essence of the "region," because the content and the limits of the concept are defined by our own study in concordance with the aims of our research. The same relativism is applicable for mostly all cognate terms and expressions like regionalism, regional policy, regional integration, regional identity, regionalization, regional power, regional states which are also uncertain and unclear without looking into the context of the particular research in which they are used.

In this book the concept of *"region" is defined as the territorial and administrative unit on the first level of authority after the central government in both federal and unitary state systems, like Ontario in Canada or Hokkaido in Japan.* This is a very concise description without any cultural, economic, geographical or some other complex variable, but this definition can help to clarify the boundaries of the term for its operational usage that is needed for the research aims of this work. This definition is close to the view of the Assembly of European Regions (AER), which defines region as:

> […] a territorial unit immediately below the sovereign state, with a system of self-government, that have its own constitution, statute of autonomy or other law which forms part of the legislation of the state and which determines how the region is organized and what its powers are.[3]

It also correlates with the definition of the region stated by Hooghe, Marks and Schakel (Hooghe *et al.*) in their recent research on the rise of regional authorities in Europe: "[The region] is coherent territorial entity situated between the local and national levels with a capacity for authoritative decision making."[4]

The necessity to formulate some special definition for this research was reasoned by the desire to modify the above-mentioned similar definitions in two important ways. First, in this research, a priori the units from both federal and unitary systems are equally taken under consideration, therefore in the proposed definition this point is emphasized. Second, the proposed definition allows circumvention of a problem of several levels of regional government in a country. For example, Italy consists of twenty regions (regione), but there is also an intermediate level of power between regions and local authorities – 110 provinces. Some of those provinces have autonomous status and are not subordinate to the regions they are part of, like Trento and Bolzano-Bozen. Should we consider Italian provinces as regional governments? Hooghe *et al.*, in accordance with their definition, observe Italian provinces as regional governments. Their response to the problem of the existence of multi-levelness of subnational governments in some countries is the population size threshold of 150 000 and the

idea to encompass in their study all units below the national level but with size of population of at least 150 000 people.[5] In contradiction to Hooghe *et al.*, the definition proposed in this book includes not all 110 provinces, but only twenty Italian *regioni* and the two above-mentioned autonomous provinces that remain de-jure and de-facto on the first level of the power ladder, immediately after the Italian central authorities. This interpretation of region gives a more precise answer to the question of how to classify subnational governments in those countries with complex administrative divisions. The simplicity of the strategy of identifying the region by limiting the scope of the constituent units only by those who stay right behind the central authorities helps us to avoid the creation of such questionable indicators as the size of population. For example, the Italian Aosta Valley with less than 130 000 inhabitants is the smallest subnational unit in the Italian republic, but its regional government possesses one of the strongest power competences in the whole country and creates its own strong regional identity that is based on the linguistic and cultural peculiarities of this area.[6] Therefore, if we implement the 150 000 population threshold of Hooghe *et al.*, the small Aosta Valley will be excluded from our research sample. And this is only one example of potentially many others who would be excluded from such classification.

Another principal point that deserves special attention in this terminological inquiry is the question of including municipal and city authorities in the concept of "region." In this research, I presuppose that these constituents cannot be recognized as "regions," but must be labelled as local authorities or local governments. The logic behind this statement is based on the assumption that there is a principal dissemblance between "regional" and "local" levels of governance and the idea to separate them from each other sturdily correlates with Noe Cornago's argument who also sees a problem in the ambiguity of the term "region" for valid inquiry, and also makes a clear-cut distinction between "region" and "city":

> […] in spite of the crucial differences that are present among them, the Canadian provinces, Spanish autonomous communities, Brazilian and Indian states, Russian republics, Bolivian departments and Italian regions – as is the case with many other meso-level governments that are easily recognizable throughout the world – share common features that are difficult to ignore. All of them are government bodies with relevant competences and significant administrative resources, and, undoubtedly of greater importance, all of them are more than a city but less than a sovereign state. That meso-level position entails important implications in terms of their ultimate nature and political relevance. The internationalization of cities, for instance, can hardly be considered a challenge to the integrity – neither territorially or simply symbolically – of the state's sovereignty.[7]

Therefore, it is important to emphasize that municipalities/cities, unlike regions, are not part of state power, because their nature is different – they are part of public power, which can be considered as an intermediate force between state

and civil society. In other words, the Canadian province of Alberta can be considered as a non-sovereign state actor in international affairs, but the capital of the province, Edmonton, should be viewed as a non-sovereign and non-state actor in its external performances. The only exception can be applied to those municipal bodies that occupy a place in state hierarchy right after the central government, and, as such, they are recognized on legal bases as "regions" in their power competence like, for example, the two Russian "federal cities," Moscow and Saint-Petersburg.[8]

The noted understanding of the region and, hence, all derivative concepts from it (i.e., regional government, regional authorities, etc.), is common for an overwhelming majority of authors who conduct studies on paradiplomacy. At the same time, some scholars, in the attempt to circumvent the above-mentioned ambiguity of the term "region," try to coin their own terminological "know how" in order to clarify the meaning they allocate to the concept "region." The short list of those alternative terms that emerged in the academic discourse on paradiplomacy in the last few decades can be presented as follows: "constituent governments/actors/units," "non-central governments" (NCG), "subnational governments/actors/units" and "federated units." As it will shown below, some of these terms can serve as acceptable synonyms for the concept "region" in the version offered by this project but some have drastically different connotations and have to be set outside the frames of this research.

A prominent scholar in the field of paradiplomacy studies, John Kincaid, prefers to use the term "constituent governments" in which he includes states, provinces, cantons, landers, republics, municipalities and even port authorities.[9] Later Kincaid removes from his definition of "constituent governments" such units as municipalities and port authorities and categorized them separately under the concept of local governments.[10] In this recent retreatment, John Kincaid's term "constituent governments" is synonymous with the concept "region" in the axis of this research.

Another popular supplementary term among paradiplomacy scholars is non-central governments (NCGs). This concept was introduced and widely promoted by Ivo Duchacek,[11] Brian Hocking,[12] Noe Cornago[13] and Inaki Aguirre.[14] However, the essence of the term was defined differently by those political scientists. Hocking includes within NCGs both regional and local governments, while in Duchacek's theoretical pattern, only regional authorities are recognized as non-central governments. The term "subnational governments/actors" is used extensively in paradiplomacy studies by authors like Michael Keating and Francisco Aldecoa, who refer to them as "public authorities at the regional level, below the sovereign state, in the full knowledge that many of these regard themselves as national, if not fully sovereign actors."[15]

Finally, there is another term, "federated units" (i.e., constituent parts of the federal state), in the academic discourse on paradiplomacy. This concept was most favored by Panayotis Soldatos who supposed, not without reason, that external activities of regions in international affairs is most often the feature of advanced industrial federations.[16]

The brief outlook on the concept of "region" and its alternatives used in paradiplomacy studies shows that there are still disagreements among scholars on the issue of whether or not to include municipalities and cities within the notion of "subnational government." In this book, I place actors on the municipal and lower levels separately from "region," and consider them as an independent category from "local governments." Therefore, in accordance with the above-mentioned view, in this research the concepts "region," "regional governments," "constituent government/unit" and "subnational government/actor" are recognized as synonymic and will be used in an interchangeable manner.

Paradiplomacy – clarification of the concept

There is no final consensus in academia on which term is more convenient for defining subnational governments' external activities, and researchers usually prefer not to waste their time on terminological debates and prefer to use those concepts that look more convenient for them. Hence, besides the concept of "paradiplomacy," we can find a number of different terms that label the region's performance in the international arena such as "constituent diplomacy," "regional diplomacy," "sub-state diplomacy," "microdiplomacy," "multilayered diplomacy," "catalytic diplomacy," "protodiplomacy," "post-diplomacy" and so on. All these terminological creations are usually not clearly and firmly defined, and therefore these neologisms easily shift in their meaning when they are in different contexts. They also often become de-facto synonyms in the writings of different researchers, but often without recognition of this fact from the side of those authors. Thus, in this part of the book I would like to offer some insight on how we can define paradiplomacy, what are the boundaries, limits, advantages and disadvantages of this term, why should we use the concept of paradiplomacy as the major one, the traps of constructing the meaning of paradiplomacy and the alternative terms that can be used interchangeably without loss of sense.

It is important to note that the only deep analytical work completely dedicated to the problem of searching the grounds and boundaries for a precise definition of the neologism "paradiplomacy" was conducted by the Basque researcher Inaki Aguirre at the end of the 1990s.[17] In his paper, Aguirre defines "paradiplomacy" as "a buzz-word with mysterious successes in specialized literature, even though their analytical definition is not clear."[18] Aguirre's methods of cognition of the essence of "paradiplomacy" include the semiological approach and intertextual analysis of academic discourse. He correctly mentions that "Politics is, even if we do not always acknowledge it, also matter of semantics, and art that implies the power to give a certain meaning to things such as complex political processes through words."[19] Thus, the main goal of Aguirre's paper is to look inside the word "paradiplomacy" and understand its real meaning in academic discourse. In that matter, the vision on paradiplomacy proposed in this research project, in many ways, is in line with the work of the Basque political scientist, however, the key aim of this chapter is not as much oriented on doing a new intertextual inquiry about the concept, as much as it is mainly focused on

determining the clear frames of paradiplomacy as a concept for the purposes of the research project.

One of the delusions concerning the appearance of the term "paradiplomacy" is that it was originally coined in the 1980s by Ivo Duchacek with his colleague Panayotis Soldatos and after that it was widely promoted in the North American academic discourse mostly on federalism. As it will be demonstrated below in this chapter, it is not a completely true statement. As a matter of fact, the first attempt to incorporate the term "paradiplomacy" in the social science literature was done by Rohan Butler in 1961, when he published in the collective monograph *Studies in Diplomatic History and Historiography* the chapter under the title "Paradiplomacy."[20] A historian of international relations, Rohan Butler defines paradiplomacy as "the highest level of personal and parallel diplomacy, complementing or competing with the regular foreign policy of the minister concerned, is thus a recurrent temptation to the chief of the executive, be he a premier or president, dictator or monarch."[21]

The analysis of this writing allows us to conclude that Butler identifies paradiplomacy simply as a kind of unofficial or secret negotiations that may take place in a shadow of official diplomacy, "behind the backs" and "under the table." The examples of such paradiplomacy are referenced in his chapter from the European history of the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, from the times of Marquise de Pompadour in France until Goebbels and Ribbentrop in Nazi Germany. Obviously, Butler's attempt to incorporate the term paradiplomacy in academic discourse with the above-mentioned meaning was doomed from the beginning. The mistake of Rohan Butler lies in the fact that his neologism "paradiplomacy" labeled the phenomenon that was already studied extensively in political science before him, and it found its own notations in literature much earlier. For example, the concept of "secret diplomacy" can easily substitute the term paradiplomacy in Butler's work and will bring good theoretical convertibility for his paper with other writings in that research field. The problem of secret diplomacy is an integral part of various historical surveys. The phenomenon of "undercover" negotiations in international affairs between different states and different rulers appeared simultaneously with the birth of the first forms of international relations and diplomacy. In other words, secret diplomacy flourished in all epochs.[22] And, consequently, there is absolutely no sense in coining a new concept for an old phenomenon that already has a well-developed terminology, therefore no wonder the term "paradiplomacy" in Rohan Butler's interpretation did not get broad circulation among political scientists.

The new (re)emergence of the notion "paradiplomacy" as a concept that means the involvement of subnational governments in international relations happened in the 1980s. It does not mean that before this time there was no research on this issue – as it will be shown in Chapter 3, the first academic works on regional activities appeared in the beginning of the 1970s, however at that period of time this problem was yet not well conceptualized and no special term was stipulated in academic discourse. The new reincarnation of the term "paradiplomacy" from its original meaning coined by Butler to its present definition was

done by North American political scientists Ivo Duchacek and Panayotis Soldatos. The first mention of paradiplomacy is found in Ivo Duchacek's article *The International Dimension of Sub-National Self-Governments* that was published in the journal on federalism *Publius* in the fall 1984 issue.[23] This term appeared just once in the abstract of the article where Duchacek used paradiplomacy as a generalized term to identify transborder regional and global microdiplomacies. Exactly this latter term, "microdiplomacy," was used by the researcher in this text as the main operative analytical concept for labeling the external activities of subnational governments. However, Duchacek emphasizes a few times that "microdiplomacy" is a shorthand term that is used for the lack of a better concept.[24] This moment is quite important because this terminological uncertainty from the beginning provided enough space for scholarly speculations about the terminology of the new phenomenon. The absence of strong theoretical groundings to solve the problem of how to better refer to regional governments' participation in international affairs has had an impact on research in that field until today.

The fixation of paradiplomacy as a primary concept for labeling external activities of regional governments occurred in the second half of the 1980s in a few important collective volumes. The intellectual leader of the academic scholarship on regions in international affairs of that time, Ivo Duchacek, gradually began substituting his previous neologism "microdiplomacy" with the term "paradiplomacy." He also contributed extensively in the formulation of the definition and creation of the typology of the concept. Thus, for example, in his monograph *The Territorial Dimension of Politics: Within, Among, Across Nations* published in 1986, Duchacek states that:

> […] The various initiatives taken by non-central governments on the international scene have so far assumed four distinct yet interconnected forms: (1) transborder regional microdiplomacy, (2) transregional microdiplomacy, (3) global paradiplomacy, and (4) protodiplomacy. […] By transborder regional microdiplomacy, I mean transborder formal and, above all, informal contacts, which are dominantly conditioned by geographic proximity and the resulting similarity in the nature of common problems and their possible solutions. […] Transregional microdiplomacy is the term used to describe connections and negotiations between non-central governments that are not contiguous. […] Global paradiplomacy consists of political functional contacts with distant nations that bring non-central governments into contact not only with trade, industrial or cultural centers on other continents but also with various branches or agencies of foreign national governments. […] Protodiplomacy is the term that may be used to describe those initiatives and activities of non-central governments abroad that graft a more or less separatist message onto its economic, social and cultural links with foreign nations.[25]

This definition and typology of regional external activities in the works of Duchacek did not get any significant update in its essence, however the term "microdiplomacy"

was totally replaced by the concept "paradiplomacy." Hence, the final version of Duchacek's classification had the following shape: (1) transborder regional paradiplomacy, (2) transregional paradiplomacy, (3) global paradiplomacy, and (4) protodiplomacy.[26] Duchacek explains his preference of the term paradiplomacy versus microdiplomacy in his notes as the influence of the arguments of his Canadian colleague Panayotis Soldatos: "I gladly accept professor P. Soldatos's much better term "paradiplomacy." Not only has it no derogatory sound, but "para" expresses accurately what it is about: activities parallel to, often co-coordinated with, complementary to, and sometimes in conflict with centre-to-center macrodiplomacy."[27]

Soldatos, in his turn, supported the typology of subnational governments' activities in internal relations and constructed the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy on the grounds of the theoretical insights proposed by Duchacek.[28] From that time, we can suppose that "paradiplomacy" became the major term to mark the new phenomenon of subnational involvement in international relations. However, it seems the terminological success of "paradiplomacy" was not largely caused by the perfection properties of this term, but by the absence of the strong debate on the issue of terminology. As it will be demonstrated in the next chapter of this book, the academic interest to study the external non-central governments' activities had already emerged in the early 1970s, but it was predominantly based on the method of description and case studies and there were little attempts to provide contributions towards theory in order to understand those changes within internal and international affairs. As a matter of fact, Duchacek and Soldatos became the first researchers in the 1980s to make an important step towards covering the existing theoretical and terminological gap in this field. They proposed the neologism "paradiplomacy" for the academic community and the majority accepted it by default because there was no any other strong alternative at that time.

It is fair to say that there was some limited debate on the issue for a better term. The "monopoly" of the concept "paradiplomacy" was challenged, for example, by the American researcher John Kincaid who, since 1985, has been offering to use the term "constituent diplomacy" instead of "paradiplomacy."[29] Kincaid's argument against the neologism "paradiplomacy" has a semiological character:

> […] What to call this activity? […] Paradiplomacy, but "para" means along side of, to one side, aside from; or secondary. […]Constituent diplomacy captures the idea that states, provinces, cantons, Länder, and the like are constituent units of federal polities. In the United States, for example, the states are co-sovereign constitutional polities with the federal government, not sub-national governments.[30]

It is true that the use of the term "constituent diplomacy" instead of "paradiplomacy" could help to fix the boundaries of the concept and to avoid the ambiguity of its treatment. The prefix "para" may be confusing because it emphasizes only the action that takes place in parallel to traditional state diplomacy, but there is

no detector of the nature of the force that promotes these parallel activities. Hence, John Kincaid is right that, from a semiological point of view, the term "constituent diplomacy" is more advanced because it shows who the actor that performs diplomatic activities is – constituent unit/government.

The imperfectness of the concept "paradiplomacy" made some authors pursue the example of Kincaid and to coin their own terms that in their opinion are more adequate. For example, the British researcher Brian Hocking in the 1990s had three main arguments against the concept of paradiplomacy. The main complaint of Hocking towards neologism "paradiplomacy" was that: "[it] serves to reinforce the distinction and to emphasize the elements of conflict between national and subnational governments."[31] Second, according to Hocking, the use of paradiplomacy tends to treat regional governments "as unitary actors, whereas, in reality, they represent quite complex patterns of relationships both inside and outside their national settings, and embrace a diversity of interests."[32] The third argument against the term coined by Duchacek is that "paradiplomacy implied some second-order level of activity, the parent concept of diplomacy being the rightful preserve of national governments. This raised a number of issues regarding the character of what was being described and its precise significance in terms of the re-ordering of domestic and international politics."[33] The last vulnerable point detected by Hocking in many ways correlates with other authors' thoughts on that issue. For instance, Charlie Jeffery states that:

> the weakness of the concept paradiplomacy consists in its inherent reference point of the diplomacy of the central state. The term "para" has the flavor of "second-hand" politics, while diplomacy seems primarily focused on high politics and implicitly the emulation of the diplomatic activities of the central governments.[34]

Instead of "paradiplomacy," Brian Hocking introduces the concept of "multilayered diplomacy" and described it as a "densely textured web," in which non-central governments "are capable of performing a variety of goals at different points in the negotiating process. In so doing, they may become opponents of national objectives, but, equally, they can serve as allies and agents in pursuit of those objectives."[35]

In his turn, Jeffery proposes to use the term "transfederal" relations, in which he includes all transborder actions and interactions which are developed and realized directly or indirectly by regions.[36] Thus we can note that, on the one hand, there was some discussion on the problem of how to label subnational governments' activities in the international arena and the claims to the quality of the concept paradiplomacy sound quite objective. On the other hand, however, all proposed alternatives did not earn enough credit to substitute "paradiplomacy" as the major term in academic discourse. An accurate glance at the bulk of literature of the 1990s and 2000s gives us strong evidence of that because it shows that scholars may easily operate different terms in their works, but the concept "paradiplomacy" became the central starting research point for both

those who prefer this neologism and those who claim to have coined something better. So, the term "paradiplomacy" is not ideal and it has vulnerable points that were mentioned repeatedly by different researchers. There is also the problem of ambiguity, but "paradiplomacy" has already become the stable category in contemporary social science discourse that is associated for the greater part of researchers with the issue of international involvement of regional governments.

Another important point I would like to pay some attention to is the problem of the term "protodiplomacy," which was defined by Ivo Duchacek as a supplementary concept to the neologism "paradiplomacy." According to Duchacek, protodiplomacy may be used to describe the activities of the regional authorities in the international arena that have articulated a separatist message.[37] Illustrative examples of this kind of activity include Canadian Quebec, especially in the period before 1985, as well as those regions that used to be called non-recognized states that appeared after the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia, like Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Kosovo or Nagorno-Karabakh. Why did Duchacek decide to stipulate a special term for those regions with separatist aspiration? In his texts and in the works of his co-thinker Panayotis Soldatos, there is no clear explanation, though it is possible to suggest a possible answer to this question. It is easy to speculate that the external activities of those subnational units who are looking for the recognition of their statehood or autonomy in the international arena a priori attract more academic attention simply because the potential impact of their actions seems significantly crucial for the future shape of the international system and the internal affairs of the nation states with plural societies. Protodiplomacy directly correlates with problems of sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity which have been core issues for political scientists for a long time, and hence in some way, protodiplomacy is not a purely new phenomenon for political analysis. Paradiplomacy, as the rise of regional governments in their competence to act beyond the national borders, can be considered to be a global trend which was pushed by a transnational revolution in the world in the second half of the twentieth century and which brought new actors and "low politics" issues in the global affairs agenda. This circumstance can make us believe that Duchacek's intention to differentiate protodiplomacy from paradiplomacy was determined by a desire to give special scholarly attention first of all to regional international activities in their "low" rather than "high politics" dimension and consequently not to put this new kind of phenomenon in the shadow of the already well-established field of research on constituent units.

Even if we accept the above-mentioned assumption about the logic of terminological division between "protodiplomacy" and "paradiplomacy," in this book the term "protodiplomacy" will not be used to describe the regional external initiatives with a separatist message. In my point of view, the academic discourse in the last two decades has already shaped "paradiplomacy" as an umbrella term that can include in its connotation all types of regional activities, including those that are strongly politically motivated. I define the term paradiplomacy in this book and for further research purposes as *a form of political communication for reaching economic, cultural, political, or any other types of*

benefits, the core of which consists in self-sustained actions of regional governments with foreign governmental and non-governmental actors.

Thus, we can conclude those researchers, who can be considered in the majority, use the term *paradiplomacy*, but others, for example John Kincaid, insist on the correctness of alternative concepts such as *constituent diplomacy*. The analysis of terminological issues allows us to state that paradiplomacy, as well as alternative concepts, have advantages and disadvantages. For the sake of manageability, I would like to acknowledge the usage of terms "paradiplomacy," "constituent diplomacy," "subnational governments' diplomacy" and "regional diplomacy" synonymously and in an interchangeable way in this research.

Notes

1 For more information about regional science as a scientific discipline, see Markusen A. "Two Frontiers for Regional Science: Regional Policy and Interdisciplinary Reach," *Papers in Regional Science*, vol. 81, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 279–290; Isserman A. "Lost in Space? On the History, Status and Future of Regional Science," the Extended Version of the Presidential Address Given to the Southern Regional Science Association on April 4, 1992, www.rri.wvu.edu/pdffiles/wp9214.pdf accessed on 05.17.2010; Isserman A. and Lever W. "A Tale of Two Centers: Case Studies in the Institutional Evolution and Survival of Urban and Regional Studies," *Urban Studies*, vol. 30, No. 2, 1993, pp. 229–236.

2 Isserman A. "Lost in Space? On the History, Status and Future of Regional Science," the Extended Version of the Presidential Address Given to the Southern Regional Science Association on April 4, 1992, p. 3 www.rri.wvu.edu/pdffiles/wp9214.pdf accessed on 05.17.2010.

3 Sodupe K. "The European Union and Interregional Cooperation," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, p. 59.

4 Hooghe L., Marks G. and Schakel A. *The Rise of Regional Authorities: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies*, (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 4.

5 Ibid, p. 5.

6 See, Palermo F. "Asymmetric Quasi-Federal Regionalism and the Protection of Minority Rights: The Case of Italy," in *Federalism, Subnational Constitutions and Minority Rights*, ed. by Tarr A., Williams R. and Marko J., (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004), pp. 107–119.

7 Cornago N. "On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, No. 5, 2010, p. 14.

8 The Russian Constitution (1993) in article 65 defines Moscow and Saint-Petersburg as the "cities of the federal importance" and puts them in the list of federated constituents.

9 Kincaid J. "Constituent Diplomacy in Federal Polities and the Nation-State: Conflict and Co-Operation," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P., (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990), p. 54.

10 Kincaid J. "Comparative Observations on the International Activities of Constituent Governments," in *Foreign Policy of Constituents Units at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by Requejo F., Generalitat de (Barcelona: Catalunya: Institut d'Estudis Autonòmics, 2010), pp. 15–28.

11 Duchacek I. "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990), pp. 1–33.

12 Hocking B. "Patrolling the 'Frontier': Globalization, Localization and the 'Actorness' of Non-Central Governments," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 17–39
13 Cornago N. "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy in the Redefinition of International Security: Dimensions of Conflict and Cooperation," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 40–57.
14 Aguirre I. "Making Sense of Paradiplomacy: An Intertextual Enquiry About a Concept in Search of a Definition," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 185–209.
15 Aldecoa F. and Keating M. "Introduction," in *Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*, ed. by Aldecoa A. and Keating M., (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), p. 2.
16 Soldatos P. "An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign-policy Actors," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 34–53.
17 See, Aguirre I. "Making Sense of Paradiplomacy: An Intertextual Enquiry About a Concept in Search of a Definition," *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 185–209; Also some theoretical insights were proposed by Noe Cornago and John Kincaid, see, for example, Cornago N. "On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, No. 5, 2010, pp. 11–36; Kincaid J. "Roles of Constituent Governments," Conference presentation, Forum of Federations, Winnipeg, May, 2001, www.forumfed.org/libdocs/ForRelCU01/924-FRCU0105-int-kincaid.pdf accessed on 01.05.2010.
18 Ibid, p. 185.
19 Ibid, p. 185.
20 Butler R. "Paradiplomacy," in *Studies in Diplomatic History and Historiography*, ed. by Sarkissian A., (London: Longman, 1961), pp. 12–25.
21 Ibid, p. 13.
22 See, for examples the books on secret diplomacy that appeared in the beginning of the twentieth century: Reisnch P. *Secret Diplomacy: How Far it Can Be Eliminated*, (London: G. Allen and Unwin Publisher, 1922); Eller G. *Secret Diplomacy*, (London: Swift and Co Publisher, 1912).
23 Duchacek I. "The International Dimension of Subnational Self-Government," *Publius*, vol. 14 No. 4, Autumn 1984, pp. 5–31. This volume was dedicated to the problem of international relations in federated states and as I will show in one the next chapter the set of articles from this Publius issue played a crucial role in developing of paradiplomacy scholarship as a new direction in the contemporary political science.
24 Ibid, p. 5, p. 13.
25 Duchacek I. *The Territorial Dimension of the Politics: Within, Among and Across Nations*, (Boulder: Westview Press 1986), pp. 240–248.
26 See, Duchacek I. "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 1–33; Duchacek I. "Multicommunal and Bicommunal Polities and Their International Relations," in *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments*, ed. by Duchacek I., Latouche D. and Stevenson G., (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 3–28.
27 Duchacek I. "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 32.
28 See, Soldatos P. "An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign-policy Actors," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of*

Subnational Units, ed. by Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 34–53.

29 See, Kincaid J. "Constituent Diplomacy: U.S. State Roles in Foreign Affairs." Paper presented at World Congress of IPSA, Paris, July 15–20, 1985; Kincaid J. "Constituent Diplomacy in Federal Polities and the Nation-State: Conflict and Co-Operation," in *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, ed. by Michelmann H.and Soldatos P., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 54–75.

30 Kincaid J. "Roles of Constituent Governments," Conference presentation, Forum of Federations, Winnipeg, May, 2001, www.forumfed.org/libdocs/ForRelCU01/924-FRCU0105-int-kincaid.pdf accessed on 05.01.2010.

31 Hocking B. "Introduction," in *Foreign relations and Federal State*, ed. by Hocking B., (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 2.

32 Ibid, p. 2.

33 Hocking B. "Bridging Boundaries: Creating Linkages. Non-Central Governments and Multilayered Policy Environments," *Welt Trends*, No. 1, 1995, p. 39.

34 Jeffery C. *Recasting German Federalism: The Legacies of Unification*, (London, New York: Pinter Publishers, 1999), pp. 237–238.

35 Hocking B. "Introduction," in *Foreign relations and Federal State*, ed. by Hocking B., (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 3.

36 Jeffery C. *Recasting German Federalism: The Legacies of Unification*, (London, New York: Pinter Publishers, 1999), pp. 237–238.

37 Duchacek I. *The Territorial Dimension of the Politics: Within, Among and Across Nations*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), p. 248.

3 Paradiplomacy studies as a field of scholarly inquiry

The study of paradiplomacy lies in the circle of research interests of the experts from many different fields, but it lies primarily within the domain of political science and international relations specialists, though there is no doubt that paradiplomacy scholarship is also closely linked to economics, law, geography, geopolitics and etc.[1] The high attention dedicated to paradiplomacy from a variety of experts with diverse research backgrounds has two dissonant influences on paradiplomacy studies. On the one hand, for the last few decades the representatives of these disciplines have written extensively on the growth of the role of subnational authorities in the international arena, and thanks to that the contemporary academic discourse on paradiplomacy was somehow shaped. On the other hand, the fact that researchers on paradiplomacy even within political science and IR belong to different academic backgrounds has rendered the interpretation of this phenomenon extremely multidimensional and often even ambivalent. For the sake of the feasibility and manageability of this research project, in this work the focus is not on the entire spectrum of the paradiplomacy scholarship, but mainly on political science and IR scholars' perspectives on the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. Hence, this chapter of the book is an attempt to understand paradiplomacy studies as a field of scholarly inquiry within contemporary political science. The main goal of the chapter, first of all, is to examine the origins, the stages of formation and the intellectual trends in paradiplomacy studies from the moment of its initiation in the early 1970s until now. The second goal of the chapter is to provide critical observations on the institutionalization of paradiplomacy studies as a new subdiscipline and to look at its perspectives in the frames of modern political science.

The 1970s: the circumstances of the inception of paradiplomacy studies

The initial serious surveys on the role of subnational governments in external affairs appeared in the beginning of the 1970s and were mostly concentrated in North American academia.[2] A few objective reasons why this issue started to attract considerable scientific attention can be identified. First of all, in the beginning of the 1970s, a key shift occurred in the theory of international relations.

Many IR researchers began to pay more attention to the complication of the perception of world politics. Global affairs became observed not only as a state-centric system, but as an environment where a significant role is played by transnational relations. The latter was defined by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye as "contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments."[3] There is no doubt that transnational organizations like huge international corporations, churches and other types of non-central government institutes were involved in international affairs in the past, however, as Samuel Huntington asserted, it was only during the twenty-five years after WWII (i.e., from 1945 until the 1970s) that the transnational actors:

> (a) proliferated in number far beyond anything remotely existing in the past; (b) individually grew in size far beyond anything existing in the past; (c) performed functions which they never performed in the past; and (d) operated on a truly global scale such as was never possible in the past.[4]

All these increases in numbers, sizes, scopes and varieties were the result of transnational revolution in world politics, according to Huntington.[5] Although the subnational governments as new transnational actors and their external activities were not the priority in political science at that time, the interest to constituent diplomacy was certainly laid within the general mainstream trend to study "newcomers" in the international arena.

Another global tendency that was noted by political scientists in the 1970s and had a direct influence on the development of paradiplomacy studies is the emergence of an overlap between the issues of "domestic policy" and "foreign policy," the phenomenon that was labeled in the literature as "intermestic affairs."[6] The key idea of this concept is that the countries in the modern world face simultaneously the "domestification" of their foreign affairs and "internalization" of their internal politics. For example, such issues that were often considered as part of the "low" politics sphere in the jurisdiction of the regional and local authorities, such as fishing quotas, environmental standards or education, became part of both domestic politics and international relations agendas. In other words, besides the central problem of "war and peace" in international affairs, "low" politics issues acquired vital significance, and this transformation in the global political agenda gave another considerable push to the subnational governments to become players in international relations.

If the first two reasons of academic interest to paradiplomacy in the 1970s – the rise of transnational relations and the amalgamation of domestic politics and international affairs – have a universal character, the third cause can be explained by those changes that took place in the internal affairs in particular countries. Thus, in Canada, in the 1960s, the interest of provincial involvement in international relations was stimulated by the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, where the new Liberal government under Jean Lesage came to power. The initiatives of the Lesage government were in many ways revolutionary for the development of

Quebec.[7] The francophone province insisted on its full right to conclude international agreements in such fields of exclusive provincial jurisdiction as education. During that period, Jean Lesage actively promoted Quebec abroad, especially in France. The provincial missions in the 1960s were opened in many world political and economic centers including Paris, London, Milan, Frankfurt, Chicago, Brussels and Los Angeles.[8] The Quiet Revolution also empowered Quebec nationalistic aspirations which obviously also had a strong impact on the paradiplomacy development of this Canadian province.

In the case of the United States, the fundamental role in developing constituent diplomacy, and thereafter the scientific interest in this phenomenon, was heated up by the national policy of "new federalism" that was launched by the administration of President Richard Nixon in the early 1970s. The main political philosophy of the new doctrine was the rearrangement of governmental functions between state and federal authorities and the de-facto decentralization in many spheres.[9] Paradiplomacy attracted the attention of political scientists in the context of those reformations that were under the new federalism policy.

The review of the first works on paradiplomacy reveals the existence of some research limitations and weaknesses in the academic literature of that period. Here, first of all, it is necessary to mention that all early surveys on paradiplomacy are predominantly based on the case study approach and the range of chosen cases is quite narrow. For example, for the whole decade of the 1970s we can only find works on the external activities of Canadian provinces, US and Australian states, but not a single research study on any European region, and a fortiori there are not any studies on paradiplomacy in third world countries. This situation can be explained by the above-mentioned political changes that took place in Canadian and US domestic affairs at that period of time. The dominance of the case study approach in many ways ordained the main feature of the scholarship on paradiplomacy of that period – the interpretations of subnational activities in international relations were done quite narrowly, without strong theorization and conceptualization of this phenomenon. Despite the fact that there were vulnerabilities in the first works on constituent diplomacy as mentioned above, it seems that these case studies played a crucial role in the creation of some critical mass of scholarly interest to do research on why and how subnational governments go abroad.

The 1980s: the theoretical offspring of paradiplomacy studies

The new strong shift in the quality of the scholarship on external activities of subnational governments happened in the 1980s, when the scholarly ratio between descriptive approaches (predominantly case studies) and theoretical insights struck a new balance in paradiplomacy research. Two important events that took place in scholarly inquiry help to define the moment of transition at that period of time.

The first key event is when the fourth volume of the North American academic journal on federalism *Publius* was published in the fall of 1984. This

volume collected seven articles which were all addressing the special theme of the journal issue – *Federated states and International Relations*. The crucial significance of this volume of *Publius* can not be exaggerated. First of all, it was the most successful attempt by a group of prominent scholars to develop some theory pattern in order to understand subnational governments' external activities. Here we especially need to mention the contribution of Ivo Duchacek with his article *The International Dimension of Subnational Self-Government*, where, on the basis of the analysis of international activities of the Canadian provinces, American states and German landers, the author advanced a few very important theoretical contributions in this field.[10] Thus, Duchacek was the first researcher who proposed a typology of the involvement of regional governments in international affairs by categorizing all their activities into global micro-diplomacy and transborder regionalism. He also identified the reasons for subnational presence on the international scene, as well as the possible impact of paradiplomacy on national foreign policy. Moreover, in this article, Duchacek, coined the special term "paradiplomacy" for general reference to this phenomenon. The second important note on the impact of the fall 1984 volume of *Publius* is that it enlarged the narrative base of paradiplomacy studies by including in the orbit of academic research new cases from Europe and Latin America. In this regard, besides Ivo Duchacek who paid attention in his work to constituent diplomacy in European countries, it is crucial to mention the contribution of Niles Hansen who was the first to look at the regional transborder cooperation of the French and Mexican subnational entities.[11]

The second key event for establishing paradiplomacy studies as a new and prospective direction of research was the conference entitled *The Provinces and Canadian Foreign Policy*. The conference was organized by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and took place at the University of Alberta in March 1985.[12] Several reasons can explain the high significance of this event. First of all, it is necessary to note that this conference became the first scholarly and practitioners meeting dedicated to the problem of paradiplomacy. The conference gathered together not only the most advanced academics but also the representatives of Canadian regional authorities responsible for provincial external activities. For example, among the conference presenters were officials from Alberta, Newfoundland, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec who formulated their provincial interests in foreign affairs.[13] Consequently, we can asseverate that during this conference, the value of paradiplomacy and all issues related to this phenomenon were recognized by both academics and practitioners. This circumstance obviously puts paradiplomacy as an object of scholarly endeavor on a new level. Secondly, as it was in the case with *Publius*, we can mention that although the main focus of the researchers was concentrated on constituent diplomacy in Canada and the US, this conference demonstrated the shaping of solid interest in paradiplomacy research using a comparative perspective. For instance, in this regard we can point out the presentation of the Canadian researcher Hans Michelmann who compared the competencies of regional authorities in international relations in the federal systems of Germany and Canada.[14]

Later in the end of the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s, the researchers who contributed both to *Publius* and to the conference at the University of Alberta together with new fellows strengthened the domain of paradiplomacy studies by publishing a number of monographs and fundamental collective writings that became classical and highly cited works on paradiplomacy. For example, in *Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of a New Actors in International Relations*, Ivo Duchacek presented a new typology of paradiplomacy (transborder paradiplomacy, transregional paradiplomacy, global paradiplomacy and protodiplomacy).[15] Also Duchacek portrayed in this work the illustrative diagram of the international links of subnational governments based on David Easton's simplified model of the political system.[16] Another pathbreaking theoretical essay on paradiplomacy, *An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign Policy Actors* was written by Panayotis Soldatos who defined the determinants of paradiplomacy and conceptualize those variables that have an impact on the segmentation of the "actorness" in the field of international relations.[17]

Hereby, a glance inside the literature on paradiplomacy of that period shows that among those "pioneers" who deeply explored the phenomenon of subnational governments' performance in the international arena and whose writing stood out in academic discourse were Ivo Duchacek,[18] John Kincaid,[19] Panayotis Soldatos,[20] Hans Michelmann,[21] Earl Fry[22] and some others. Strictly speaking, the theoretical frameworks which were presented in the works of these researchers almost three decades ago received only some minor updates and are widely used in contemporary studies on paradiplomacy today.

The 1990s: the global expansion of paradiplomacy studies

In the 1990s the interest to conduct research on subnational governments in international relations got a new impetus for its further progress. From the 1970s and until the beginning of the 1990s, the paradiplomacy scholarship has been the outcome of research productivity almost exclusively by the representatives of North American academia. Even the works which were published on paradiplomacy activities of European or Latin American regional governments in the 1980s were predominantly written by Canadian and American scholars and not by local researchers from those areas. For two decades, the research on regional governments' activities in international relations was mainly the prerogative of North American academics only, and paradiplomacy did not receive any serious attention from researchers outside of Canada and the USA. The change in this regard happened in the 1990s when a number of new points of growth in this research field appeared around the world and first of all in Europe.

The reasons for the extension of the geography of academic attention towards paradiplomacy can be easily explained by those significant changes that took place in global politics and had a great impact on the majority of nations in the world. Besides the already mentioned blossom of globalization and regionalization processes that accelerated paradiplomacy, there were some other fundamental events

that hugely contributed to spreading paradiplomacy activities in different parts of the world. Thus, for instance, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 not only specified the motion of unification between Western and Eastern Germany, but opened new perspectives for the future of the whole of Europe that were not possible during the period of the Iron Curtain. In 1992 the Maastricht treaty marked a new era in European history with the declaration of the creation of the European Union. The unification on the supranational level and the intensification of the EU institutes had a strong influence on the formation of the new politics of regionalism at the pan-European level. After the Maastricht treaty, and especially with the establishment of Committee of the Regions (CoR) as a body within the EU's institutional framework in 1994, subnational governments obtained those opportunities for promoting themselves in the international arena that they did not have ever before.

The concept of the "Europe of the Regions" became dominant in the European discourse at that time and brought more recognition to the idea of high diversity in Europe on the subnational level.[23] The subnational entities of European countries, with their own distinguishing cultural heritage and their own languages such as Flanders in Belgium, Catalonia and Basque Country in Spain as well as all other regions with special political, cultural, economic and linguistic aspirations, received assistance from the EU in their desire for conventional performance as international actors. Among some of the concrete EU initiatives in this sphere, we can mention the INTEREG program that was partly led by the idea to stimulate and assist economically and strategically the cross-border cooperation between different subnational governments. The program was originally launched in 1989 for a four year period, and it was prolonged a few times after the first period ended and it has continued to successfully function until the present moment.[24]

Before the 1990s the European subnational governments already had some experience of internationalizing their activities across state borders and this is evident especially in the light of such projects as "Four Motors for Europe," for example.[25] However, it was only in the 1990s that paradiplomacy in Europe gained a new impetus for its development not only from the bottom (subnational level) but also from the top (supranational level). The problem of the involvement of regional authorities in international affairs acquired much weight in this period; hence it is not accidental that in the mid-1990s the very notable scholarly intervention in the field of paradiplomacy studies took place in Europe. Thus, in September 1997 the University of the Basque Country in Bilbao (Spain) hosted and financially supported a seminar on the comparison of the paradiplomacy experience of the regional authorities in different parts of the world. On the basis of the discussion that took place during this event, the international research project was launched. The research project output became the publication of the special issue of *Regional and Federal Studies* journal in spring 1999 that collected eleven papers on subnational governments' international activities authored predominantly by European scholars.[26] Four essays from the set of eleven are theoretical ones and it would be only fair to unerringly pay some extra attention to them.

Michael Keating tries to generalize in his essay the reasons that push regional governments to go abroad, to classify the possible strategies for subnational entities to do that and list those limitations of paradiplomacy that objectively exist in the contemporary global order.[27] Brian Hocking scrutinizes the nature of international "actorness" of non-central governments at the conjuncture of globalization, and he observes the aims and motives of "newcomers" in the international arena and defines the extents and directions of involvement of regional and local authorities in international relations.[28] Noe Cornago explores the international security dimension of paradiplomacy and studies constituent diplomacy as a potential mechanism for the management of ethnopolitical problems in divided societies.[29] Inaki Aguirre makes an intertextual inquiry about the concept of paradiplomacy by analyzing academic discourse in that field and tries in a semiological way to define what the concept of paradiplomacy means as such.[30]

The same year after the first publication in *Regional and Federal Studies*, the collection of the workshop papers was published by Routledge in the form of a book entitled *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments* edited by Francisco Aldecoa and Michael Keating.[31] No doubt this volume can be considered as another key element in shaping the paradiplomacy scholarship along with the above-mentioned special issue of *Publius* on federated states and international relations in 1984 and the conference on provinces in Canadian Foreign policy at the University of Alberta in 1985.

Paradiplomacy in Action included some novelties that definitely distinguish this collective work from the existing literature that was cultivated in North American academic soil in the 1980s. The contributors of this book, the core of whom are researchers from the University of the Basque Country and other European universities, look at paradiplomacy in other dimensions than Ivo Duchacek and his fellows did in the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s. For the majority of the "Bilbao project" scholars, the active involvement of regions in international relations naturally correlates more with the problems of regionalization and subnational nationalism. Those problems are the high-priority issues for many European countries' political agenda, and this is especially true for Spain and Belgium, while for North Americans, though there is the case of Quebec, the phenomenon of paradiplomacy unsurprisingly is more articulated in the context of federalism and intergovernmental relations between federal and subnational authorities.

Another new important geographical point on the "map of paradiplomacy studies" appeared in the 1990s in the post-Soviet space, particularly in Russia. Perestroika, glasnost and the subsequent flourishing of the strong nationalist movements across the USSR especially in the Baltic and the South Caucasus republics eventually determined the collapse of the world's largest country in 1991. Right after the fall of the Soviet Union and during most the 1990s there was a point of view among some political scientists that the Russian Federation, as a new state, would not survive for long and, as it happened with the USSR, Russia might break into a number of new sovereign nations or at least would be regularly faced with the threat of succession crisis.[32] The main argument in the

hands of those who considered the breakup of Russia as a quite possible perspective was that the different sub-state nationalist and regionalist projects in different parts of the Russian Federation was speedily flourishing. In such a historical context, it is natural that in the 1990s we can observe a plethora of research on the development of Russian regions including a number of case studies on the international activities of Russian subnational governments. The result of this scholarly interest was the international academic project *Regionalization of the Russian Foreign and Security Policy* which was organized by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research in Zurich, Switzerland. From 2000 to 2002, within this project that gathered a number of Russian and European political scientists, a total of twenty four working papers were published with a focus on Russian subnational governments' involvement in international affairs.[33]

We can therefore conclude that the decade of the 1990s has a strong impact on the development of the paradiplomacy scholarship triggered by the end of the Cold War and the acceleration of the integration processes in Europe. The decentralization of power in Russia and the newly established European Union institutional mechanisms in many ways encouraged the regional governments across Europe and Eurasia to develop cross-border cooperation projects and organize regional networks. The paradiplomacy scholarship that was previously mostly concentrated in North American academia in the 1990s was extended to new academic "markets."

The 2000s: the international networking on paradiplomacy studies

In the 2000s the scholarly interest in paradiplomacy geographically spread worldwide and the field gained its new academic stalwarts among researchers from Latin America and Asia.[34] New cases received scholarly attention; moreover, some cases that began to appear in academic discourse could be recognized as revolutionary ones. It is especially interesting to mention the publication by Jain Rurnedra in 2005 of the monograph Japan's Subnational Governments in International Affairs.[35] The innovatory component of this work consists not only in the fact that it is the first comprehensive research on constituent diplomacy in Japan, but, more importantly, that Rundera's research breaks away from the rather strong prepossession in the literature of the previous decades that the phenomenon of paradiplomacy is an attribute of federal or quasi-federal states, like Canada or Spain, but not common for unitary nations like Japan.

Another strong challenge to the traditional perception of paradiplomacy took place in the 2000s when Chinese provinces began to be studied as actors in international affairs.[36] The important point is that, since the development of the theory of paradiplomacy in the 1980s, there was a strong consensus among researchers on federalism that the democratic system is some kind of key precondition for the existence of constituent diplomacy. Federalism was labeled as

a territorial twin of pluralistic democracy because as it was rightly pointed out by some scholars, without real democratic power sharing there cannot be real federalism and the case of the USSR was an illustrative case in point to this statement.[37] Hence, according to this logic, it was considered that paradiplomacy would not exist in non-democratic societies. The emersion of case studies of the Chinese provinces on paradiplomacy transformed this traditional way of thinking and gave us a good incentive to suppose that in the contemporary global conditions, constituent diplomacy exists even in non-free political systems but probably functions by other rules than in plural democracies.

Speaking on the correlation between paradiplomacy, democracy and federalism, it is quite interesting to also mention the case of Russia, where, for the last two decades, we can examine the opposite tendencies in political development: democratization and decentralization in the 1990s under the presidency of Boris Yeltsin and authoritarianism and, in contrast, centralization in the 2000s under the leadership of Vladimir Putin. This political shift changed Russian regions' performance in international affairs, and this was also vividly reflected in the academic discourse – if in the 1990s and in the beginning of the 2000s, there was a large amount of works on Russian paradiplomacy, since the mid-2000s we can find just a few researches on external subnational activities, which, in addition in their overwhelming majority, are dedicated to what had taken place in the 1990s rather than what is going on today.[38] This circumstance is obviously important not only for the understanding of the dynamics of development of the discourse on paradiplomacy, but also for the theoretical analysis of paradiplomacy later in this book.

The 2000s brought a number of new names in the field of paradiplomacy studies. Among the most notable representatives of the new generation of political scientists are, for example, Andre Lecours who published a number of comparative studies on paradiplomacy through the lens of nationalism, with a special focus on Quebec and the Basque Country; David Criekemans with thoughtful research on Flanders paradiplomacy; Christopher Kukucha with an attempt to evaluate the impact of the international activities of the Canadian provinces on the national government foreign trade.[39] The researchers who established their names in paradiplomacy studies in previous decades also continue to precede new works on subnational involvement in international affairs. Here it is necessary to mention first of all the academic activities of three famous North American scholars Hans Michelmann, John Kincaid and Earl Fry, who within the framework of international network organization "Forum of Federations" based in Ottawa published extensively on paradiplomacy issues throughout the 2000s.[40] Above all, the new dimensions in the research of subnational activities in foreign affairs gained high popularity –for example, a number of serious works were published on the problem of the regional impact on the development of international environmental regimes.[41]

However, the most important feature of paradiplomacy studies in the 2000s that notably distinguishes it from the scholarship done in the previous decades in the field consists in the appearance of new methodological tendencies. The

inquiries on the regional involvement of regional governments in international affairs traditionally were based on the implementation by scholars of qualitative research tools, of which the case study technique was most used. The recent increase in the popularity of the quantitative methods in social science inquiries led to the publication of some papers with elements of quantitative analysis of regional diplomacy.[42] Although those works do not occupy the dominant positions in the academic discourses on paradiplomacy and, as it was demonstrated in Chapter 1, the quantitative approach to paradiplomacy may have significant limitations, it seems that in the future with the development of adequate data sets on constituent diplomacy, those quantitative researches have a potential to contribute a lot in the comprehension of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy.

Concluding remarks on the development and perspectives of paradiplomacy as a field of scholarly research

The analysis of the development of paradiplomacy studies from the moment of its inception till today allows us to mark out four stages in its evolution which can be briefly presented as follows.

The 1970s was the period of genesis of paradiplomacy studies, when political scientists began to seriously consider regional governments as new actors in international affairs. This turn happened in the context of the "great transnational revolution" in international relations theory, as well as under the impact of the "Quiet revolution" and "New federalism" – those changes in domestic politics that took place in Canada and USA, respectively, at that time. The researches on paradiplomacy that were conducted in the 1970s predominantly based on case study analysis of the involvement of Canadian provinces and US states in international affairs were mainly lacking efforts to evaluate those processes through the construction of explanatory theoretical frameworks.

The real progress in the quality of paradiplomacy studies came to light during the 1980s, when a group of North American political scientists including Ivo Duchacek, Hans Michelmann, John Kincaid, Panayotis Soldatos and others, besides providing a narrative of regional international activity, also attempted to conceptualize the phenomenon of paradiplomacy and tried to create some explanatory theoretical patterns in order to understand the causes and consequences of constituent diplomacy for federal systems. Those theoretical elaborations are still used today, with minor updates in paradiplomacy scholarship. Although the focus of the majority of academics in the 1980s was still grounded on the examination of the US and Canadian subnational diplomacy, new cases on paradiplomacy of the European and Latin American regional authorities started to appear in the academic literature at that time. Overall we can say that during the 1980s an important step was taken towards the formation of paradiplomacy studies as a self-sustained branch of research in contemporary political science.

In the 1990s, the global changes in world politics, like the fall of the Iron Curtain and the high-speed strengthening of the European Union as a new supranational regime, drastically increased the role of subnational entities in many

parts of the globe, particularly in Europe and in new post-communist federations like Russia. The activities in the international arena of the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, Flandreau and Wallonia in Belgium, Tatarstan in Russia and other regions attracted a lot of attention from the side of the European researchers, and, as a result, paradiplomacy studies expanded outside North American academia. As we have already mentioned above, the approach of the European scholars in examining constituent diplomacy differs from the research handling of their Canadian and American colleagues. The Europeans look at the performance of regional diplomacy through the pan-European development perspective rather than in the context of its functioning only in some particular European nation. Theoretically speaking, in Europe, paradiplomacy is observed more as an issue of the regionalization process that takes place in the whole European space rather than as a problem of federalization or intergovernmental relations as it is commonly inherent for those who study paradiplomacy in the USA or Canada.

The most recent stage of the development of paradiplomacy scholarship that occurred in the 2000s can be defined as a period when the study of subnational authorities' activities in the international arena is decisively crystallized in a sustainable subdiscipline in contemporary political science. The networks of researchers on paradiplomacy from around the world came to proliferate widely and internationally collaborate in many ways, for instance, via organizing panels on the problems of constituent diplomacy during the annual academic meetings, for example, the annual meeting of the International Science Association (ISA). Furthermore, the students of paradiplomacy actively arrange their own specialized conferences and workshops dedicated to the phenomenon of subnational diplomacy.[43] However, the main product of academic networking and collaboration in the 2000s remains the publication of the collective works on the involvement of subnational governments in international affairs. The most recent major books on that issue are: *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries* (edited by Hans Michelmann and published by "Forum of Federations" in 2009) and *Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today* (edited by David Criekemans and published by Martinus Nijhoff in 2010).[44] Here, it is important to emphasize that these works reflect succession and continuity in the work of different generations of paradiplomacy scholars. Thus, for example, the first above-mentioned volume contains articles written by Hans Michelmann, John Kincaid and Earl Fry, those who have been already labeled in this paper as researchers who were the first to study constituent diplomacy in the 1980s, Noe Cornago, Francisco Aldecoa and Andre Lecours as those who come in this field in the 1990s and in the 2000s.

On the other hand, paradiplomacy studies today is not a monolithic construction with a particular dominant paradigm and methodology that give the full answer on how to conduct a smooth and comprehensive research on the external activities of subnational entities. Quite the opposite, there are still contradictions on the key theoretical questions that during the 2000s became even more urgent than ever before, like, for instance, the dilemma of whether or not to include the international activities of regions in the non-free political systems as China or Russia in the set of paradiplomacy cases. How to label the involvement of

subnational governments in international affairs also does not seem to garner consensus among researchers – some reject the term "paradiplomacy," while others who accept "paradiplomacy" include in this term their own misleading meanings.[45] Moreover, there is no disciplinary journal on paradiplomacy studies – unfortunately, there are just occasional papers, manuscripts, chapters and articles; there are international networks of researchers on constituent diplomacy, but there are no special university programs to produce specialists on paradiplomacy studies and no academic centers completely oriented to the study of the impact of subnational governments' involvement in international affairs. If someone would like to do an attempt to define some coherent schools of thought in paradiplomacy scholarship, I suppose it will be a difficult task. Although we can distinguish scholars with similar views on subnational involvement in international affairs, can we label them as representatives of one school of thought if they are not strongly connected by the same metaparadigms in understanding paradiplomacy?

All these challenges to paradiplomacy studies are natural for the formative stages of any social science discipline and cannot be rapidly circumvented. Additionally, these problems are most likely necessary components that move academic discourse and scholarly inquiry on paradiplomacy further in its development. And one of the main goals of this book is precisely to put forth some new effort in the vital task of filling the theoretical gap on paradiplomacy by systematizing and analyzing the existent and available knowledge produced over the last four decades on the essence of paradiplomacy.

Notes

1 Undoubtedly all listed sciences overlap each other in may ways, thus many consider international relations as a subfield of political science rather than independent discipline; one can say geopolitics is just the derivative from political science and geography, etc.

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44 *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries*, ed. by Michelmann H. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009) and *Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today*, ed. by Criekemans D. (Leiden: Martins Nijhoff Publishers, 2010).

45 Among those who is strongly against the term "paradiplomacy" is John Kincaid who coined and actively promotes the concept "constituent diplomacy." The issue of the terminological dispute was traced in Chapter 2.

4 The eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse

This chapter's main purpose is to study each facet of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. The crucial final output of this chapter consists in presenting a multidimensional perspective on subnational governments' involvement in international affairs. The comprehensive understanding of all facets of this phenomenon provides the theoretical grounds for constructing an integrative explanatory framework of paradiplomacy in the fifth chapter of this book.

The analysis of the existing academic discourse on paradiplomacy shows that it is possible to distinguish at least eleven scholarly angles/dimensions of understanding external activities of regional governments. The list of these dimensions can be presented as follows:

1 *Constitutional dimension.* The researches of this type are mostly oriented toward studying paradiplomacy from the position of legal expertise. The scholars study national constitutions and other legal acts in order to identify those competences that de-jure possess regional authorities in foreign affairs.[1]
2 *Federalist dimension/Intergovernmental relations dimension.* The scholars from this group are those, who, first of all, try to understand regional activities in the international arena as a significant variable for the development of the federal system and intergovernmental relations, and vice versa they also consider the evolution of federalist arrangements as an explanatory variable for paradiplomatic activities.[2]
3 *Nationalism dimension*. The group of researchers who work through this dimension perceive constituent diplomacy mostly as an important factor to understand nationalist aspirations on the regional level in multinational and multilingual countries.[3]
4 *International Relations (IR) dimension.* This dimension presents the works of social scientists who look at paradiplomacy from a broad perspective of the great change that took place in international relations in the recent decades, when subnational governments and other newcomers like NGOs and MNCs disrupted the monopoly of national governments as the only decision-makers in the international arena.[4]
5 *Border studies dimension*. In this type of research, scholars study paradiplomacy in order to understand the general picture of those political, economic

and social transformations that challenge concrete geographical border regions of their case studies.[5]

6 *Globalization dimension.* In this category we can include works where paradiplomacy is analyzed as an illustrative manifestation of the two global forces – regionalization and globalization.[6]

7 *Security/geopolitical dimension.* In this dimension scholars pay primary attention to security and the geopolitical consequences of regional governments' involvement in international affairs.[7]

8 *Global economy dimension.* To this dimension belong those researchers who study paradiplomacy within a broad scholarship on the development of contemporary global economics and world trade.[8]

9 *Environmental dimension*. Environmental studies are among the most popular fields in modern political science. It is therefore not surprising that paradiplomacy scholarship also has its ecological perspective. The research focus here is mostly concentrated on subnational governments' impact on international environmental regimes and standards.[9]

10 *Diplomacy dimension.* Here, the scholarly focus concentrates on the issue of how new subnational diplomacy may affect the domain of the classical central state diplomacy and what the consequences of the decentralization of diplomacy are.[10]

11 *Separatist dimension.* The problem of so-called non-recognized states that was especially actualized after the collapse of the communist federations (Yugoslavia and USSR), brought to paradiplomacy studies a new important separatist dimension. The struggle for statehood and search of international recognition by subnational governments (de-facto states) like Kosovo, Abkhazia or South Ossetia fueled further research on the opportunities and limits of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy.[11]

The given typology offers some "ideal" facets of the paradiplomacy discourse and, as a matter of fact, mostly all academic works on regional governments' involvement in international relations consist of a number of dimensions rather than of just one. The classification based on the construction of "pure samples" allows a better systematization and utilization of the existing knowledge on paradiplomacy. Also, it is necessary to note that different dimensions of paradiplomacy receive different levels of attention in terms of coverage and discussion in the literature. This circumstance is partly reflected within the content of the chapter – some dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse are described more in details, some less. However, overall the chapter provides enough analysis to understand various facets of the phenomenon and for the development of a set of answers to the questions of the explanatory framework that will be proposed in Chapter 5.

The constitutional dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

A constitution is one of the most crucial elements of any democratic state. A constitution defines the principal features of the national political system design

such as: the structure of a state, the system of distribution of power in a state, the rights and obligations of citizens and etc. The researches on constitutional arrangements of different countries in a comparative perspective or single case studies were the immanent part of the political science scholarship since the appearance of the first constitutional acts and this manner of scholarly cognition continue to play a noticeable role in political science until today. The constitutional dimension, i.e, the outlook on paradiplomacy from the positions of legal expertise is definitely one of the most extensively implemented approaches in the study of this phenomenon. The scholars study national constitutions and other legal acts in order to identify those competences that de-jure belong to regional authorities in the field of foreign affairs as well as the mechanisms of intergovernmental interactions between central and subnational governments in all matters related to international treaty-making.

The legal aspect of the regional involvement into international affairs in different degree is taken under consideration by the majority of researchers who work on constituent diplomacy issues. One of the most illustrative examples of the inquiry on paradiplomacy through the legislative perspective is the book by John Trone, entitled *Federal Constitutions and International Relations*.[12] Trone makes an attempt to provide a broad comparative study on the interaction between the national constitutions and the international affairs of a number of federal countries: Australia, Germany, Canada, USA, Belgium and some other. The participation of subnational governments in external relations is discussed in two aspects by the author: first, what level of legal permission of treaty-making with foreign actors is granted by the national constitutions to regional authorities. Second, he investigates the constitutional requirements for consultations with subnational governments on foreign affairs issues, in cases when those issues have a special impact upon a particular constituent unit, or when the solution to the problem related to international relations sphere totally or partially lies within the regional legislative competence. The book is full of references to articles in constitutional acts that are related to the division of power between central and regional authorities in international relations and on secondary sources that interpret those articles and acts.

The outlook on the problem of regional diplomacy through constitutional lenses obviously seems very important because the inquiry on the paradiplomatic activities of the Canadian provinces, German landers, or any other constituent unit cannot be comprehensive if we do not analyze the competences of both national and subnational governments in international affairs, stipulated by the constitution and other legislative acts. In addition, the main advantage of doing research on paradiplomacy in the legal dimension is stimulated by a feasibility factor. Indeed, the study of paradiplomacy in the legal scope assumes mainly the examination of usually free access textual data, such as national constitutions, provincial codes, intergovernmental treaties, court decisions and other statutes, but not those sources of evidences such as field observations or interviews that very often demand much more energy consumption (and higher cost) from the side of a researcher. At the same time, Trone's research also shows the crucial

vulnerability of the paradiplomacy scholarship oriented towards the examination of the legal facets of regional performance in the international arena, because it provides a clear perception of what the de-jury frames of paradiplomacy are, but not always how it de-facto functions. This contradiction is rooted in the general nature of laws as such. A constitution is the most important document for statehood, but it often provides only some ideal perceptions of state design, shows those cynosure that the society and government must follow for sustainable development – the shortest written constitution in the world, the US constitution ratified in 1788, is a very illustrative example of this statement.

It is possible to define two major side effects that are necessary to think about when we try to understand the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in its legal/constitutional facet. Firstly, we must recognize the fact that, in many ways, national constitutions reflect the traditions, values and paradigms considered as eternal and most appropriate by leading elites and the majority of citizens at the particular historical time and at the particular place where they were composed. Therefore national constitutional codes are the sets of postulates based on traditions and perceptions of an ideal state that "cement" and drive the construction of statehood but also constitutional arrangements can make state development less sensible for quick legislative response in the face of all those new global and domestic challenges that create new realities. For instance, the traditional paradigm of state sovereignty in the post-Westphalian epoch considered states as the only real actors in international relations and this idea was permanently reflected in the content of national constitutions. Moreover, the intellectual debate on the best state model contributed by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay and others in the late 18th century put the modern concept of federalism in the US constitution as a keystone for the new nation, and later those federalists' beliefs were consciously imitated by many other countries.[13] The federalist innovations that continue to appear in national constitutions since Hamilton's intellectual intervention do not challenge the monopoly of the central government in the international scene. The federal constitutional arrangements assume the division of competences between central and subnational authorities by the principle of low core and high core politics. Thus, traditionally, the issues of international relations, security or defense are in the exclusive competence of national governments, while issues of education or ecology are within the exclusive or shared competence of regional authorities.

This division of powers has worked well and the real practice has matched constitutional arrangements for a long period of time. However, in the 1970s a serious shift took place in world politics labeled by Samuel Huntington as the "transnational revolution."[14] New actors of state and non-state nature began playing an important role in international affairs, the boundaries between domestic and international politics, as well as between high core and low core politics, were eroded. For example, the issue of education can no longer be considered as low politics, in contrast, with the emergence of the concept of "soft power" as a key tool of global governance, educational policies received first rate importance in international relations agenda.[15] Hence, we need to recognize

the fact that national constitutions as a political and ethical ground for statehood development often cannot reflect those processes that take place in reality, and, therefore the research on regional activities in international relations that are based only on the analysis of legal acts may lead us to inquire with a very limited validity.

Another potential vulnerability to rely upon legal codes as a principal source of evidence consists in the problem that can be labeled as "fake constitutionalism," when legislative norms de-facto are just a fiction and constitutional mechanisms do not determine the political process of a country. One of the most illustrative examples of this is Stalin's 1936 Soviet constitution. By reading the provisions of this statute, one can believe that the Soviet constitution is a progressive and democratic document, especially for the historical period of its creation. However, a glance at the events that took place in the USSR convinces without any doubt that those constitutional arrangements played only a decorative role or were used by the ruling elite as a mechanism for the manipulation and political maneuvering of the Soviet Union in domestic politics and in the international arena. For instance, amendments adopted in 1944 to the Soviet constitution of 1936 granted to Union republics (constituents of the Soviet federation) fabulous competences in international relations and in defense policy. Articles 18a and 18b stated that: "(a) Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them. (b) Each Union Republic has its republican military formation." In addition, articles 60e and 60f extended the power of the Supreme Soviets (constituent legislatures) of the Union republics by including within their competence the right to establish their own foreign offices as well as to organize their own military units.[16]

If we just study the regional government's activities in international relations in its legal perspective, then the analysis of the USSR constitution presents the Soviet Union as one of the most advanced countries in the world in paradiplomatic sense, but is it the correct conclusion? The analysis of the real Soviet policy towards Union republics demonstrates that the Soviet model of federal relations was based on the leading role of the Communist party, and because of that, it was highly centralized and bureaucratic. Certainly the "pro-paradiplomatic" amendments in constitution were done not in order to really increase the role of the republic of Ukraine, the republic of Belorussia or other constituent units in international affairs, but because this legal fiction could allow the implementation more broadly of Soviet federalism as a tool of Soviet foreign policy. Vernon Aspaturian, in his research on the role of the Union republics in Soviet diplomacy, assumes that there were at least six precise objectives for the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to support the above-mentioned amendments in the world historical environment of 1944:

1 To facilitate the accession of new republics to the Soviet Union without disturbing their juridical status under international law.

2 To employ the irredentism (real or contrived) of the border nationalities as a basis for territorial expansion.
3 To permit individual republics to support their independent diplomatic and territorial adventures with localized military operations without legally implicating the Soviet Union as a whole.
4 To create the impression at home and abroad that the Soviet system was on the verge of decentralization and democratization.
5 To create the basis for multiple representation in future international and multilateral diplomatic assemblies and organizations.
6 To transmute serious separatist forces released by the German occupation into useful levers of centripetalization and to simultaneously enable the multinational character of the Soviet state to be employed as an effective instrument of Soviet diplomacy.[17]

The outlook on paradiplomacy scholarship in its constitutional facet shows that although it is important to study the legal principles of paradiplomacy, it is essential to take into consideration a high probability of contradictions between constitutional norms and real performance on this matter. Special attention to the issue of incompatibility between de-jure and de-facto situations should be paid during the analysis of constitutional arrangements in those countries that are recognized as non-free or partly free.[18] The example of the Soviet constitution that provided in its provisions opportunities for union republics to perform in foreign affairs, but was in fact just an illusion of such opportunities, shows that the research on paradiplomacy in such cases cannot rely on the comprehension of the phenomenon in a constitutional perspective.

Federalist dimension of the paradiplomacy discourse

The federalist dimension occupies the most prevalent position on the scale of paradiplomacy scholarship. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the development of paradiplomacy studies began in the 1970s in the form of case study inquiries on the external activities of constituent units of federal countries such as Canada, USA and Australia; later in the 1980s, the theoretical and methodological innovations became increasingly apparent in the paradiplomacy discourse. It is therefore necessary to acknowledge, that those first practical and theoretical works on paradiplomacy were written by scholars who predominantly had an academic background in federalism studies. Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of them understands the subnational governments' diplomacy primarily as a result of the vast transformations that are taking place within federalism and intergovernmental relations. They endeavor to primarily study the impact of paradiplomacy on federalism and intergovernmental relations, rather than to study the general essence of paradiplomacy as a new political phenomenon. In this sense many surveys on paradiplomacy in the 1970s and 1980s can be called a byproduct of federalism studies, and until today this federalist facet plays a leading role in the paradiplomacy scholarship.

Amidst a large number of works on paradiplomacy in the federalist dimension, I would like to note the work *External Affairs and Canadian Federalism: the History of a Dilemma* authored by Howard Leeson and Wilfried Vanderelst,[19] *New Dimensions of Canadian Federalism* written by Gregory Mahler,[20] and two collective volumes *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units* edited by Hans Michelmann and Panayotis Soldatos[21] and *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries* edited by Hans Michelmann.[22] Getting acquainted with those works may give an approximate idea of the federalist facet of paradiplomacy in the academic discourse.

So, what is the federalist approach in the observation of paradiplomacy? What are those federal studies lenses that are used by scholars to interpret regional government's external activities? First of all, it is necessary to mention that the study of federalism by itself is a problematic scholarly field. Debates on the theoretical nature of modern federalism and its practical implementation are permanently endless in the social science discourse since the crucial publications on this topic by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison at the end of the eighteenth century. The great bulk of literature on both the theory and practice of federalism, as well as the invention of hundreds of metaphors and models of this phenomenon and broad comparative studies definitely made political scientists' position closer to the point of comprehensive understanding of the essence of federalism.[23] However, there are still some concerns which were precisely formulated by Ivo Duchacek:

> […] There is no accepted theory of federalism. Nor is there an agreement as to what federalism is exactly. The term itself is unclear and controversial. […] Federalism has now become one of those good echo words that evoke a positive response but that may mean all things to all men, like democracy, socialism, progress, constitution, justice or peace. We see the term applied to almost any successful combination of unity with diversity to almost any form of pluralism and cooperation within and among nations.[24]

Indeed, to put aside Duchacek's statement is not easy, because one can spot some vulnerable points in any existing approach. For instance, we can conduct a short critical examination of one of the working definitions of federalism formulated by Duchacek himself (who accepted the fact that his own description might not be less controversial than any other) and one of the widely-recognized definition of federalism in academia offered by William Riker. By the federal system Duchacek suggested it means:

> a constitutional division of power between one general government (that is to have authority over the entire national territory) and a series of subnational governments (that individually have their own independent authority over their own territories, whose sum total represents almost the whole national territory).[25]

Riker identified federalism through a set of three criteria:

1 *Two levels of government ruling over the same people.*
2 *Each level must have at least one area of action in which it is autonomous.*
3 *There is some guarantee of the autonomy of each government in its own sphere*.[26]

Both definitions seem quite adequate, but at the same time they are not perfect because they contain postulates that can be interpreted very broadly and dissonantly. For example, what are those guarantees of autonomy? Should constitutional norms determine federalism or maybe we should follow William Livingston, who emphasizes that the essence of federalism lies not in constitutional or institutional arrangements but in the society itself?[27] Livingston's assumption allows us to think about some informal institutes based on cultural, geographical, ethnic or any other peculiarities in societies as major determining factors that provide guarantee of autonomy for subnational governments. Definitely, Spain for instance, is the state which is constitutionally not federal, but it exercises federal principles at the same level or even more than many de-jure federations, because of those pro-federal tenets that exist in Spanish polity itself.[28]

At the end of the 1980s, in the context of doing research on paradiplomacy, Duchacek offered another approach to explain federalism. He argued that federal polity is only a state where a combination of pluralistic democracy exists with two sets of government vertical division. An insistence on democracy as a precondition was made for the sake of excluding from the list of federations countries with non-free political regimes, which according to Ivo Duchacek by their nature are oriented only at keeping their monolithic power and hence de-facto can be only pseudofederations.[29] We can note that this understanding of federalism was shared by many leading researchers who study paradiplomacy in the federalist dimension.[30] Undoubtedly, the argument that federalism is a territorial twin of democracy is assumed to be really well-founded. The previously-mentioned example of the Soviet Union as a fake federation is good probative evidence of Duchacek's statement. However, this approach also has vulnerable points and research limitations which have become increasingly evident recently. For example, Russia, under the presidency of Vladimir Putin, was downgraded by many experts as a "not free" country.[31] Does it mean that automatically we can put the quality of Russian federalism at the same level with Soviet federalism? Does it mean that there is no place for paradiplomacy in Russia because by default there is a problem with plurality? Certainly, the answers to these questions are not simple and demonstrate the vulnerability of the mirror identification of federalism with democracy.

Therefore, we can observe a variety of approaches to federalism with highlights on the political, constitutional, cultural, philosophical and other aspects of the phenomenon. The interpretation of federalism can be varying and controversial. One of the potential ways to circumvent this hermeneutic problem of the

concept of federalism has been proposed in recent academic literature. The possible solution is not to stick to the idea of formulating the perfect definition but to try to find the essence of federalism by examining the answers to a set of specific dilemma questions related to this phenomenon. For example, some authors mark out the following questions as crucial ones:

> […] whether a state, to be deemed federal, must be explicitly identified as such in its constitution? Are all self-proclaimed federations, including democratic ones, necessarily federations in substance? Must the national government in a federation take a particular form – must it have, for instance, an upper legislative chamber with "meaningful" authority and explicit regional representation? What role does the word "sovereignty" play in a definition of federalism vis-à-vis a federation's constituent parts, its federal subjects? Is there anything necessarily hierarchical in a federation's intergovernmental relations, or is its structure best described as a matrix with no ranking applicable to its cells? Is there anything mystical about the number two, or can we imagine federations with three or even four or more autonomous levels of governmental structure? Are we necessarily limited to a geographically defined conceptualization of federal subjects – why not subjects defined in terms of occupation, ethnicity, or the language one uses in the home?[32]

This technique is an appropriate alternative in an endeavor to explore an adequate definition of federalism. However, for the purposes of this research project, we do not need to do a serious quest for what federalism means, but what is important in the context of this book is to indicate those primal dilemma questions that since the 1970s link research inquiries on federalism to the field of paradiplomacy scholarship. Thus conceptual deconstruction will provide us with a better comprehension of the federalism angle on the phenomenon of paradiplomacy.

The analysis of the works on subnational governments' involvement in international relations written in the federalist dimension lets us point out three general dilemma questions that link paradiplomacy to federalism studies. In fact, these three questions gave the most fundamental impulse for scholars to open paradiplomacy studies as a new research domain:

1. What is the implementation of the principle of sovereignty for a federal state?
2. What mechanism should regulate the competence areas of two levels of authority, and where are the clear borders between "high" and "low" politics?
3. Where is the starting point of imbalance in the division of competence between the central and subnational authorities after which the federation breaks up or transforms into confederation?

These three dilemma questions are not the only issues that direct students of federalism to study the regional governments' intention to become actors in the

international arena. However the process of the discovery of answers to the above-mentioned questions definitely induced an academic interest to constituent governments' diplomacy. Therefore, in order to show the nature of this federalist scholarly facet of paradiplomacy, a consequent dissection of these three dilemmas is presented below.

The question of how to deal with sovereignty is one of the oldest controversies in the debates on federalism. In the 19th century this problem was under the rigorous examination of such theorists as James Bryce and Albert Dicey.[33] Later in the twentieth century the discussion was continued by Daniel Elazar, Carl Friedrich and other political scientists and lawyers.[34] Theoretical constructions of federalism from "scratch" were a challenge to the popular concept of sovereignty developed by Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes as an effective response to the chaos of European feudalism. The major outcome of the debates on this matter led to the expansion of the idea that sovereignty in its traditional sense ceases to exist in the federal polity. Carl Friedrich, for example, stated:

> […] we have federalism only if a set of political communities coexist and interact as autonomous entities, united in a common order with autonomy of its own. No sovereign can exist in a federal system; autonomy and sovereignty exclude each other in such a political order. To speak of the transfer of part of sovereignty is to deny the idea of sovereignty which since Bodin has meant indivisibility. No one has the "last word." The idea of a compact is inherent in federalism and the "constituent power," which makes the compact, takes the place of the sovereign.[35]

A similar view was proposed by Elazar:

> […] federalism stands in direct contradiction to the kinds of theories of national sovereignty […] under that theory, the sovereign instrument of government stands at the center of the system and all other instruments of government are essentially peripheral, whereas under federal theory, governments are imbedded in a matrix consisting of the sovereign people and the political arenas which they establish and there is no center. Different governments are purposely designed to serve arenas of different sizes but since size is no a priori determinant of importance, they relate to one another as equals with regard to the powers delegated to each respectively.[36]

The process of the involvement of federated units, first of all Canadian provinces and American states, in foreign affairs detected by scholars in the 1970s certainly added a new color to the palette of discussions on sovereignty and federalism. The paradiplomatic actions of regional governments were interpreted by scholars of federalism as another strong piece of evidence of the decline of the value of national sovereignty. For example, John Kincaid in his analysis on constituent diplomacy concluded that federalism is a system where an element of dual sovereignty always exists.[37] Ivo Duchacek pointed out that, constituent

diplomacy does not totally eliminate the sovereignty of modern states but definitely perforates it.[38] The perforation of sovereignty in federal polities was mainly caused by the above-mentioned second dilemma question related to the problem of the distribution of powers between the federal and subnational authorities. The view on the existing approaches to federalism, for instance looking at Riker's vision cited above strongly convinces us that the territorial division of power competences and the presence of at least one exclusive area for each level of government jurisdiction are essential preconditions for federalism. However, the crucial problem in many works dedicated to the phenomenon of paradiplomacy is how can the non-shared and shared jurisdictions should be defined and what can make federations revise the already established limits of power competence?

As it was already mentioned before in this work, traditionally the division of competences between the central government and subnational authorities was based on the idea of difference between the so-called high politics and low politics. High core politics are those matters on the national and international level that are important for the sustainability of the whole state like national security, foreign affairs and military questions. On the other hand, low politics are those matters that through the principle of subsidiarity are in exclusive or in shared competence of regional authorities, like education, ecology, health care, etc. The monopoly of the central government in the sphere of international relations was accepted by theorists as one of the most essential for federalism. Sohn and Shafer wrote apropos of this: "In all federations foreign relations are controlled by the federal government and it is generally recognized that no federation can properly function without adequate power to control the basic aspects of foreign relations."[39]

One of Duchacek "yard sticks" of federalism, as presented in his famous volume on the territorial dimensions of politics published in 1970, is the exclusive control of central authorities over foreign relations:

> […] As with unitary states, a federal union's main purpose is to present itself on the international scene as possessing the power and the will to speak on behalf of its component units with one legitimate voice … […] In a federation, then, it is the national (federal) government in whose hands lies the ultimate control over the major issues in foreign policy and the conduct of peaceful or violent international relations.[40]

We can see that the sphere of international affairs as a part of high politics was always considered as a field of exclusive performance of the sovereign states but not non-central governments. The revision of this constant began in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s, when the growth of the presence of new important players in global affairs, including regional authorities, became strongly evident. As it will be shown later in this chapter in more detail, the response of IR academics to these changes was the development of theories of transnational revolution and the update of the older theoretical views on liberalism to its neoliberal

version in order to have explanatory patterns that can take into account the rising tendencies and the new transnational actors in world politics. The scholars of federalism observed the same transformations in the globe: for instance, they could not ignore Quebec's efforts in the international scene under Jean Lesage's government, Ontario's decision to open offices in London, Düsseldorf, Milan and Tokyo or frequent visits of American governors to China after 1972 and opening of their American state's trade missions in this communist country.[41] Certainly those events needed to be examined, but unlike IR specialists, the students of federalism were not greatly concerned about the future of international relations after the involvement of regional governments in external affairs. Their research interest was mainly focused on discovering answers to the following questions – what are the impacts of paradiplomacy on the future of federalism and how does paradiplomacy matter for the transformation of federal and intergovernmental relations, in particular in countries like Canada or USA?

The inclusion of paradiplomacy in the scope of academic analysis has strongly influenced the revision of the federalist theory of the distribution of powers between vertical levels of government. It became clear that in a globalized world the boundary between high and low politics has been blurred, and therefore, as Ronald Atkey notes, subnational governments must be in a position to project externally their legitimate domestic activities in international affairs, in order to profit from the benefits of the increasingly interdependent world.[42] Besides, interdependence and globalization as external factors, many scholars also noted internal tendencies within states that eroded long time ago established balance of competences. Duchacek, for example, believed that: "the advent of a tutelary concept of welfare governments on all levels (local, regional, national) has contributed to the internalization of many issue-areas which were previously clearly domestic and domestication of previously international issues."[43] In other words, paradiplomacy was presented in many ways as a continuation of the subnational domestic politics but outside both regional and national borders. In this connection, we can rephrase the famous maxima of Vladimir Lenin that "politics is the most concentrated expression of economics" into the statement that "paradiplomacy is the most concentrated expression of a subnational government domestic policy."

Hence, we see that the theory of federalism had to accept and conceptually "digest" the fact of the blooming of constituent diplomacy. The idea about the exclusive right of the central government to be the only representative of federal polity in international affairs lost its stable grounds and as a result theories of the segmentation of foreign relations in federal nations have become conceptualized in academic literature. For instance, Panayotis Soldatos offered to deal with policy segmentation in federal countries as a complex process that comprises four different levels:

1 Objective (situational) segmentation refers to a variety of characteristics [cultural, religious, geographic, linguistic, etc.] differentiating territorial units and having an impact on foreign-policy activities.

2 Perceptional (image) segmentation refers to the segmentation of attitudes, perceptions, loyalties, conceptions of interest, etc. elites and population leading to "many voices" in foreign policy.
3 Policy segmentation refers to the results of the previous two levels of segmentation and leads to a variety of positions in external affairs. 4 Actor segmentation refers to the cascade process, by which the previous levels of segmentation can induce federated states to become foreign policy actors, and thus to use their own institutional machinery to develop a foreign policy activity.[44]

The concept of the segmentation of foreign politics coined by Soldatos is a very adequate notion to understand the impact of paradiplomacy on the reconfiguration of the power jurisdictions between central and regional governments. Indeed, the idea of foreign policy segmentation makes us suppose that in a globalized world the agenda of international affairs by itself is heterogeneous and consists from low, medium and high core layers (segments). Accordingly, regional international activities correlated with education, tourism, culture politics and other areas of traditional subnational competences can be labeled as a low core segment of international relations. Trade and commerce agreements with foreign states, policies towards immigration of foreigners are the fields of concurrent jurisdiction. Finally, such issues as maintaining and controlling armed forces, declaration wars, nuclear non-proliferation, statehood recognition and peacekeeping operations are those high core powers in the exclusive capacity of central governments.

No doubt that this segmentation of foreign policy is quite contingent – low, medium and high core segments can overlap and bring a potential clash or crisis in relations between central and regional authorities. For instance, in the literature on Canadian federalism we can find references to the crisis in relations between official Ottawa and Quebec concerning the independent role of the francophone province in international conferences on education in the end of the 1960s. The conferences took place in Libreville and Paris with the official involvement of Gabon authorities. The Canadian federal government expressed its displeasure by halting diplomatic ties with this African state at the moment of the severing of diplomatic relations between Ottawa and Libreville.[45] Another interesting example of overlapping high core and low layers of international relations is the decision approved by many American states in the 1980s to ban the production and emplacement of nuclear weapons on their territories. Here the high core politics of national security to locate nukes in particular geographical locations to defend the whole country from external threats contradicted with the subnational competence to make arrangements in the health and ecological domains.[46] Therefore, although regional interests in international affairs are usually limited by focuses on "low" and "medium" issues, sometimes, as we see, those matters may overlap with "high" politics.

Academic discussions on sovereignty and the distribution of power naturally raised the dilemma about the point of bifurcation in the division of competences

between central and subnational authorities, after which federation breaks up or transforms to confederation. Concretely, regarding paradiplomacy, the dilemma can be simplified with the following question – if we recognize as a matter of fact the redistribution of competences and segmentation of foreign policy – what are the consequences of these changes for the statehood of federations? In other words, does paradiplomacy lead to the disintegration of a state?

The academic literature on paradiplomacy with a federalist facet offers some approaches on how to deal with this question. The general leitmotif of mostly all researchers consists in the belief that the concern regarding constituent diplomacy as a great threat to the unity of a state is usually a big delusion. As John Kincaid reasonably points out, in those cases when subnational governments use the international arena in order to proclaim their sovereignty or to take other actions as a counter to official national foreign policy, paradiplomacy is a reflection, not a cause, of existing domestic conflicts.[47] According to Kincaid, constituent diplomacy is a positive factor for further perfection and democratization of the existing federal polities rather than a threat for statehood and sovereignty:

> […] concerns about constituent diplomacy generally assume that conflict and cooperation is harmful. Yet, conflict and competition can be beneficial to political systems. In democratic polities non-violent conflict and competition are not only facts of political life, but also accepted principles of politics. In federal democracies conflict and cooperation between governments are intrinsic elements of political life along with cooperation. Why, then, exempt foreign affairs from the normal competitive and cooperative dynamics that operate in a democratic federation?[48]

The same opinion on the positive potential of paradiplomacy is shared by many other political scientists. For instance, Soldatos and Atkey also find that the segmentation of actors and policies in internal relations leads to the rationalization of foreign policy-making. We can discover that this notion of rationalization in many ways reflects the pro-federalist principle of subsidiarity, i.e., a theory that a central government should delegate to subnational levels all those tasks that can be effectively performed by constituent units. In support of this assumption we can quote Atkey who notes the following about the paradiplomatic activities of the Canadian provinces:

> […] the skills, knowledge and resources required for some types of Canadian international activity are found only in provincial government departments. Departments of education are the most notable examples in this respect, although other areas such as hydroelectric power, tourism, and lands and forests also must be considered. It is often more convenient and practical simply for a particular province to enter into a direct relationship with a foreign government or agency in these fields of exclusive provincial jurisdiction rather than unnecessary to interpose another level of governmental bureaucracy not as closely attuned to provincial needs.[49]

In spite of the general positive evaluation of the consequences of paradiplomacy on federal polities' statehood, the same authors recognize the possibility of some side effects from regional involvement in foreign affairs. For example, Atkey insists on the necessity of some supervision of subnational external activities from the central government in order to prevent damage to national interests.[50] Soldatos puts the principle of the harmonization of national and subnational external actions as a vital precondition for the rationalization of foreign policy-making instead of its fragmentation or deformation.[51] According to Soldatos, paradiplomatic actions can work out by four principal formulas:

1 the cooperative-coordinated model assumes regional involvement in international relations under the formal or informal coordination of the federal government;
2 the cooperative-joint formula consists of the formal or informal inclusion of constituent diplomacy into national foreign policy;
3 the parallel-harmony model presumes that regional governments act independently in the international arena, but, at the same time, their actions are harmonized and do not contradict national foreign affairs;
4 the parallel-disharmony model is the case when regional authorities' external actions oppose national government policy.[52]

If the first three models are considered as positive movements towards democratization and rationalization of foreign policy, the fourth scenario is definitely what Soldatos sees as undesirable because it has the capability to fuel the disintegration of the state, and therefore this type of paradiplomacy can bring violent conflict. Other potential vulnerabilities of paradiplomacy were formulated by Duchacek, on the basis of his survey on the attitude of central authorities towards constituent diplomacy. He mentions that in the national government's perception of paradiplomacy, there are at least four sorts of worries:

> […] subnational contacts with foreign centers of political power may become vehicles for various forms of trans-sovereign-meddling. […] Too many subnational initiatives abroad may lead to chaotic fragmentation of foreign policy and cause a nation to speak with stridently conflicting voices on the international scene. [There is] fear of provincial egoism at the expense of the national whole as well as other territorial communities. There is also worry about provincials' lack of training and experience in the harsh world of international relations.[53]

Thus, we can conclude that the debate on the consequences of paradiplomacy on the statehood of federal polities found its reflection in academic discourse. The general point shared by the majority of researchers consists in the idea that regional involvement in international relations is a positive tendency in federal systems, because it promotes the rationalization and democratization of foreign

policy decision-making process. The only possibly serious risk of paradiplomacy distinguished by specialists is its potential to forward ahead the centrifugal process in some nations. However, there are two moments which make political scientists feel quite comfortable to put aside this threat. Firstly, paradiplomacy can be the outcome of the disintegration problem within a state, rather than the cause of it. Secondly, usually the focus of subnational governments' interest in international relations mostly concentrates on projects related to the low and medium politics and seldom challenges the issues of national security.

By summing up the discussion in this section of this chapter, we can make a few important conclusions that must be taken into account in the next chapter where we endeavor to construct an explanatory framework of constituent diplomacy. First, it is interesting to note that the analysis through the federalist angle on paradiplomacy leads us to understand the phenomenon of subnational involvement into international relations preferably as process of a federalization (decentralization) of states' foreign affairs, instead of an alternative paradigm about the internalization of federalism. In the federalist dimension, scholars acknowledge the importance of external factors that push regions to go abroad, but they first try to find the roots of paradiplomacy in the analysis of those transformations that take place on the domestic level in federal states. Second, we can say that paradiplomacy as a new phenomenon was embedded into the theoretical framework of federalism. The analysis of constituent diplomacy as a new variable contributed in an original way to the classical debates on the interrelation between principles of sovereignty and federalism and to the dilemma of optimum division of power between central and regional authorities, and it also shed a new light on the question of the breakdown point for a federal system. Third, our analysis shows that specialists who work in this scholarly dimension recognize subnational diplomacy as an accompanying attribute of federal states, but the crucial difficulty in this situation lays in the ambiguity of the concept of federal state. Last but not least, an important feature of the federalist facet in the paradiplomacy scholarship that must also be taken into account is the fact that subnational governments' activities in international affairs are linked by many researchers to the process of democratization. Consequently, the variable of democracy as a factor of strengthening external activities of the region should be presented in an explanatory pattern of paradiplomacy.

The nationalism dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

The consideration of federalism as the main theoretical paradigm to explain the rise of paradiplomacy was challenged by a group of scholars who declared that:

> [...] While there is most certainly a connection between federalism and paradiplomacy, the idea that the former can essentially explain the latter is questionable. Constituent units of federal (or decentralized) states may conduct paradiplomacy, but not all regions of a same state develop international personalities. Furthermore, those regional governments which have

> been most active internationally (Quebec, Flanders, Wallonia, Catalonia, the Basque Country) share one common feature: nationalism.[54]

Indeed, a glance on the literature on paradiplomacy gives us a strong impression that the overwhelming majority of the case studies on subnational governments' involvement in international relations focuses on the above-mentioned five regions. Despite the fact that there are no precise calculations in this matter, we can suppose that the works on Quebec, Flanders, Wallonia, Catalonia and the Basque Country consist of about more than half the share of all existing paradiplomacy scholarship. Thus, by taking into account this evidence, it seems reasonable to agree with Andre Lecours and Luis Moreno's statement that "nationalism logically leads regional governments to seek international agency" and therefore paradiplomacy "needs to be re-conceptualized through theoretical linkage with sub-state or stateless nationalism."[55] The work of those two researchers can be considered as a manifestation of the paradiplomacy discourse in its nationalism dimension. Lecours and Moreno, in a sophisticated manner, were able more than any other scholar to formulate the essence of regional involvement in international relations through the lenses of nationalism. Below, their theoretical insights that can bring us closer to the comprehensive understanding of paradiplomacy are represented.

Lecours and Moreno suppose that nationalism can be logically related to paradiplomacy through three processes: identity construction and consolidation, definition and articulation of regional/group interests and political-territorial mobilization.[56] Regarding the first process, they state that identities are constructed through a variety of mechanisms like cultural change, institutional development, socio-economic transformation but the crucial element that forms the whole frame of nationalism is its discursive aspect: "Creating and shaping national identities necessitates "speaking the nation," that is promoting the idea of a national community."[57] Certainly, this statement shows that Lecours and Moreno navigate within the post-modernist paradigm of nationalism, which appeals to the nation as an "imagined" community rather than as some objective historical entity.[58] From this perspective, paradiplomacy is perceived as one of the effective instruments for promoting the discursive practices of nationalism and as an action of regional governments that includes the symbolic meaning of the nation and identity building. This correlation of paradiplomacy with the identity construction mission was precisely expressed by Lecours and Moreno:

> […] There are forms of paradiplomacy which are more significant than others with respect to identity construction and consolidation, namely those involving most specifically, albeit implicitly, a recognition by one or more sovereign states of the legitimacy of a region as an international actor. Bilateral relationships with states, as the closest thing to traditional diplomacy, are particularly important symbolically. So is participation in regional and international organizations/conferences. The relevance for identities of these

> acts of paradiplomacy is not limited to the acts themselves; as important is the fact that these highly visible paradiplomatic activities give nationalist leaders the opportunity to play to their domestic audience. They provide a scene from which nationhood can be proclaimed most forcefully, as foreign, regional or even international focus offers legitimacy and discursive/communication opportunities. In short, through paradiplomacy, regions can both behave as nations and present themselves as such.[59]

The second process of nationalism that linked it to paradiplomacy is the definition and articulation of regional/group interests. According to Lecours and Moreno, the articulation of regional/group interests often means the promotion of common goods based on politicized cultural distinctiveness. These cultural preservation forces are the inherent part of the nationalist movements and find its reflection in both domestic and international politics.[60]

> [...] Cultural defense and promotion tend to be the most important issues of paradiplomacy because they are central to its underlying force, nationalism. Paradiplomacy extends the domestic struggles of nationalist movements for cultural preservation into international politics. The Québec government, for example, expresses concerns over the linguistic nature and consequences of such international processes as globalization and the liberalization of trade, a preoccupation stemming from its domestic struggle for the prominence of French in Québec society.[61]

The third process of nationalism that logically relates to paradiplomacy is political-territorial mobilization. From the nationalism point of view, the political-territorial mobilization is a form of politics of power that is oriented on the mobilization of societies on the basis of the actualization of their territorial commonness.[62] Regions, especially those that have strong national aspiration, like the already mentioned Quebec or the Basque Country, definitely intend to formulate their political-territorial mobilization policies and, in particular circumstances, these regional policies can significantly challenge the dominant position of the central government. Constituent diplomacy, in this context, is perceived from the nationalism facet as a supplementary tool of subnational governments in their competition for power with central authorities. As Lecours and Moreno vividly mention: "The development of a strong international personality gives regional leaders a prestige that can be used as leverage in negotiations on constitutional and institutional change."[63]

Thus, constituent diplomacy in the nationalism dimension is represented more as a phenomenon that has a secondary relationship with IR but predominantly lies in the domain of the internal politics of states with multicultural/multilingual societies. The most active paradiplomatic activities are demonstrated by those regions that want to emphasize their special identity and national peculiarities. Therefore, if we accept the position of the nationalism scholarship on paradiplomacy, we can conclude that regions go abroad not because of their passion to

influence on world politics, but because of their desire via maneuvers on the international scene to get more benefits in their country's domestic affairs.

The most vulnerable point in the reasoning of researchers such as Lecours and Moreno is their statement that central authorities vigorously tend to oppose the paradiplomacy of their constituent entities with national aspirations.[64] In fact, if we look, for example, at the case of Quebec, some experts prove that the central government in Ottawa encourages the paradiplomacy of the francophone province in order to accommodate the nationalist sentiments of the Quebec population.[65] For example, Andrew Petter mentions the decision of the Canadian federal government in 2005 to allow the provincial government of Quebec to name its own representative to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to UNESCO: "The move was designed to convince Quebeckers that the national government recognized their distinct cultural identity, and that this identity could be accommodated within Canada's federal structure."[66] Indeed, we can assume that central governments can be more oriented to assist regions in their desire to express in a "convenient" way their identity internationally rather than to ban paradiplomacy and therefore to increase the potential of the centrifugal tendencies within a multinational state. Generally, a broad spread of such democratic values as plurality and tolerance limits central governments in their ability to act harshly toward subordinated entities. By contrast, the global environment stimulates a national government to re-evaluate the role of regions not only because of the risk of tension, but on the contrary, also due to the high potential of paradiplomacy to contribute positively to the development of the whole state.

Thus, from the perspective of nationalism, paradiplomacy is the most common action of those regional governments who are looking for more autonomy and who consider external activities as a supplementary instrument for identity building. Moreover, paradiplomacy is perceived as a tool to promote cultural preservation as well as a political-territorial mobilization strategy of regional governments. The main vulnerable point in the position of the supporters of the interpretation of paradiplomacy in its nationalist dimension is their assumption that central governments must by default be in opposition to regional diplomacy. The competence division between central and subnational authorities is not always based on the principle of a zero- sum game – the case of Quebec shows that provincial activities can be recognized by the national government as an additional source of opportunities for the whole state.

International relations theory dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

In this section the phenomenon of paradiplomacy is scrutinized from the angle of international relations theory. Herein, the main aim of the research narration is to approach paradiplomacy through the international relations perspective, however, in the beginning, it is necessary to point out some problematic moments about this field of scholarly endeavor. The difficulty consists in the fact that paradiplomacy has still not received enough examination in terms of

international relations theory. The comment written by Earl Fry in the early 1990s did not lose its actuality: "texts in international relations either maintain a state-centric emphasis or give some credence to non-state actors such as multinational corporations, without pinpointing the role that non-central governments play in international arena."[67]

Indeed, in the early 1970s international relation theory was strongly changed by the spread of a new perception of world politics promoted first of all by Keohane and Nye, who argued that the traditional state-centric paradigm of world politics can not thoroughly explain the contemporary global order, because it ignores the great rise of transnational actors like MNCs, NGOs, religious organizations, revolutionary movements in international arena.[68] In the recent years, the discussion on newcomers in world politics tremendously enriched contemporary IR theory. The question on transnational relations and state-centrism from the 1970s until now permanently adds fuel to the flame in scholarly debates between the representatives of different IR schools. However, we need to agree with Fry that, unlike transnational corporations, international NGOs or terrorist groups, regional governments as new global actors did not get a square deal from IR specialists.[69] The reason of such a poor attitude to constituent diplomacy can be explained by the following factors. First of all, the ambivalent nature of the "actorness" of the subnational governments in comparison with all other new players in international arena can evoke the contradictory comprehensions. For instance, how can we identify the position of the constituent governments in the system of axes of world politics? Do subnational entities possess state or non-state "actorness"? On the one hand, the classical state-centered model believes in the exclusive control of central authorities over foreign affairs issues. From this point of view the constituent diplomacy a priori is anti-state action and therefore those regional governments who are involved in paradiplomacy in their external operations act not on behalf of a state but primarily as non-state actors. On the other hand, regional authorities, even in federal countries, are the built-up element of a state system of power. The provincial government of Alberta and the governor of California are definitely not business or civil society units, but keepers and promoters of state authority.

Thus regions can be considered as actors that are located in the ambivalent interspace between state and non-state powers in world politics. We can assume that this circumstance of the "actorness vagueness" in many ways makes regions less notional research objects in the eyes of many IR scholars. Furthermore, certainly to examine the external affairs of the Ontario province or the Baden-Wurttemberg region is a less spectacular exercise than for example to study the impact on global politics of other recent newcomers like the terrorist network Al Qaeda or the international ecologist non-governmental organization Greenpeace. Nonetheless, paradiplomacy is no doubt a valuable phenomenon in global affairs, and subnational governments have become the part and parcel of world transnational relations, which were defined by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane as "contacts, coalitions and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments."[70]

After all, it will be an exaggeration to say that IR theorists do not include paradiplomacy in their image of world politics. They certainly do, although we need to acknowledge that the understanding of paradiplomacy in the international relations perspective can be a complex and sophisticated scholarly task. This mission is strongly linked to the process of interpretation and discourse analysis of the wide-content texts on international relations, where the notion of region as an international actor is frequently invisible or hidden within the broad context of the discussions on changes in the world politics.

In this section the outlook on paradiplomacy from the angles of liberal/neoliberal, realist/neorealist and constructivist theoretical paradigms of international relations is presented.[71] These three theoretical camps in international relations are currently probably the most influential ones. Exactly the ideas of the representatives of these theoretical approaches largely shape the whole perception on contemporary global affairs. The comprehension of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in international relations perspective lays within the general debates about the evolution of the world political environment from a state-centric organization to the global order with other significant actors besides the sovereign states. Thus, generally, the key debate question in this regard is linked to finding the relationship between national states and new transnational actors, including regional governments.

The liberal wing of IR theory, represented first of all by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, were among the first few theorists stated that the traditional paradigm of international relations, in which state and interstate relations are the only components in world politics can not explain the reality of the current situation in global affairs. They believe that although transnational relations have always existed in various forms and degrees in international politics, it was only after the WWII that transnational relations have begun to take forms that really shaped world affairs. Furthermore, world politics is not political interstate relations, but "political interactions between any "significant actors" whose characteristics include autonomy, the control of substantial resources relevant to a given issue area and participation in political relationships across state lines."[72]

In the tentative lists of those new "significant actors," liberals include such entities as international and transnational organizations as units, subunits of international and transnational organizations and state government subunits. For the latter entity, we need to pay special attention, because exactly the concept of "government subunits" correlates with our research focus on paradiplomacy. For Keohane and Nye a government subunit is an important arising actor in the international scene, although this fact is disregarded by state-centric models, because the traditional paradigm assumes by default a nation state as a unitary actor. In this connection, liberal theorists insist that: "subunits of governments may also have distinct foreign policies which are not all filtered through the top leadership and which do not fit into a unitary actor model."[73]

It is necessary to mention that the concept of a state government subunit in the theoretical framework of Nye and Keohane has a broader connotation than the concept of constituent government, which is used in this book as a determinative

object for the characterization of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. Certainly, IR scholars think about the decentralization of state power in foreign affairs in terms of the division in vertical and horizontal directions, i.e., the state can perform not as a unitary actor in world affairs, but as a multi vocal entity due to its potential to act in parallel from the side of bureaucrats who belong to different departments and groups within the central government as well as from the side of regional authorities.

In spite of the criticism of the state-centered viewpoint on world politics, representatives of the liberal school of IR do not prove that states are obsolete in contemporary international realities. Moreover, they do not disclaim that the national governments are the prevailing force in world politics, and generally states, as a rule, possess more material and symbolic power resources than transnational actors. However, for liberals, the question of who wins in the case of direct confrontation – state or transnational entity, is insufficient, because in modern world politics not only victory matters as such, but the cost of winning is even more important.[74] The underlying essence of the transnational conception of world affairs consists in the assumption that the phenomenon of bargaining between various autonomous and semiautonomous actors occupies the central role.[75] Under these circumstances, the picture of the current world politics demonstrates the international arena more like a big marketplace rather than a battlefield, and more like the system where bargaining (i.e., cooperation) predominates the zero-sum game in the relationship between actors such as state governments, NGOs, Churches or constituent governments.

Another important moment we need to consider in order to better understand paradiplomacy via IR lenses is the question of the distinction between high and low politics. This issue was already discussed scrupulously in theoretical and practical terms during our analysis of the federalist outlook on paradiplomacy. We figured out that the majority of specialists on federalism and intergovernmental relations postulate the blurring of borders between high and low politics. The liberal IR thinkers definitely share this point of view:

> […] Issues areas that were formerly quite distinct from political calculations have become politically relevant, particularly insofar as governments have attempted to extend their control over domestic economic activity without sacrificing the benefits of transnational intercourse. Since these issues areas are often of great significance to governments, they can not be merely dismissed as "low politics," allegedly subordinate to a "high politics" of status, security or war.[76]

Furthermore, for Keohane, Nye and their fellows, the dilemma of who affects high politics more strongly, state governments or emerging transnational players, also looks quite insufficient. They follow the metaphor of Stanley Hoffman who compared the current international relations with the set of chessboards on which state governments play with each other simultaneously.

> […] The competition between states takes place on several chessboards in addition to traditional military and diplomatic ones: for instance, the chessboards of world trade, of world finance, of aid and technical assistance, of space research and exploration, military technology, and the chessboard of what has been called "informal penetration." These chessboards do not entail the resort of force. […] International politics thus becomes much more complex. Not only does each chessboard have rules of its own which have often not been adequately studied, but there are complicated and subtle relations between chessboards.[77]

Hoffmann offered this image of "chessboards" in the early 1970s and, undoubtedly, for the last forty years, the number of "chessboards" as well as "chess players" in world politics increased in geometrical progression. A number of new issues related to areas of sustainable development, education, nuclear nonproliferation, democracy assistantship made international relations even more complicated and low and high politics more tightly interlaced. Although liberals recognize that national governments are often the most important decision-makers on high core issues of world politics, they try to show that states are not implicit winners, because, for example, huge military power does not automatically guarantee success in numerous other fields of competition in international relations.

Finally, the moment concerning liberal IR theory linkage to the paradiplomacy scholarship is the problem of correlation between transnational relations and the type of political regime. According to popular opinion in western scholarship on federalism described earlier in this chapter, the non-free political systems can not accommodate the presence of any plurality in the decision-making process, and therefore, a phenomenon like paradiplomacy can not arise in such societies by default. From Keohane's and Nye's position, this statement is also quite valid, because they believe that transnational actors flourish in an environment where people can strongly identify themselves and their interests not only with the nation state but with other joint entities as well:

> […] In totalitarian societies, and in areas in which one version or another of integral nationalism has taken hold, dual loyalties are regarded as treasonous and transnational forces as potentially corrupting and dangerous. […] In the modernized western world and its ancillary areas the acceptability of multiple loyalties is taken for granted.[78]

Due to this IR liberals' postulate, we can make two key conclusions which appeal to our principal aim of the theoretical comprehension of paradiplomacy. Firstly, the rise of regions as transnational actors in international affairs can be partly explained as the outcome of the strengthening of subnational identities. In other words, for instance, the fact that Bavarians go abroad can be explained by the assumption that they consider paradiplomacy as one of the channels to promote their regional identity besides their loyalty to be Germans. Secondly,

transnational relations, i.e., paradiplomacy for example, face obstacles for growing in authoritarian societies, since an authoritarian central government is not interested in watering down the identity ties of people with a nation.

The major opponents of liberal thought are representatives of the realist school of international relations, who naturally propose a contra-vision on transnational relations and the role of a state in world politics. By contrast to liberals, the realists do not think that the state-centered paradigm of world politics is outdated and can not adequately explain contemporary changes in global affairs. In their opinion, in spite of transnational actors' broad flourishing, a state government and interstate relations are still the principal elements of international affairs that determine world politics. For example, Kenneth Waltz, one of the most prominent realists of the second half of the 20th century, proposes to continue analyzing world politics in terms of interstate relations: "States are the units whose interactions form the structure of the international-political systems. They will long remain so."[79]

For realists, the emergence of new transnational players in world politics is nothing else but the rational will of national states, especially great powers like the United States, who actually allow transnational actors to act internationally in order to maximize benefits for their national interests. For instance, another famous representative of the realist school, Robert Gilpin posits that:

> [...] Throughout history each successive hegemonic power has organized economic space in terms of its own interests and purposes [...] the transnational actors and processes are dependent upon peculiar patterns of interstate relation. Whether one is talking about the merchant adventurers of the sixteenth century, nineteenth-century finance capitalists, or twentieth-century multinational corporations, transnational actors have been able to play an important role in world affairs because it has been in the interest of the predominant power(s) for them to do so.[80]

In other words, transnational relations and transnational actors are labeled as the derivatives of national states' foreign policies and interstate relations rather than the autonomous elements of world affairs. If we appeal to this realist outlook on the phenomenon of paradiplomacy, the actual picture of regional involvement in international relations can be presented in a very interesting dimension. It turns out that paradiplomacy is a consequence of the rationalization of the foreign policy of central national governments, who consider regional authorities' activities abroad beneficial rather than a noxious tendency for state interests. Furthermore, from this point of view, paradiplomacy can be observed even as an additional source of central government foreign policy. Thus, the offices abroad opened for example by the Canadian province of Alberta or by the American state of California work not only in favor of those regions, but for the benefit of the nation state. According to the realist explanatory logic, the fact that regions participate in international relations means that those activities were formally or informally approved at the state and interstate levels, and therefore, even without

direct coordination from the center, subnational governments perform abroad as promoters of the interest of their central states.

The realist theoretical perception of paradiplomacy can give us some potential cue in our mission to comprehend the essence of this phenomenon and some hints that are not provided by other segments of the multi-faceted scholarship on constituent diplomacy. For example, through the lenses of realism it is possible to explain the existence of paradiplomacy practices of subnational entities from nations with non-free regimes. As we have already mentioned before, for a number of scholars, including liberal IR experts, the emergence of transnational relations and the operation of transnational actors strongly correlates with the level of political plurality within particular states, because the dictatorship and totalitarian regimes do not tolerate any competition. In this respect, realists do not put transnational actors (i.e., including regional governments) on the same board with national state and also do not care about the political configuration of the state, but take into account only its real power capacities:

> […] In defining international-political structures we take states with whatever traditions, habits, objectives, desires, and forms of government they may have. We do not ask whether states are revolutionary or legitimate, authoritarian or democratic, ideological or pragmatic. We abstract from every attribute of states except their capabilities.[81]

From this perspective, for example, the involvement of the Chinese coastal provinces like Guandong, Shangai or Tianjin in paradiplomacy must be analyzed mainly not as a manifestation of transnational relations tendencies in this communist country, but as sign that the central authority in Beijing is looking for differentiation in their foreign policy. In support of this assumption we can mention the observation about Chinese paradiplomacy by Noe Cornago. He notes that official Beijing encouraged provinces to go abroad due to its diplomatic strategy "zhoubian," which was launched after the Tiananmen crisis. Paradiplomacy in terms of this strategy can be considered as an additional tool for the central government to overcome negative international attitudes.[82]

Constructivism is a relatively new paradigm that appeared in IR theory at the end of the twentieth century. Despite its juvenility, constructivism earned quite a lot of credence in the field of IR and can be called as a real challenger for the dominance of both the liberalism and realist schools. The development of the constructivist approach in IR theory is first of all associated with the name of Alexander Wendt. He defines the core claims of constructivism as follows:

> […] (1) States are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (2) the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material; and (3) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics.[83]

The first claim shows us that the constructivists share the state-centric view on the nature of international relations and in this sense they are close to realists. However, there are some peculiarities that make constructivists' position different from realists' one. Wendt looks at world politics by paying special attention to social relations and he believes that all social relations can be explained solely by reference to structures of violence.[84] He articulates an idea that states always struggle for a monopoly on violence with non-state actors, but until presently only national governments have succeeded more than others in this business and therefore states are the most important units of analysis in world politics:

> […] The point is merely is that states are still the primary medium through which the effects of other actors on the regulation of violence are channeled into the world system. It may be that non-state actors are becoming more important than states as initiators of change, but system change ultimately happens through states. In this sense states are still are the center of the international system.[85]

On the other hand, Wendt emphasizes that the realists' state-centered model is obviously not the perfect one and there is a potential to update the state-centered paradigm in the way that it will incorporate knowledge on non-state actors. Thus, constructivists definitely occupy some middle ground between liberals and realists on the question of the relationship between nation states and non-state actors in world politics. The main merit of constructivists for our comprehension of paradiplomacy is the fact that they try to offer some alternative middle-ground view and this outlook leads us to the idea about combining the perception extremes on the phenomenon of transnational relations offered by liberal and realist theorists. This approach may help us to critically sum up and put under one denominator in our explanatory model of paradiplomacy all insights we can borrow from IR debates.

The border studies dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

Border studies can be recognized as an interdisciplinary research field that has two major interacting facets: "(1) review of practice on delimitation, demarcation and management of boundaries and (2) analysis of border and border-related representations."[86] The interest of border researchers to paradiplomacy lies predominantly in the second facet and mostly consists of examining various types of interactions between border regions. In other words, the representatives of this discipline scrutinize transborder paradiplomacy by implementation the broad concept of border. The current understanding of borders and border areas is based on the description of geographical boundary lines and related political institutional practices. By contrast, the modern approach offers to identify borders in broader terms, as a phenomenon constructed by social, economic, political and cultural processes. According to Ilkka Liikanen, in this new

perspective "borders are seen as much subjects of our conceptions of "the other" and of everyday socialization, as they are products of public political processes at domestic and international levels."[87] It is not an exaggeration to say that the many fellows of border studies believe in the symbolic "sacral" power of borders. They consider the destiny of borders not only to divide people but also to give economic social, political, cultural and environmental opportunities and benefits for all who are able to cooperate widely across borderland lines.[88] For border scientists even in the "borderless" world "borders continue to matter because they not only delineate the boundary of governments, but also bound social networks and human interactions."[89]

As a rule, the paradiplomacy scholarship in border studies dimension is represented in the form of cases studies on transborder cooperation of subnational governments.[90] Researchers study regional cross-border interactions, either by giving a general outlook on all spheres of subnational government's border cooperation or by focusing on some special economic, ecological or cultural sphere of regional frontier partnership. Obviously, regional authorities are not the only active participants of border interactions. As a matter of fact, paradiplomacy can be considered as an inherent part of the complex practices of formal and informal communication in border space that include national, supranational and non-state entities that follow their own interests and exploit benefits and vulnerabilities of the border zone.

The works on paradiplomacy in border studies perspective allow us to shed more light on the most "grass rooted" type of subnational involvement in international affairs – transborder paradiplomacy. Regions that border with foreign countries naturally, meaning by the force of geography, have to find points for mutual understanding with their neighbors. In this sense, paradiplomacy definitely provides a set of opportunities for subnational authorities to convert their border position to their advantage for economic, social and cultural development. Therefore, when we look at those regions that occupy borderland areas, we can suppose that the frontier can be the crucial determinant for its manifestation in external affairs and this should find its reflection in the explanatory framework that will be developed in Chapter 5.

The globalization dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

Globalization is a phenomenon that definitely determines in different degrees mostly all processes that take place in world politics as well in domestic affairs of particular countries. The phenomenon of globalization has at least three dimensions: political, economic and cultural. Due to its multidimensional nature, the concept of globalization has very vague meaning frames and complex grounds for definition. In the context of research on paradiplomacy, political scientists usually define globalization in basic terms as "a growing interdependence and interconnectedness among nations and people in general."[91] There are a number of key linkages between globalization and paradiplomacy that the majority of experts elaborate in their researches.[92] However, in the bulk of this

literature, it is possible to identify two most important ties. First of all, globalization has radically transformed global economics, in the last few decades. The free movement of capital, labor and technologies eroded national economies and put transnational regimes like WTO, NAFTA as well as MNCs such as Google or Microsoft at the leading positions in global economics. This circumstance pushed the distribution of power in global economics not only between national governments and supranational bodies, but also between national governments and constituent entities. The latter ones got the opportunity to promote quite effectively their economic interests in global affairs without intermediation of their central authorities. Thereby, paradiplomacy is certainly a very logical consequence of globalization processes and it possesses a dualistic nature: constituent diplomacy is enabled by globalization and simultaneously paradiplomacy further accelerates globalization.

The second linkage between paradiplomacy and globalization lies in the cultural domain. How does this linkage work? Michael Keating reasonably notices that "modern communication technology and the dominance of a global culture originating largely in the United States have eroded national cultures and the role of states in promoting and protecting them."[93] Indeed, globalization unified and simplified economic standards around the world, and it has also diluted many cultural differences between people. This erosion of cultural peculiarities can be interpreted in positive terms, but the negative effects of "cultural globalization" sound more persuasive for the majority of specialists. Maintaining cultural peculiarities is an essential component for the healthy development of world society, where different customs and traditions, by enriching each other, promote the progress of humankind. As Keating mentions, modern states do not possess enough resources to resist cultural globalization and this fact gives a strong impulse for regions to protect their cultural heritage by actively promoting their identity in the international arena. This is especially true for regions with high nationalist, linguistic and cultural aspiration such as the Basque Country, Flanders and Catalonia – subnational entities who for a long time struggled and continue to struggle today for the recognition of their special identity within their states. However, globalization did not exacerbate their position in the field of cultural conservation but in contrast provided them with new opportunities for the promotion of their peculiarities at the international level. Thus the economic and cultural ties can be classified as the most important ones in the relationship between globalization and paradiplomacy and accordingly these two angles specifically play the most significant role in paradiplomacy discourse and should be reflected in the explanatory framework proposed in Chapter 5.

The international security and geopolitical dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

One of the facets of paradiplomacy scholarship relates to the examination of the potential impact of paradiplomacy on international security and geopolitics. The valuable contribution in this concern was done by Noe Cornago who tried to

prove that constituent diplomacy can be smoothly placed within the frames of the current studies on international security.[94] According to Cornago, regional governments' activities in international affairs can be reflected in the international security studies domain from a few major points. First of all, the certain forms of paradiplomacy can be "an instrument for the reduction of the transnational dimensions of ethnic conflicts."[95] Secondly, paradiplomacy can be identified as an auxiliary mechanism of dealing with new challenges in the agenda of international security, such as the control of migration, the administration of ecological issues, etc.[96] In regard to the first point, Cornago highlights the role of paradiplomacy in those situations when it is necessary to manage the existence of national minorities divided between two or more states. As an illustrative example of such a situation, he scrutinizes the problem that took place between Austrian Tyrol and Italian Bolzano concerning the rights of the German speaking minority in the latter region:

> […] The discontent of the Austrian minority [in the Bolsano region] led to Austria bringing up the issue in the United Nations in the early 1970s. This pressure, together with the incipient emergence of terrorism, finally persuaded the Italian government to recognize, at the end of that decade, special rights for the minority of Bolzano, and to develop without formal recognition, a regime of tolerance towards the strengthening of links between the Tyrolese people on both sides of the border. This new context, as well as improving relations between Austria and Italy, led to the configuration of one of the most unusual expressions of the ethnopolitical dimension of foreign affairs: the periodic holding of joint meetings of provincial chambers belonging to different states.[97]

In other words, the ethnopolitical problem that constituted serious menace for the whole area security and for bilateral relations between Italy and Austria was regulated by the means which included the encouragement of cross-border paradiplomacy between Bolzano and Tyrol. Certainly, the initiation of cross-border regional cooperation was not the only resolution mechanism in this case, but it seems that Cornago's assumption about paradiplomacy as a tool for reducing transnational dimensions of ethnic conflicts sounds quite valid.

In regard to the second point, which represents paradiplomacy as an auxiliary mechanism of dealing with new challenges to international security, it is necessary to make some remarks. Subnational entities, especially the frontier ones, traditionally deal with problems of environmental protection, migration, smuggling and etc. However, until recently, this trans-frontier cooperation was not interpreted in terms of the international security dimension, but was observed mostly as the so-called cross-border housekeeping activity on the level of low politics. Cornago emphasizes that environmental problems and migration issues are the inherent elements of the new redefined concept of international security. Consequently if we follow this idea, all paradiplomatic actions for example on environmental affairs can be generally recognized as matters within the

international security domain. Is it an actually well-founded statement? I personally share the view of Cornago regarding the necessity to interpret the phenomenon of international security in a broader context. Indeed, such issue as environmental safety has a very strong linkage to international security due to its borderless character and risk of irretrievable danger to tremendous number of people. In this sense, for instance, activities of the Council of Great Lakes governors have significance in terms of international security. The Council institutionalizes cross-border cooperation between Canadian provinces and American states for the sake of protecting one of the largest single sources of fresh water in the world.[98]

The attempt to look at paradiplomacy from the geopolitical point of view in academic discourse was done by the Belgian political scientist David Criekemans, who put on the table the question "Do regions play a role geopolitically"?[99] Criekemans follows the reasoning of two French geopolitics scholars Lorot and Thuai who suggest that: "a strong economic region can transform itself into a "geopolitical factor" or some significance if and when the regional economy coincides with a strong identity. Next to a strong regional economy, it is thus also necessary to possess such territorially based factors as identity, language, culture and history."[100] In other words, paradiplomacy can be a geopolitical factor in those cases when subnational government involvement to international relations contains some strong cultural or linguistic messages. For instance, we can assume that the above-mentioned case of Bolzano–Tyrol transborder paradiplomacy can be analyzed from a geopolitical position.

Generally, we need to acknowledge that researchers who study paradiplomacy through the lenses of international security and geopolitics have a strong intention to raise questions and propose new directions for scholarly reflection rather than to give precise answers. Accordingly, as a concluding comment of this section I would like to join David Criekemans in proposing further scholarly endeavors on the given subject:

> […] In future research, it would be also interesting to investigate how the paradiplomatic apparatus of micro-regions is employed to "naturalize" their "place under the sun" in international politics. Via which discourse and in which settings do politicians try to convince the public and experts of the assets and "unique selling propositions" of their territorial policy-level? Does it work? Another aspect to take into account from geopolitical point of view is to research more into depth to what extent geography actually still is relevant as a driving force in inter-regional cooperation and what are other variables are also needed in conjunction.[101]

The global economy dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

The studies on the role of regional governments in international economy occupy a worthy place in the paradiplomacy scholarship. The changes that take place permanently in global economics attract huge academic attention; however, it is

necessary to note that in the literature on global economics, the segment of expertise dedicated to the examination of the role of constituent entities in the international economy is not represented in sufficient ratio. States, especially the leading ones like the USA or China, supranational actors like WTO or the EU, multinational corporations like Microsoft or Walmart are the main research targets in the existing literature on international political economy. Subnational governments' activities can not compete for scholarly attention on equal plains with all the above-mentioned players in global economics, although many subnational governments have very good perspectives to be real competitors in the international economy. To illustrate my point here, we can look at the interesting experiment done by Earl Fry, who in his surveys compares the GDP of world nations with the GDP of the US states. He drew the map of the USA, where instead of listing the states he shows countries that have approximately the same annual GDP as the individual states.[102]

As we see on Fry's map, such American states like Texas or California can be real challengers in terms of their GDP level to such big nations as Australia and Italy. However, the GDP is not the only factor that determines the potential of the actor to be influential in the international economy and therefore to say that Texas is equal to Australia in global economics is not correct, but certainly Fry's figure "if states were nations" demonstrates that there are objective parameters that increase the significance of regional governments in international arena.

The literature on the involvement of subnational governments in global economy mainly focuses on studying the impacts of the regions on international trade regimes and on national governments' foreign trade policies. In addition, some literature presents the case studies on the international economy projects of the concrete subnational entities. Thus, for example, the collective volume *States*

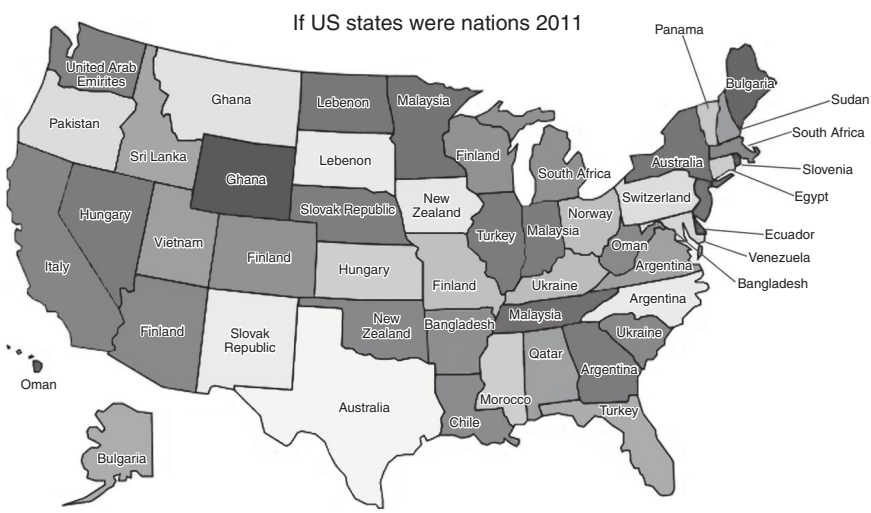

Figure 4.1 If US states were nations, 2011 (© 2013 Earl H. Fry).

and Provinces in the International Economy edited by Douglas Brown and Earl Fry gathered together nine articles, the authors of which marked their primary goal to answer the question: "What are the roles played by the states and provinces of North America in the international economy, and why do they arise?"[103] Although, the book was published in the 1990s, many statements from this volume did not lose their actuality today and can help to understand better the phenomenon of constituent diplomacy. For instance, Kevin Archer and Peter Morici in their chapter "State Export Promotion Policies" notice a few important moments regarding paradiplomacy of the US states which I believe can be projected also on other cases.[104] First of all, they emphasize that paradiplomacy is not only the way for regions to promote their financial interests beyond the national borders, but it also leads to the increase of regional competitiveness within the country. Paradiplomacy becomes an additional instrument for economic growth in the hands of the wealthy regions and makes those rich entities even more prosperous. Hence, they conclude that in particular circumstances, paradiplomacy can bring more disproportion to the level of economic development within one nation.[105] Second, Archer and Morici offer to divide the formulas of the regional activities abroad into five broad categories: technical assistance, offices abroad, participation in trade shows, market research and financial assistance.[106] The meaning of the establishment of the overseas offices, the financial assistance and participation in international trade shows is evident, but the other two categories need some clarification. Technical assistance means that subnational authorities launch special programs, workshops and conferences to give legal and general hints for local entrepreneurs how to do business abroad. Market research assistance supposes that the subnational governments, and first of all overseas offices, can provide all the useful information on the export activities of their regional companies and help them to make the contacts with potential foreign partners. These observations regarding possible approaches for regional governments to be active abroad should definitely be elaborated in the explanatory framework in Chapter 5.

One of the most recent works on paradiplomacy in the global economy dimension is *The Provinces and Canadian Foreign Trade Policy* authored by Christopher Kukucha.[107] This monograph studies the impact of international trade regimes, such as General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and World Trade Organization (WTO) on Canadian provinces and vice versa. Kukucha shares the widespread view in contemporary political discourse that many "low politics" issues of the provincial jurisdiction such as agriculture, labor or energy received significance in the international agenda. In different degree, all these issues are the crucial objectives for international trade regimes regulations and therefore the position of subnational governments who are most responsible for the implementation of decisions in "low politics" must be taken into account. Kukucha argues that in these circumstances in Canada "the federal government expanded consultative linkages with the provinces through a series of federal-provincial committees, now known as CTrade."[108] Another interesting observation is that

the Canadian provinces international trade policy choices are shaped by four key considerations: institutional, sectoral, societal and ideational.

> [...] Institutional factors are dominated by constitutional and bureaucratic realities. Provincial executives occasionally involve themselves in trade issues, but this is limited to crisis situations, trade promotion and specific trade disputes. Provincial legislatures have only a minimal impact in this policy area. Sectoral factors are important, though the business sector's relevance tends to fluctuate as a function of its economic strength and ties to government. Societal factors are less relevant, typically because of "consultation fatigue" and limited resources. Ideational considerations, which are more important than sectoral ones, include dominant ideologies, the priorities of specific regional economies, and attitudes toward participatory government.[109]

We can notice that the above-mentioned and discussed researches both on US states and Canadian provinces can definitely be useful even for those who are not interested in these specific geographical areas, because those cases help to generally comprehend the essence of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in its international political economy dimension. It is not an exaggeration to say that the economic incentives for paradiplomacy prevailed among all other subnational motives to perform internationally. On the other hand, the regional governments as actors in global economy will stay in the shade of national and supranational players at least in mid-term perspective and no doubt this fact will reflect the intensity of the further development of this facet of paradiplomacy scholarship.

The environmental perspective of paradiplomacy discourse

Environmental studies encompass the examination of various issues linked to the problem of relations between "social men" and nature. Environmental studies are considered as an interdisciplinary field in contemporary social sciences with roots in political science, sociology and economics. There are such issues as sustainable development, climate change, air and water pollution, nature conservation, etc., in its discussion agenda. Recently, one can witness the tremendous blossoming of the environmental discipline, and hence it is no wonder that this new subject also found its reflection in paradiplomacy scholarship. Among the most interesting contribution to understanding paradiplomacy in the environmental perspective is the collective research of the group of the Belgian scholars Sander Happaerts, Karoline Van den Brande and Hans Bruyninckx (Happaerts *et al.*) "Governance for Sustainable Development at the Inter-Subnational Level: The Case of the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (nrg4SD)"[110] and the research of Thomas Eatmon "Paradiplomacy and Climate Change: American States as Actors in Global Climate Change."[111]

Hence, what are those innovations that environmentalists brought to the discussion on constituent diplomacy? The researchers of paradiplomacy in environmental perspective accept the fact that the largest part of the global sustainable development policies is formulated today at the supranational level, i.e., by such multinational bodies as the EU, the UN or NAFTA.[112] At the same time, they emphasize that the practical implementation of environmental policies takes place often on the regional level, and therefore, the position of the constituent governments on ecological issues is an important factor for the general success of global sustainable development. Thus, for example, Happaerts *et al.* formulated three reasons why it is crucial to study "green" paradiplomacy:

> [...] First, subnational entities are important spatial entities, giving their policies significance for ecosystems, resource use, etc. Secondly, they are often responsible for the implementation of national and supranational policies, especially in the EU where they have responsibilities concerning the management of programs important for sustainable development, such as the Structural Funds. Thirdly, it is frequently stated that subnational entities are in proximity to citizens, which is important for stakeholder participation and vital for the effectiveness of sustainability processes.[113]

The above-mentioned reasons sound very strong and certainly the surveys on the subnational impact on global ecology have a good potential for the further progress and wide expansion within the frames of both environmental studies and paradiplomacy scholarship. The existing literature on "green" paradiplomacy can be divided into three main groups. The first group includes case study surveys on regional cross-border environmental projects which are especially popular today among border regions in Europe and North America.[114] The authors from the second group examine the development of global environmental networks of subnational governments and evaluate their influence on the policy-making processes on ecological issues in current international affairs.[115] The third group of scholars scrutinizes the treatment of subnational governments on the issues related to the global environmental agenda, such as climate change.[116]

It is necessary to acknowledge that besides the description of the regional impact on sustainable development, climate change or nature conservation, the paradiplomacy scholarship in the environmental dimension provides some significant theoretical insights, such as for example, Happaerts *et al.*'s thorough case study on the Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development (nrg4SD).[117] The nrg4SD was formed by the subnational governments who participated in the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, and it was legally institutionalized in 2004 as an "International non-profit making association." Today, there are almost 50 members in the nrg4SD and their geography is widely diversified from Alaska in North America to Timbuktu in Africa. The official aims of the global network were defined as the promotion of understanding, collaboration and partnerships in sustainable development and

the search for the greater international recognition of the importance of the contribution which regions make to sustainable development.[118] Happaerts *et al.* offer a comparative analysis of the participation in the nrg4SD of three European constituent entities: Flanders, the Basque Country and North Rhine-Westphalia and come to conclusion that those three regions use their membership in the nrg4SD in different ways and with different anticipated outcomes.[119] Thus, the interviews with representatives of the Flemish government demonstrated the remarkable detail about the interest of Flanders to participate in the work of the nrg4SD. According to the survey, the Belgian region first of all searches for affiliation to multilateral bodies, in order "to put Flanders on the international map and to gain a political voice in the international arena."[120] Happaerts *et al.* suggest that the "sustainable development" as such is not the most attractive characteristic of the nrg4SD to Flanders, because de-facto activities within the frames of this global association have no visible influence on the Flemish sustainable development policy.[121]

The analysis of the Basque Country inspiration to take part in the nrg4SD is also not an easy task to interpret. In the comparative survey mentioned above, the authors emphasize that:

> […] the Basques' initial participation in nrg4SD was motivated partly by the aim of development cooperation, with a strong focus on Latin American subnational entities. The Basque Country wants to play an active role in their development, including by providing expertise in the area of sustainable development. […] It is one of the rare members that invest a lot of resources, including political capital, in nrg4SD.[122]

Happaerts *et al.* argue that green paradiplomacy and generally the involvement in international affairs is a form of identity politics for the Basque government and the manifestation of Basque nationalism. In this connection, it seems appropriate to mention that subnational environmental movements are quite often linked to projects of identity construction and nation building. For example, Sevan Beukian shows that the national aspiration in Soviet Armenia that led this subnational entity of the USSR to gain state sovereignty was originally manifested in the form of an ecological movement in this region.[123] However, it is important to recognize that the Spanish autonomous community considers the membership in the nrg4SD not only as a political and image-building project, but also the Basques actively use their participation in the global network for the adoption of the successful experience in environmental management of other subnational governments.[124]

The case of the participation of the German North Rhine-Westphalia region in nrg4SD is very different from both the Flanders and the Basque Country cases. North Rhine-Westphalia was among the most active contributors to the work of the international network, but in 2007, the government of the lander suspended their membership in the nrg4SD. Happaerts *et al.* mention some probable reasons that can explain the withdrawal of the German region from this "green"

paradiplomacy project.[125] One of the reasons can be the fact that the nrg4SD in many ways became the political mechanism of the subnational representation in international affairs, rather than an administrative instrument for solving issues of sustainable development on the regional level. The second explanation why the North Rhine-Westphalia region quit from this global association can be explained by the fact that another political party received control under the lander government and this new authority decided not to continue regional sustainable development policy within the frames of the nrg4SD.

The comparative analysis of the participation of three different subnational entities in an environmental paradiplomacy network such as the nrg4SD allows us to conclude two crucial points that that can help in the construction of the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy. First of all, we must acknowledge that subnational entities can be members of a paradiplomacy project which proclaims one principal goal for all participants, such as nature conservation, but in reality the participation in this paradiplomacy activity can be driven by underlying reasons which are far from the official goal. Second, the case of the North Rhine-Westphalia region vividly shows that the factor of a "regional leader" as well as the configuration of the subnational governing party coalition can significantly determine the vector and the intensity of constituent diplomacy.

The Canadian researcher Annie Chaloux conducted a survey on one of the oldest North American transborder cooperation organizations – the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers (NEG-ECP).[126] The main goal of the organization is to facilitate the trans-frontier cooperation between the Eastern Canadian provinces (New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Québec) and the North Eastern US states (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont).[127] Chaloux studies specifically the emergence and evolution of the climate change issue in the agenda of transborder paradiplomacy activities of NEG-ECP and two of her observations are particularly interesting not only in the aim of understanding the case of this particular NEG-ECP paradiplomacy, but also because her observations can be interpreted in more general theoretical terms. For example, Chaloux states that "Canada's weak leadership and US' refusal to ratify the Kyoto protocol brought at the forefront the issues of environmental paradiplomacy in North America."[128] This means that, in many ways, the subnational environmental initiatives in global affairs are caused by the fact that central governments often fail to demonstrate the political will and leadership to address ecological issues. Secondly, she also notes that "green" transborder paradiplomacy strongly impacted on US-Canada relations on environmental issues.[129] Therefore, our second general assumption from Chaloux's case study can be that subnational diplomacy has a very good potential for improving bilateral relations between border countries in those spheres where their constituent entities reached success in cooperation projects.

Thomas Eatmon's research "Paradiplomacy and Climate Change: American States as Actors in Global Climate Governance" sheds light on the contribution of the American states to global climate governance in the absence of the ratification

of the Kyoto protocol by the US federal authorities.[130] This survey allows the formulation of one very important point: subnational governments can in most cases be more advanced and effective in their environmental policy than federal authorities. For example, although the US federal government did not sign the Kyoto protocol in 1997, many American states adopted their own legislative acts for greenhouse gas reduction. Thomas Eatmon notes in this regard that "while American states did not have the ability to sign the Kyoto protocol, they have used alternative policy vehicles to accomplish similar policy outcomes."[131]

Thus, the analysis of paradiplomacy scholarship in the ecological perspective vividly shows that the contributions of regional governments in such spheres of world politics as sustainable development, climate change or nature conservation can be de-facto more crucial than the inputs of national authorities. Hence, it is not an exaggeration to say that paradiplomacy must be observed as a significant variable for understanding the balance of powers in global environmental affairs and the above-mentioned insights from environmental dimension of paradiplomacy discourse should find their reflection in the explanatory framework.

The traditional diplomacy dimension in paradiplomacy discourse

Diplomacy is traditionally one of the most attractive research fields for scholars around the world. Hundreds of think tanks and university programs on diplomacy studies are functioning mostly everywhere, and it seems that in the coming decades the interest towards the phenomenon of diplomacy will continue to grow. The optimistic prediction concerning the increasing development and attention to diplomacy can be based on our assumption about the further intensification of the debate on the evolution of the essence of diplomacy in a globalized world that is currently going on in scholarly discourse. The representatives of the classical approach to diplomacy postulate that "the essence of diplomacy is unchanged: as always it has to do with promoting and justifying states' interests."[132] The majority of diplomacy scholars is still gravitating to state-centric paradigm of world politics and defines diplomacy as:

> [...] The conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad, the latter being either members of their state's diplomatic service or temporary diplomats. Thus diplomacy includes the stationing of representatives at international organizations. But the backbone of diplomacy has, for five centuries, been the dispatch of diplomatic missions to foreign states, and it is still very much the norm.[133]

Nonetheless, more and more experts assert the necessity of re-evaluating the image of diplomacy, and propose to analyze diplomatic activities as an area liable to a big number of innovations.[134] According to Brian Hocking, the first step in the process of re-evaluation must include searching of the new points of interaction between state and non-state actors in the international environment.[135]

The suggestion of Hocking shows us that the main debate on diplomacy is directly rooted in the general dispute of IR theorists on the position of state and transnational actors in the system of axis of contemporary world politics. The traditional diplomacy paradigm definitely keeps the state-centric grounds and emphasizes the necessity of institutionalizing diplomatic practices. For example, in the above-mentioned definition of diplomacy by Berridge and James, the presence of missions abroad is postulated as a keystone. On the contrary, opponents to this traditional approach believe that modern diplomacy is becoming less an institutionalized structure but more a technological mechanism for prompt and flexible arrangements in global affairs. Together with traditional sovereign state diplomacy, specialists identify alternative and supplementary negotiating machineries in world politics such as celebrity diplomacy,[136] guerilla diplomacy,[137] city diplomacy,[138] paradiplomacy, etc. Thus, we can distinguish in current diplomacy studies two main theoretical camps. The first one still concentrates mostly all its attention to classical diplomatic interstate relations, while the second one tries to rearrange the concept of diplomacy in the way it can accommodate the emerged transformations in the international environment. Below I examine the position of the representatives of the second group.

The researches on the involvement of subnational governments in international relations through the diplomatic studies perspective appeared not in significant quantities, but those few existing works bring very interesting insights to the table which are important for the whole understanding of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. Among those significant theoretical contributions from the diplomatic outlook, we can mention the following ideas. First of all, diplomacy scholars deny the view of paradiplomacy as a phenomenon that is exclusively to federal countries and established democracies. By contrast, paradiplomacy is depicted as the process that has a universal character, and, in different degrees, inherent for all types of nations.[139] Second, some authors argue that de facto the boundaries between paradiplomacy and diplomacy are very blurred today, especially if we compare the diplomacy of small states with that of strong regional entities.[140] This circumstance, according to Criekemans and Duran, opens new opportunities for comparative research in both the academic and policy-making facets.[141] In other words, the assumption that diplomacy and constituent diplomacy are the same may lead to thinking seriously about the possibility of doing a comparative examination of external activities of small sovereign nations and some self-sufficient subnational governments. Third, from the diplomacy studies perspective, the activities of subnational governments in the international arena presently reached the point of harmonious incorporation to the world politics web, or in the words of Noe Cornago, the "normalization" of paradiplomacy has occurred. He defines "normalization" as

> [...] mode of institutional control that recognizes as valid – albeit reluctantly – an otherwise deviant practice, while the limits of that practice are immediately fixed and carefully monitored. In the international realm, normalization enables the diplomatic system to operate in an increasingly complex

> environment, facilitating its own adaptation and durability. Normalization allows the selective incorporation into the diplomatic field of important innovations that are produced by the pluralization of global life, simply because they are – both for functional and normative reasons – too relevant to be ignored. But it simultaneously reaffirms the hierarchical structure of the diplomatic system. […] Sub-state interventions in the diplomatic realm – once considered exceptional or deviant – are becoming normal, simply because their practices, institutions and discourses are increasingly widespread throughout the world in the most disparate institutional contexts and are rapidly changing perceptions and attitudes within the conventional diplomatic system itself.[142]

Thus, to sum up, we can state that the diplomatic dimension is not as much developed as for instance the federalist facet of the paradiplomacy discourse. At the same time, however, the above-mentioned insights postulated from the angle of diplomacy studies certainly extend the limits of our potential for a multidimensional explanation of the essence of constituent diplomacy.

The separatist/non-recognized states dimension of paradiplomacy discourse

In this section of the chapter, paradiplomacy is presented through the study of the problem of the so-called non-recognized states. From the beginning, it is necessary to note that there is a key difference in the subject of research between the separatists/non-recognized states dimension and the previously examined nationalist/cultural facet of paradiplomacy. The nationalist/cultural perspective on paradiplomacy takes under consideration the involvement in international affairs of those subnational entities that, through their own foreign activities, try to affirm their cultural and linguistic differences and to convert it to higher political and economic autonomy. As a rule, nationalist inspired paradiplomacy has a convenient form, it recognizes the leading role of national institutes in foreign affairs and do not pretend to completely substitute the central government in the international arena. The most illustrative cases in the context of nationalism/cultural approach to paradiplomacy are Quebec, Catalonia, Basque Country and Flanders. The non-recognized or partially recognized state dimension on paradiplomacy focuses on subnational entities that are usually only de-jure "subnational" but are de-facto sovereign nations. In the list of those units, we can include first of all Taiwan, Kosovo, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Northern Cyprus, Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria. The paradiplomacy of these subnational governments is also often based on the articulation of their national, religious or cultural peculiarities in the international arena, but in comparison with Quebec or Catalonia, such political entities as Taiwan, Abkhazia or Transnistria perceive themselves as sovereign actors and therefore act as they have absolute competence in international relations.

The phenomenon of struggling for statehood of the constituent parts of different countries is a challenge for the modern world politics. After the collapse

of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the problem of de facto nations received even higher importance in global affairs due to the large wave of ethnic conflicts and territorial claims across the areas of both failed communist empires. The cases of Kosovo, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, etc. completed the list of those units which struggle for the international recognition of their statehood. Without exaggeration, we can confirm that the cases of these post-communist entities have greatly influenced the development of the general political and international relation discourse since the 1990s. For example, the problem of non-recognized states has definitely a tight linkage with contemporary discussions and researches on such urgent political topics as interethnic conflicts, self-determination of peoples, foreign interference in internal affairs, etc.

The examination of de facto states through the paradiplomacy angle is the logical consequence of the existent nature of state recognition mechanism in world politics. As generally known, there are two main doctrines of statehood and its recognition – "constitutive" and "declarative." The first constitutive approach defines a state as a person of international law through the recognition of other sovereign states that are recognized members of the international community. The second declarative theory is reflected in the Montevideo Convention of 1933, where four criteria for statehood were proposed: (1) a clearly defined territory; (2) a permanent population; (3) an effective government and (4) a capacity to enter into international relations with other states.[143] Both approaches are widely used in international affairs to determine the basic precondition, to determine whether the claims of particular entities to obtain international recognition of their statehood are well-founded or not. However, the theories of state sovereignty recognition are quite ambivalent, and also international law by default does not take into account the fact that the leading powers in the international arena very often have their own interests which obstruct the implementation of international legal norms. That it is why in practice the process of self-determination and transformation from de-facto to de-jure status usually has no real solution through the channels of international law, but depends more on deals and agreements between key players in the global scene.

For example, Taiwan without doubt matches all criteria to be named a sovereign state, but it currently has very limited official recognition. Not one permanent member of the UN Security Council, as well as mostly all other world powers, have established official diplomatic relation with Taipei. The reason of this non-admission of Taiwan in the world club of sovereign nations lays in the so-called "One China" policy, which means that those national governments that set up diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) automatically have to break official relations with Taiwan and vice versa. Thus, all countries must decide to open their embassies either in Beijing or Taipei.[144] It is fairly clear that the overwhelming majority of national governments, in accordance with their economic and geopolitical interests, chooses to settle official diplomatic relations with economically, demographically and military super influential mainland China, rather than with the highly-developed but still incomparable in its power, Taiwan. Although, the problem of the "One China" dilemma makes

Taiwan a non-recognized state, Taipei is extremely active in the international scene via its paradiplomacy, which is actually somewhat similar to the traditional understanding of sovereign nation diplomacy. Taiwan opened in total approximately ninety missions around the world. Only twenty-three of them have the status of embassies located in those small countries like Belize or Burkina Faso where authorities have preferred to recognize Taiwan instead of PRC. The almost seventy remaining offices abroad are "informal" embassies and consulates which serve the interests of Taipei under the fascia of trade and cultural missions. Those paradiplomatic offices are functioning in world leading states like USA, Canada, Japan and Russia where the official position towards the "One China" question is on the side of Beijing and therefore only paradiplomatic channels can be considered as appropriate. At the same time Taipei hosts a great number of foreign nation missions that frequently carry on the traditional diplomatic duties, but also they also work under the shelter of various names like trade, cultural or tourism offices.[145]

The case of Taiwan is one of the most illustrative, but not unique for understanding the essence of paradiplomacy in the dimension of non-recognized nation. The examination of other cases of de-facto states like Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh or Kosovo inevitably bring up in the research agenda the issue of constituent diplomacy. In spite of the above-mentioned evidence of non-efficiency in real practice of both "constitutive" and "declarative" recognition approaches in international law, all those non-recognized or partly-recognized entities go abroad and actively try to perform their paradiplomacy in order to search for maximum foreign support and acknowledgment of their sovereign existence among members of the international community. We can agree with Barry Bartmann who says that paradiplomacy for unrecognized states plays an important "state-building" function.[146] In other words, we can assume that for those subnational governments which belong to the group of separatist/non-recognized entities paradiplomacy is a vital activity because it is considered as an essential supplementary tool for completing their crucial mission of obtaining full international recognition of their statehood.

As it has been already mentioned before in this book, most experts argue two principal postulates about potential consequences of subnational governments' participation in foreign affairs. The first postulate says that constituent diplomacy overwhelmingly brings not risks for the integrity of the country but plurality and rationalization in the foreign policy decision-making process, and therefore paradiplomacy facilitates findings of better patterns of intergovernmental interactions for the particular subnational unit and for the whole nation. The second statement says that usually the focus of subnational governments' interest in international relations mostly concentrates on projects related to the low and medium politics and seldom challenges the issues of national security. Obviously, both these statements are not working smoothly when we study the paradiplomacy of non-recognized states. The paradiplomatic activities of the Taiwanese, Transnistrian or Abkhazian authorities are not limited by areas of culture, economics or tourism. By contrast, their diplomacy articulates high

political matters and often incredibly challenges the foreign policy of their central governments. Due to this polarity, it does not seem valid, for example, to compare core the properties of constituent diplomacy of the regions in Georgia to the paradiplomacy of German landers or Swiss cantons. Moreover, for the same reason I believe that the academic attempt to project the experience of the federalization of foreign policy in Germany, Switzerland or Belgium as the possible solution for conflict regulation between separatist regions and central governments is also a misleading effort.[147]

In concluding remarks, it is necessary to stress a few important moments concerning the observation of paradiplomacy in the dimension of non-recognized states scholarship. First of all, the external activities of regions struggling for international recognition as a rule can be characterized as de-jure paradiplomacy, but de-facto it is very similar to sovereign nation diplomacy. Secondly, frequently the paradiplomacy of separatist entities is tightly linked to a bunch of peculiar ethnic, religious, geopolitical determinants related to this area. So if we conduct research on such cases, those special points must be kept in mind.

Conclusion

In this chapter I distinguish and present the eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse, i.e., eleven angles of how the problem of the involvement of subnational governments in international relations can be interpreted from various research perspectives. The goal of this chapter, however, is not only to introduce and describe those eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse but also to show what the strong and vulnerable sides of each angle are and how we should deal with those positive and negative characteristics. The comprehensive outlook on the paradiplomacy discourse gives us a chance to go further in our research and to provide in Chapter 5 a set of answers to the questions of the explanatory model. The answers will incorporate the insights from all eleven dimensions and consequently will allow us to conduct a multidimensional examination of the phenomenon of constituent diplomacy.

Notes

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18 There are different organizations that try to measure the level of democracy and freedom in the world in a scientific way. Among the most famous and reputable reports on this problem are the surveys of the Freedom house. Annual reports on democracy level in mostly all world countries are available at www.freedomhouse.org.

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5 Constructing an explanatory framework for the study of subnational governments' involvement in international relations

The biggest obstacle for researchers' attempts to provide a full theoretical picture of paradiplomacy is rooted in the multidimensional character of the scholarly perception of the phenomenon. Too many facets (Chapter 4 has shown at least eleven) of the possible outlook on paradiplomacy complicate its comprehensive understanding. In the previous chapter of this book, we defined and looked through eleven dimensions of the paradiplomacy discourse. The main goal of this chapter is to present an explanatory framework which can incorporate, in a well-balanced and original way, all these eleven dimensions together.

The explanatory framework that is proposed in this book is inspired by the multiple response questionnaire (MRQ) technique.[1] The MRQ is used in the research as a tool for the systematization and formalization of the knowledge on constituent diplomacy that was derived from our analysis in the previous chapters and particularly from Chapter 4 where the eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse were analyzed. Due to the "pre-coded" nature of the MRQ, the proposed model can be considered as a template that other researchers can use as a feasible guide for conducting a study of chosen cases of paradiplomacy. The stem of the MRQ model consists of a list of questions and the given set of possible responses regarding subnational activities in the international arena. Both questions and answers are defined on the basis of those observations of the eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourses that were defined in Chapter 4.

Based on overview of the bulk of the literature on paradiplomacy and the analysis of the eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy, the chapter has identified six questions which are crucial for the comprehensive analysis of paradiplomacy of an examined region. These questions will be used as the model to analyze cases of paradiplomacy:

1 What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of an examined region?
2 What are the legal grounds of constituent diplomacy in the country of an examined subnational case?
3 What is the predominant motive of the government of an examined region to be involved in international affairs?
4 How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in an given region?

5 What is the attitude of the central government towards the paradiplomacy of its constituent entities?
6 What are the consequences of paradiplomacy for the development of the whole nation?

Below the approach of how to deal with all six questions will be presented. On each question the set of multiple possible responses will be provided. Those responses are formulated on the basis of those interpretations of the paradiplomacy discourse that were analyzed in Chapter 4 of this book. How can the proposed explanatory model be implemented as a plausible guide for doing research on different cases of paradiplomacy? In brief, the operating technique of the model can be explained as follows. Let us say for example that we need to do a comprehensive evaluation of the external activities of the Italian Aosta Valley. If we decide to use the below described explanatory pattern as a research guide, what we need to do is to project the proposed six questions on the paradiplomatic activities of this European region and attempt to find answers to them. The process of searching for responses to those six questions can be facilitated by taking into account those theoretical generalizations on paradiplomacy that are systematized in an explanatory pattern. Through the implementation of the proposed MRQ model, we can gather a comprehensive outlook of the external activities of this Italian region. Moreover, due to the predisposition of the multiple response system to unify the design of survey, hereinafter it will not be a very complicated mission for scholars to shift from a particular case study to a comparison of different cases of paradiplomacy. For example, after the completion of the survey on Aosta Valley paradiplomacy, we can conduct another study of other region(s) (Italian, European, non-European – it depends on the concrete research purposes of a scholar) using the same research technique and do a comparative examination of the obtained results of all the case-studies.

Before we go into further detail on the MRQ model, a few more comments regarding the proposed six questions are needed. Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge once again that these six questions are not invented from scratch but are based on the analysis of research approaches towards paradiplomacy that were mentioned in this book, particularly in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.[2] In other words, when conducting an in-depth study of paradiplomacy these questions naturally come up. The origins of these questions can be identified in the works written in the 1980s and 1990s by Duchacek, Soldatos, Kincaid, Fry, Michelmann and other "pioneers" of paradiplomacy discourse. In some way and in different variations, these questions are used by many paradiplomacy scholars in their research but often in an unsystematic or very narrow-focused manner. Therefore the aim of the proposed MRQ model is to offer a research tool that may help scholars to conduct a systematized and comprehensive study of chosen paradiplomacy cases.

Question 1 What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of an examined region?

The process of answering the first question provides an analytical introduction to understanding the origins of paradiplomacy in a chosen case study. In our examination of the facets of paradiplomacy, we were able to identify some potential explanatory variables that can clarify the rise of the subnational involvement in international relations. Generally, all causes can be divided into two main groups. The first group consists of the causes which can be labeled as "external" or "universal" – i.e., those factors that have a worldwide nature. These causes fuel the acceleration of constituent diplomacy in particular regions as part of some universal tendency, proper to the contemporary stage of global development. The second group includes the "internal" or "domestic" causes of paradiplomacy. The core of this type of cause is determined by specific political, historical, cultural, economic or other problems localized in a particular region that pushes subnational governments to go abroad. An in-depth analysis of academic discourse on paradiplomacy allows us to present the following eleven major causes that determine the blooming of the phenomenon of constituent diplomacy in recent decades.

The "external"/ "universal" causes of paradiplomacy

1 Globalization

Globalization is a phenomenon which is widely articulated by different researchers in various contexts in contemporary paradiplomacy discourse. Indeed, it seems that today globalization in many ways influences mostly all processes that take place in the international arena and domestic affairs of almost all countries. Globalization eroded economic and cultural boundaries between states and granted subnational entities more opportunities to pursue their economic goals not only within their home state but across the national frontiers as well. Due to the universal and engrossing nature of globalization, we can assume that the factor of globalization has an impact on the flourishing of paradiplomacy everywhere across the world, but definitely the strength of this variable varies in degree for different regions. In this connection, the problem lies in the dilemma of how to measure the impact of globalization on the intensity of paradiplomacy of a regional government. In Chapter 4 paradiplomacy was presented through the lenses of the scholarship on globalization and global economy. This brief outlook demonstrated that globalization is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and that is why there are too many economic, political, cultural and other indexes through which globalization can be evaluated. The possible techniques of measuring globalization can be borrowed from A.T. Kerney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index database,[3] for example, or from some other source, but certainly there is no simple quantitative clear-cut approach for measuring the extent of globalization. It is therefore an open question as to how to examine in a sophisticated way the impact of this factor on the development of paradiplomacy in qualitative

terms as well. As one of the possible solutions to circumvent this obstacle, I can propose to consider the impact of the variable of globalization for all cases by default and evaluate its importance in qualitative terms in accordance with those evidences which are at the researcher's disposal.

2 Regionalization

The concept of regionalization is an analytical derivative from the concept of region, and it is therefore also a quite ambiguous term. However, in Chapter 2 a detailed definition of the concept of region was offered. On its basis and within the research context of this project, we can identify regionalism as a complex process which highlights the tendency of the increasing role of subnational governments in mostly all spheres, including international relations. One can note that a crucial importance of the regionalization force is the formal or informal redistribution of power competences between the central and regional authorities. So in fact, regionalization is the global tendency that drives to subsidiarity, which means delegation of as much competence as possible from central government to regional and local levels of authority in those spheres where non-central governments can perform effectively. Herein, it is necessary to emphasize that it is the global and supranational nature of regionalization that differentiates it from the process of federalization, which is a domestic force determined primarily by internal historical, political, economic and cultural factors of state development. Figuratively speaking, regionalization in this context is some kind of "federalization from outside."
One of the most comprehensive analyses of regionalization was done by Michael Keating, who proposes to examine regionalization in three main facets:

1 As state policy, a top-down phenomenon when central governments begin to actively involve regional elites in the design and implementation of national strategy, and, therefore, increase their political and economic status;
2 As a bottom-up process of regional demands for more political, economic and cultural authority;
3 As a response of both center and regions on those challenges and opportunities that emerged in the context of global economic change.[4]

Thus, when examining the international relations of a chosen region, it is important to evaluate the impact of the regionalization factor through these three dimensions. Also, we can notice that regionalization probably has a more vivid manifestation in modern Europe, especially after the Maastricht treaty, and therefore, when we study the cases of paradiplomacy of the European regions, this variable must be taken under very strong consideration.

3 Democratization

Global waves of democratization in the last decades of the twentieth century allowed many societies around the world to start the political transformation

from authoritarian or totalitarian systems to free regimes. Paradiplomacy in many ways means, by default, some degree of plurality in the decision-making process which is difficult to imagine in non-democratic regimes. That is why some researchers like John Kincaid, for example, assume a positive correlation between the strengthening of democracy and the spread of constituent diplomacy.[5] Kincaid mentions the case of Spain, where paradiplomacy was suppressed under Francisco Franco's authoritarian regime and regions such as Catalonia or the Basque Country have emerged in the international scene as leading subnational entities only after the collapse of Franco's dictatorship.[6] We can observe the same correlation between the strength of democracy and the development of regional involvement in international relations, for example, in the case of Russia. After the fall of the communist regime in 1991, the beginning of democratic transition was accompanied by a significant growth of the role of Russian federated units in domestic and international affairs. By contrast, the deliberalization of the political system in Russia in the 2000s under the leadership of Vladimir Putin decreased the intensity of paradiplomacy.[7] Therefore, when studying the paradiplomacy of those regions that are the constituent entities of states where the political liberalization process had started recently, we should certainly acknowledge democratization as an important variable.

4 Foreign policy domestication and internalization of domestic politics

Another global tendency that had a direct impact on the renaissance of paradiplomacy is the emergence of overlap between "domestic policy" and "foreign policy" and between "low politics" and "high politics." This phenomenon of blurring the clear division between domestic affairs and international relations was discussed previously in detail in Chapter 4 when we looked at paradiplomacy through the lenses of constitutions, federalism, international relations, international security and global economy discourses respectively. We noticed the decision-making in "low politics" was traditionally concentrated more in the hands of regional and local authorities and the "high politics" domain belonged exclusively to the central government. However, this principle has been eroded and politics in education or ecology, for example, often shifts from the sphere of domestic low politics to international relations agenda. The blurring of frontiers between domestic and foreign politics pushed subnational governments to go abroad and to promote their "low politics" matters mainly on the level of transborder paradiplomacy. Certainly, this factor more vividly comes out in those particular situations when a "low politics" issue gets international significance, and, vice versa, when a problem of "high politics" in global affairs has its direct overlap with the competence of the subnational government.

The "internal"/"domestic" causes of paradiplomacy

5 Federalization and decentralization

The rise of paradiplomacy can be explained as a result of the evolution of intergovernmental relations within particular states. The credibility of this statement was demonstrated in our analysis of the federalist facet of paradiplomacy scholarship in Chapter 4. If we conduct research on the paradiplomacy of federal constituents or regions from quasi-federal countries like Spain, the intergovernmental relations between the central and subnational authorities can be a crucial hint for our understanding of the emergence of paradiplomacy. For instance, in the case of the United States, one can note the fundamental role of developing constituent diplomacy in the strategy of "new federalism" which was launched by the administration of President Richard Nixon in the early 1970s. The main political philosophy of the new doctrine was based on the rearrangement of governmental functions between the state and federal authorities and the de-facto decentralization in many spheres.[8] Although the competence of the center in international relations was not primarily under consideration for power redistribution, the paradiplomacy of the US states was no doubt accelerated by this federalization trend in American domestic politics.

6 Problems with the nation-building process

The problem of some countries in their nation building process also actualizes paradiplomacy. In Chapter 4 of this book, this statement was demonstrated with the analysis of the cases of the so-called non-recognized states like Kosovo, Abkhazia, Taiwan, South Ossetia, etc. In those cases, paradiplomacy is tightly linked to the struggle of the constituent entities to gain statehood and international recognition. However, less fatal problems in the nation-building process may also powerfully drive paradiplomacy. This circumstance is true for countries that consist of entities with ethnic, linguistic or cultural peculiarities differing from the rest of the population. Previously in Chapter 4 we also discussed constituent diplomacy through the dimension of nationalism by making references to regions such as Quebec, the Basque Country, Catalonia, Flanders, etc. We concluded that paradiplomacy is strongly linked to the national aspirations of the regions that would like to stress their special place within the political and territorial organization of a state. Hence, in this regard, paradiplomacy must be considered as both a challenge and an opportunity for the central governments in solving the political dilemma regarding how to conveniently accommodate the interests of all constituents within a state. Thus, it is a simple but very logical hint for those who study the case of regional involvement in international affairs: if we are going to examine the case of paradiplomacy of the region with the status of "non-recognized" state or the constituent entity with strong nationalist ideology, then the stipulated variable "the problems in nation-building" should be given the highest importance in the process of searching for explanations.

7 Insufficient effectiveness of the central government in foreign relations

This factor can induce paradiplomacy due to the central government's weakness in managing an effective foreign policy in general or in particular spheres. This observation was made by researchers who study paradiplomacy in the federalism facet. The main postulate of the supporters of this approach posits that subnational governments often have more experience, knowledge and resources for some types of international activities.[9] However, the reasonable question is how can we evaluate the impact of this variable? I believe that the best way to deal with this problem is to get an expert opinion via interviews. The questions on the central government's insufficient effectiveness in particular areas of foreign relations can be addressed to regional and central authority officials, as well as to representatives of academia who focus on studies of intergovernmental relations.

It is rational to assume that in the recent decades, the field of original prerogatives of subnational governments has become increasingly significant. For example, in ecology regional initiatives can be more efficient. In Chapter 4 of this work, we mentioned that many paradiplomacy projects related to the global problem of climate change are caused, to a large extent, by the fact that central governments frequently fail to demonstrate the necessary political will and leadership to address this ecological issue. Thus, regions can often promote more effective "green" projects in the international scene than the environmental policies proposed by central governments on similar issues.

8 Asymmetry of constituent units

Disproportion in terms of economics within a state forces the most developed regions to find new points for further growth outside the domestic market. We discussed the global economy dimension of paradiplomacy in the previous chapter and agreed with Archer and Morici that paradiplomacy often becomes a supplementary mechanism for economic development in the hands of the regions with high trade and industrial potential.[10] For example, California is approximately at the same level in terms of GDP with such large countries as Italy, Texas is closer to Australia in this parameter.[11] There is no doubt that such tremendous economic subnational power can not always be limited by national borders and has to spill out in the international arena. As one foreign affairs columnist John Goldsborough vividly notes:

> [...] California is so big, and its problems so immense, that it needs its own foreign policy. In an era when economics commands foreign relations, this does not mean embassies and armies, but it does mean more trade offices and state agents in foreign countries, its own relations with foreign nations and a governor and legislature willing to represent the state's interests independently of Washington. California is a distinct region within the United

> States and needs greater freedom to act on its own – not to thrive, but as this devastating recession has shown, just to survive.[12]

Thus, when examining regions with strong trade and industrial profile, we should definitely pay attention to the above-mentioned effects of constituent asymmetry.

9 Outside stimulus

Paradiplomacy can be caused and fueled by the influence of external factors. For instance, Panayotis Soldatos notes that the first president of the French fifth republic, Charles de Gaulle, strongly encouraged intensive interactions between France and Quebec, and he therefore crucially contributed, to some extent, to the process of establishing Quebec's international personality.[13] Another illustrative example of an external stimulus for paradiplomacy is the regional policy of the European Union. The EU programs of support of transborder paradiplomacy unquestionably gave an extra credit for regions to go beyond the national frontiers. For example, the EU launched large-scale stimulation program called INTERREG in order to provide political and economic support to regional cross-border cooperation projects across Europe.[14] Obviously the institutional impact of the EU on the development of constituent diplomacy can not be ignored when we conduct a case study on the involvement of European subnational governments in international affairs. When examining some non-European entities, it is also very important to think about possible outside forces that can accelerate the paradiplomacy of the region under study.

10 The role of regional leader/ political party

The analytical outlook on various cases of constituent diplomacy shows that the personality of the regional leader as well as the political ideology of the particular regional party can determine the intensity and the course of subnational involvement in international affairs. For example, in Chapter 4 we looked at the survey of Happaerts *et al.* who conducted a comparative study on the participation of three European constituent entities in the nrg4SD: Flanders, the Basque Country and North Rhine-Westphalia.[15] Happaerts *et al.* stated that North Rhine-Westphalia was among the most active contributors to the work of the international network, but in 2007, the government of the lander suspended their membership in nrg4SD. Happaerts *et al.* explain the withdrawal of the German region from this "green" paradiplomacy project by the fact that it was the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), instead of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), that received control of the lander government and the new authority decided not to continue the regional sustainable development policy within the frames of the nrg4SD.[16] It is reasonable to assume that a political shift on the regional level can accelerate or hamper the international activities of constituent units. Consequently, we need to scrutinize the impact of the subnational ruling elite on regions' aspirations and self-identification in international relations domain.

11 The role of borders

Although the modern world is characterized by many as flat and borderless, and high technologies tightly clamp space and time, geography still matters a lot. As it was postulated in Chapter 4 in the part on area/border dimension of paradiplomacy, paradoxically, in our borderless world frontiers received new and significant meaning and destination. If borders previously divided people of different nations, it is quite the opposite today, as its key mission has become to unite foreign neighbors and give them additional opportunities to convert geographical proximity for mutual benefits.

Herein, it is not redundant to remember Duchacek's classification of paradiplomacy, in which he defined three major lines of regional negotiations in international relations:

1 transborder regional paradiplomacy (relations between foreign regions with a common border, for example the cooperation between British Columbia and Washington);
2 transregional paradiplomacy (relations between regions of neighboring countries but those without a common frontier, for example the relations between Quebec and Louisiana);
3 global paradiplomacy (relations of regions with foreign subnational and central governments where borders do not matter, for example Sverdlovsk oblast and Baden Wurttemberg).[17]

Certainly, the first type of paradiplomacy is the most simple and grass-rooted model of regional external activities. Indeed, those regions that have a physical border with other countries instinctively have more passion and incentives to go abroad, in order to firstly settle some international cross-border communications. Thus, if we take for our case study a border region, we can definitely suppose that the factor of common frontier with a foreign state will significantly determine the blooming of paradiplomacy of this subnational entity.

Question 2 What are the legal grounds of constituent diplomacy in the country of an examined subnational case?

Another way of posing this question would be to ask: what are the legal grounds of constituent diplomacy in the country of an examined paradiplomacy case? The outlook on paradiplomacy from the position of its legal expertise is definitely one of the most important elements in the examination of this phenomenon. We need to study national constitutions and other legal acts in order to identify those competences that de-jure belong to regional authorities in the field of foreign affairs as well as the mechanisms of intergovernmental interactions between central and subnational governments in all matters related to international treaty-making.

I propose to analyze the participation of subnational governments in external relations from a constitutional perspective through the approach implemented by

John Trone, which was described in Chapter 4. Trone's approach is based on the clarification of two key aspects:[18]

1 What is the level of legal permission of treaty-making with foreign actors granted by the national constitutions/legal acts to regional authorities?
2 What are the constitutional requirements for consultations with subnational governments on foreign affairs issues, in the cases when those issues have a special impact upon a particular constituent unit or when the solution to the problem related to the international relations sphere totally or partly lies within the regional legislative competence?

Therefore, when we have a research on a particular case of paradiplomacy we need to find the answers to those two questions by analyzing legislative norms. Although the constitutional evaluation of regional international cooperation seems like a feasible research task, it is possible to define two major vulnerabilities that are necessary to think about when we try to examine the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in its legal/constitutional facet. First, we need to recognize that national constitutions, as political and ethical grounds for statehood development, can often not reflect contemporary processes that take place in reality, and therefore the research on regional cross-border activities which is conducted only by analyzing legal acts may lead us to inquire with very limited validity. The second potential vulnerability of relying upon legal codes as a source of evidence consists in a problem that can be labeled as "fake constitutionalism," and this is when legislative norms are de-facto simply a fiction, and non-constitutional mechanisms determine the political process of a country. Therefore, when we try to examine the constitutional grounds of constituent diplomacy, it is essential to always take into consideration the probability of the contradiction between constitutional norms and real performance in this matter. Special attention to the issue of incompatibility between de-jure and de-facto situations should be paid when analyzing legal arrangements in those countries that are recognized as non-free or partly free.[19]

Question 3 What is the predominant motive of the government of an examined region to be involved in international relations?

Mostly all researchers on paradiplomacy identify three main sets of motives for regions to stir their activity beyond national borders: economic, cultural and political.[20]

1 Economic motivations lie in the desire of regional authorities to receive maximum benefits from the world liberal market environment by interacting with foreign actors. Usually the choice of a foreign economic partner and the general design of an economically motivated cooperation are determined by two major principles: geographical and functional. The geographical

determinant for economically motivated constituent diplomacy can be simply defined as the presence of a common frontier between two subnational entities. The functional factor consists in the presence of the congeniality of peculiarities in the functioning of the regional economies. For example, Alberta borders only with one US state, Montana, and this geographical circumstance significantly increases trade ties between governments in Edmonton and Helena.[21] At the same time, however, Alberta has long-standing relations with Russian Western Siberian region, Yamal-Nenets, focused on gas industry, because the mechanism of the functioning of the economics of both regions is based on the production of this natural commodity.[22]

2 Cultural or linguistic factors are vital incentives for paradiplomacy, especially for those regions who possess their own language, and cultural or religious peculiarities. These constituent units are looking for cooperation first of all with foreign actors who have a similar cultural and linguistic identity. For example, in Belgium the francophone community of Wallonia is mostly looking towards France while the Flanders region demonstrates natural interest to be in touch with the Netherlands.

3 Political goals as a rule are the attribute of two kinds of subnational governments. The first group includes secessionist regions with the intention to gain their own statehood or at least a high autonomous status. For instance, mostly all subnational entities with the status of non-recognized states (Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, etc.) have a strong political message in their external activities. The second group of regions performs politically in the international arena in the capacity of development promoters, such as the authorities of the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, which signed an agreement with the Namibian republic, in order to work together to strengthen democracy in this African country.[23]

4 The frontier regions have a fourth type of motive which was figuratively tagged by John Kincaid as cross-border housekeeping.[24] Cross-border housekeeping is the need for regional governments to find better solutions for routine but vital issues like the environment, transportation logistics, emergency management, education, migration, etc. Apparently, the problem of pollution in a single cross-border territory does not always have significance on the national scale, yet it can be really important for people who live in this area. The principal feature of an ecological problem is that it does not respect borders and can have a negative impact across international frontiers. In this connection, transborder paradiplomacy can often be the most effective solution for such kind of challenges.

Thus, it is possible to distinguish four main potential motives for regions to go abroad: economic, cultural, political and cross-border housekeeping. However, there are a few important factors that should always be taken into account. Firstly, subnational governments pursue a few aims in their international activities simultaneously, but evidently one motive might be more dominant than

others. Secondly, all these four motives can overlap in various combinations. Thirdly, these motives can be labeled as "ideal" types in terms of Weber's sociological approach, i.e., in practice not one region has a purely economic, political or cultural incentive to go abroad and this third statement logically succeeds from our second point. Fourthly, similar paradiplomatic action done by different regional governments can be determined by dissimilar underlying motives. For example, in the previous chapter of this book, we reviewed the comparative research of Happaerts *et al.* of three European constituent entities on participation in nrg4SD: Flanders, the Basque Country and North Rhine-Westphalia.[25] The results of this survey highlighted that the underlying motives of all three regions to be involved in this "green" paradiplomacy were various. The Basque Country perceives participation in the work of nrg4SD primarily as an activity for promoting its cultural and political interests, while for the German region the membership in nrg4SD was mainly motivated by the desire to cooperate internationally on sustainable development issues. The last point we need to mention is the assumption that the set of motives that drives paradiplomacy determines the region's choice of foreign partners and the role of constituent government in the international scene.

Question 4 How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in an examined region?

In this part of the explanatory model, we will make an attempt to list potential responses on the question regarding how subnational governments technically go beyond national borders. Due to its tangible character, this question is probably less disputable than the other questions of the explanatory framework. Different scholars offered their classifications of the channels that regions use to go abroad, but generally many would agree that there are few principal ways of institutionalizing paradiplomatic activities that can be listed.[26]

1 *Establishment of a special regional ministry or department which is responsible for the international affairs of the constituent unit*. It seems a very convenient choice for subnational authorities to create a separate bureaucratic body that will professionally conduct subnational policy making in international affairs. So if we are able to identify such kind of governmental institute of paradiplomacy in an examined region, we need to thereafter clarify the aspects of the functioning of this "subnational ministry of foreign affairs." For example, it is essential to define whether this agency possesses complete control of regional international relations or whether other branches of subnational authority, such as the ministry of culture, the ministry of education, the ministry of transport, etc., have their own divisions that realize international projects. Moreover, if there are such international relations divisions in other agencies, the question is how the specific IR ministry coordinates its work with all others regional bodies that participate in paradiplomatic activities. Also, it seems important to give brief analytical

comments on the structure of the regional ministry of foreign affairs, the number of employees and the dynamics of regional budget expenditures on paradiplomacy for the recent decades.

2 *Opening of permanent subnational offices in foreign countries*. In many ways these overseas offices can be labeled as "paraconsulates," because they often provide support and consultations for regional communities in developing international contacts in business, culture and other spheres. The examination of this question requires that researchers make an outlook on geographical locations of those overseas regional offices, their key responsibilities, number of employees and budgets. It is compulsory for the comprehensive understanding of this form of institutionalization of paradiplomacy to trace the dynamics of opening and closing subnational abroad offices as well as to evaluate how these regional "paraconsulates" co-exist with national embassies and consulates of their countries which work in the same foreign states.

3 *Official visits of regional authorities to foreign regions and countries*. Herein, it seems significant to pay attention to qualitative and quantitative aspects of this paradiplomatic channel. In other words, how often regional authorities go for official visits abroad, what is the level of competency of those officials that are usually the members of delegations (leader of a region, regional ministry of IR, representatives of legislature, NGO, business, etc.), and the level of foreign hosting partners (national, subnational, supranational, IGOs, INGOs, etc.).

4 *Participation in various international events like exhibitions, forums, etc. organized by foreign actors*. The evaluation of this aspect of paradiplomatic institutionalization can be done in the same manner as the previous organizational format.

5 *Establishing and participation in global and transborder multilateral regional networks and working groups on specific problems like agriculture, sustainable development, energy, transportation, etc*. In this book we often mentioned the examples of various subnational networks that successfully function in the international scene such as nrg4SD, the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers (NEG-ECP), the Assembly of European Regions (AER), Lake Constance Conference and others. Regional governments actively contribute into the work of numerous networks and the main aim of a researcher in this segment of his/her case study is, first of all, to explain the reasons behind the joining or not of the subnational entity to the particular multi-lateral projects and to list the subnational expectations from participation in such kind of international cooperation.

6 *Participation of regional authorities in international events organized by foreign entities within the official delegation of their central government*. Certainly, this channel of involvement in international relations contains two controversial impacts for paradiplomacy. On the one hand, such format of participation in foreign affairs means that regional authorities take a shortcut towards the highest stage of world affairs and have their own

impact in national foreign policy. On the other hand, the access to this high level sphere of IR is totally dependent upon the desire of a central government, and therefore this paradiplomacy channel may cease to exist at any moment due to various political and economic reasons. Accordingly, in this part of our research, we need to evaluate the efficiency of this organizational format for our case of constituent diplomacy.

The examination of the fourth question of the proposed explanatory framework allows accumulating not only qualitative knowledge on paradiplomacy, but also systematizing the available information on this phenomenon in quantitative terms. The generalization based on the number of bi-lateral treaties, official meetings, international forums, number of overseas offices and etc. can be further implemented in research purposes in order to measure the intensity of subnational involvement in international relations and provide an evaluation of constituent diplomacy not only in qualitative, but also in quantitative terms.

Question 5 What is the attitude of the central government to paradiplomacy of its constituent entities? (perceptional/ practical dimensions)

Paradiplomacy in all its manifestations is a fait accompli of the contemporary global development. The national governments can not be unconscious of their constituent units' attempts to act on the international scene, and thus have to formulate their position towards paradiplomacy. There are a few principal methodological ways to study the attitude of central governments to paradiplomacy, and, generally, intergovernmental interactions on this issue:

1 to check the public statements of national representatives on this issue;
2 to examine the central government official documents on this issue;
3 to take expert interviews from both regional and central government officials on this issue.

The main task of a researcher is to analyze the positive and negative opinions of national representatives on regions' external activities and identify the central government approach of dealing with regional aspirations to act beyond borders.

The analysis of the eleven dimensions of academic discourse on paradiplomacy in Chapter 4 of this work allows us to assume that, in an oversimplified form, the attitude of the central government towards paradiplomacy can be characterized by two general opposing perceptions.

1 Paradiplomacy as a challenge for the whole nation;
2 Paradiplomacy as an opportunity for the whole nation.

The fears of the central governments, as was vividly pointed out in the mid 1980s by Ivo Duchacek on the basis of his interviews with US national officials,

may take on various natures: from opposition in principle, to apprehension of potential harm of paradiplomacy, to national interests, because of subnational egocentrism.[27] No doubt that for the last decades those negative views of national elites may have changed in degree of sophistication, but the core of the claims remains distinctly the same. The positive attitude to transborder regional interactions can also include a broad spectrum of underlying reasons: from recognition of paradiplomacy cooperation as an effective mechanism for solving problems of particular areas, to the desire to implement paradiplomacy as a supplementary source of national foreign policy. Frequently, negative and positive attitudes as well as central government behavior in respect to subnational diplomacy are intertwined and adjoined because the central authorities' outlook can be determined by the diversity of concrete contexts. That is why I believe that the best way to find clarifications for the fifth question of the explanatory framework consists in doing an in-depth study of statements, documents and interviews, corresponding to particular research cases. This approach should shed light on the proportion and the factual content of these "challenge-oriented" and "opportunity-oriented" models of perception of regional involvement in international relations.

Another task within the framework of the fifth question is to shift our research focus from the dimension of how the central government perceives paradiplomacy to the dimension of how the central government deals in practice with international performances of its constituent entities. In this mission we can follow the classification presented by Panayotis Soldatos, who supposes that paradiplomacy, from the angle of intergovernmental relations, can be expressed in four principal patterns:

1. Cooperative-coordinated pattern. This model assumes regional involvement in international relations under a formal or informal coordination with the federal government;
2. Cooperative-joint pattern. This formula means formal or informal inclusion of paradiplomacy within national foreign policy;
3. Parallel-harmony pattern. This model presumes that regional governments act independently in the international arena in accordance with their competency, at the same time however, their actions are harmonized and do not contradict national foreign affairs;
4. Parallel-disharmony pattern. In this case regional authorities' external actions oppose national government policy. The central government has no administrative power mechanism to control subnational entities' performances in the international arena and in its essence paradiplomacy de-facto shifts to diplomacy.[28]

Thus, we need to identify which one of these four patterns matches more closely with our research case, also in order to show if there is any evolution in the attitude of central government towards constituent diplomacy in perceptional and practical angles over the recent time.

Question 6 What are the consequences of paradiplomacy for the development of the whole nation?

Paradiplomacy bloomed around the world and one can assume that in many ways it became an important factor in the transformation of the foreign and domestic politics of national governments. The mainstream question on paradiplomacy is: what are the consequences of constituent diplomacy for subnational and national development?

As it was shown in Chapter 4 of the book, some political scientists do not deny the possibility that constituent diplomacy may for some regions be a step towards secessionism.[29] However, the general assumption of the majority of experts is that the concern about paradiplomacy as a great threat to the unity of a state is usually a big delusion. In this regard John Kincaid reasonably mentions that in those cases when subnational governments use the international arena in order to proclaim their sovereignty or to do other actions as a way to counter official national foreign policy, paradiplomacy is the reflection, but not the cause of the existing domestic conflicts.[30] According to Kincaid, constituent diplomacy is a positive factor for national polities because it brings extra democratization and plurality in the decision-making process. The same opinion on the positive character of cross-border regional cooperation is shared by scholars such as Soldatos and Atkey, who find that the segmentation of actors and policies in internal relations leads to the rationalization of foreign policy-making.[31] This notion of rationalization in many ways reflects a pro-federalist principle of subsidiarity, i.e., a theory that the central government should delegate on a subnational level all those tasks that can be effectively performed by constituent units.

Thus, we can primarily distinguish and incorporate in our explanatory pattern two potential positive consequences of paradiplomacy in the scale of national foreign policy:

1 Rationalization of the decision-making process in foreign policy, and
2 Democratization of the decision-making process in foreign policy.

Theoretically, the only possible serious risk of paradiplomacy that can be highlighted is the following:

3 Potential of subnational diplomacy to forward ahead the centrifugal process that may have a place in particular countries. However, the secessionist threat can not be recognized as a high probability outcome.

Hence, the closing task in the frames of the case study is to think about the impact of the paradiplomacy of an examined region through the lenses of the above-mentioned three potential outputs. The exploration of this domain also necessarily requires expert interviews and thoughtful qualitative interpretation of all available data.

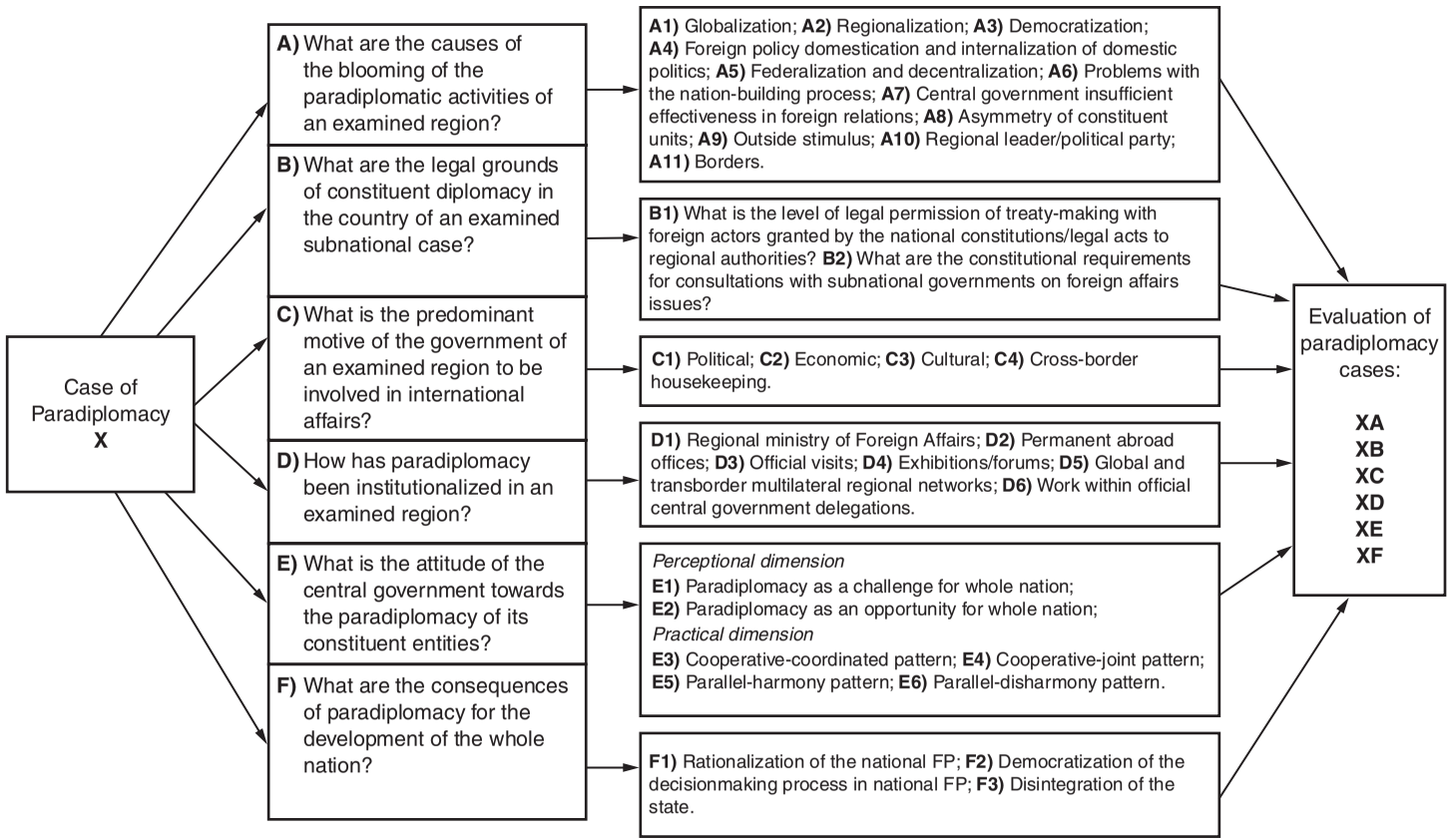

Figure 5.1 The explanatory framework of paradiplomacy (© Alexander S. Kuznetsov).

Concluding comments

In this chapter, the main aim was to construct an explanatory framework of paradiplomacy that can be applied as a supplementary tool for all those who study particular cases of subnational involvement in international relations. In order to describe my framework more clearly, I present it also graphically, as in Figure 5.1.

Certainly, the proposed explanatory framework is not ideal and has vulnerable aspects. For instance, this model mentions the problem but does not clarify how variables such as political regime or territorial-administrative division can matter for paradiplomacy. In other words, the proposed model does not reflect any difference between the international activities of federal nations' constituents and regions of unitary states, or between subnational entities that belong to countries with free political regimes and those whose central government can be recognized as authoritarian. However, regarding the later issue, we stated in the examination of the constitutional basis of paradiplomacy that a researcher should pay attention to the circumstance in which those legal arrangements can counter the real state of affairs.

Although some elements of the explanatory framework can be pointed as vulnerable, the idea of the MRQ-oriented research matrix can be considered as one of the potential ways to systematize the study of paradiplomacy. Moreover, this pattern is a "product with an open code," and it can therefore be updated and improved in accordance with new theoretical and empirical discoveries in the broad field of paradiplomacy research. In the next chapter, the case of the paradiplomacy of the province of Alberta is tackled in order to demonstrate how the proposed explanatory pattern can be implemented in practice.

Notes

1 For more information on multiple response questionnaire, please see, for example, Foddy W. *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires: Theory and Practice in Social Research*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

2 It is necessary to mention that the questions for the explanatory framework were formulated originally in my candidate of science dissertation that was defended in the Russian Academy of Science in 2008: www.ifp.uran.ru/files/publ/AutorefKusnezov.doc accessed on 02.23.2014. However, the first public presentation of this set of questions to the international audience and in English language was in the paper "Paradiplomacy as the Domestic Source of Russian Foreign Policy: an Analysis on the Basis of Theoretical Framework." This paper was prepared for the 50th Annual International Studies Association Meeting New York, February 15–18, 2009 and since this time the text is available for public online: http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/1/1/7/5/pages311753/p311753–1.php accessed on 02.23.2014.

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14 More information on INTERREG is available on the official website of the program: www.interreg3c.net/web/home_en accessed on 03.28.2010.
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16 This is provided as one of the most probable reasons. Ibid., pp. 140–141.
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6 The province of Alberta in international affairs

Applying the explanatory framework

The main goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy can be implemented for conducting a case study analysis on subnational governments' international activities. In order to prove the efficiency of the proposed theoretical pattern, and demonstrate its operational performance, the case of Alberta paradiplomacy has been chosen. Why has the paradiplomacy of this Canadian province been selected for analysis? The reasons that determine this case selection were presented in detail in Chapter 1, so I will briefly go over the main arguments in support of the case.

As it was clearly stated in the introduction, there are three key missions pursued in this research. The major mission is to propose the theoretical model for examining the involvement of constituent units in international affairs. The other two missions are defined as the systematization of the existing theoretical and empirical literature on paradiplomacy and the testing of the proposed explanatory framework of paradiplomacy. Certainly, the latter two aims can be considered as significant and original by themselves, but in the context of the entire research they also play a very important auxiliary role for completing the principal scholarly mission of the whole project – the construction of the theoretical explanatory pattern of paradiplomacy. Thus, in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this book the systematic assessment of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy is presented, and in Chapter 5, on the basis of this theoretical assessment the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy is proposed. As it was stated previously, the analytical pattern aims not only to explain the essence of paradiplomatic actions of regional governments but also to be used as a methodological instrument for guiding a researcher in how to study concrete cases of subnational diplomacy. In order to verify this latter statement, I need to demonstrate how the international activities of regional governments can be comprehensively scrutinized by implementing the multi response questionnaire framework which was elaborated in Chapter 5. Figuratively speaking, in this forthcoming chapter I will make a "test-drive" for the proposed explanatory framework in order to show its efficiency.

For the first trial of the theoretical model, the case of the Alberta paradiplomacy was tackled due to a pragmatic and logistical rationale. The previous chapters, where the broad review on paradiplomacy discourse was carried out, give us a strong insight that Canada is among those countries, like Germany, Belgium

or Spain, that exercise special federal arrangements that allow regional governments to be active in international affairs. However, personally as a researcher who thinks about scholarly manageability and feasibility, I see a few obvious advantages to conducting the case study exactly on Canadian provinces and particularly on Alberta. First of all, previously in Chapter 5 it was mentioned that for the correct implementation of the explanatory framework a researcher needs to collect a significant amount of data from various sources. For example, the detection of the right answers to the majority of the MRQ questions requires from a researcher to conduct expert interviews. The Canadian governmental system is notably transparent, and this fact makes the tasks of collecting all necessary data on Alberta paradiplomacy feasible. Second, the officials in Canada speak English and the official documents in the archives are also in English – this linguistic factor also impacted the selection of Alberta as a study case. Third, the selection of Alberta for case study instead of all other Canadian provinces can definitely contribute in an original way to the development of the current discourse on paradiplomacy. The point is that, many experts say that at the present moment there are two regional governments in Canada who demonstrate the highest interest in international activities: Alberta and Quebec.[1] However, it seems less preferable to do research on Quebec because for the last few decades this region has received extremely high attention in the literature on paradiplomacy, and therefore, from a scholarly point of view, it is more reasonable to examine the case of Alberta paradiplomacy, which is certainly not as much "over studied" as Quebec's international relations. Finally, the pragmatic case selection strategy is justified by the already mentioned fact that in the context of the entire research project, the mission of the case study plays an important auxiliary function – it helps to demonstrate how the proposed theoretical pattern can be used as a methodology for examining paradiplomacy. Therefore, from these methodological and educational angles, Alberta looks to be an extremely convenient sample for the above-mentioned demonstrative purposes.

The examination of Alberta paradiplomacy in this work is based on collecting relevant data from the following five major sources:

1 Face-to-face and phone interviews with officials at the Alberta Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations (MIIR).
2 Open documents on Alberta external performance which are available on the official websites and printed brochures of the Alberta MIIR.
3 Canadian mass media records related to the Alberta involvement in external affairs.
4 Discussions/interviews with experts from academia who research on the topics related to Canadian federalism, Alberta provincial politics and international relations.
5 Secondary sources, i.e., literature related to paradiplomacy in Canada.

The explanatory framework for studying subnational governments' involvement in international relations is based on the "pre-coded" MRQ model, the stem

of which consists of six questions and the given set of possible responses to them. These questions were developed in the previous chapter. In accordance with our case selection, the questions of the explanatory pattern can be formulated as follows:

1 What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of Alberta?
2 What are the legal grounds of paradiplomacy in Canada?
3 What is the predominant motive of the government of Alberta to be involved in international affairs?
4 How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in Alberta?
5 What is the attitude of the central government in Ottawa towards the paradiplomacy of Alberta?
6 What are the consequences of Alberta paradiplomacy for the development of the whole nation?

Below the analysis of Alberta paradiplomacy is presented, based on the attempt to find the answers to those six questions. The process of searching the answers is facilitated by those systematic theoretical generalizations which were proposed by the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy in Chapter 5.

The causes of the blooming of the Alberta Province paradiplomacy

The active involvement of Alberta in international affairs started at the beginning of the 1970s. There are various evidences that vividly show a significant increase of provincial interest in international relations since that time. Thus, at that period the Alberta government opened its first offices abroad. For example, the Tokyo office was established in 1970, which is functioning until today.[2] Also, in the 1970s, the Alberta government began sponsoring a number of overseas visits. Some of these trips were personally headed by the provincial premier Peter Lougheed. For instance, the Alberta premier, on behalf of the province, visited Japan in 1973, the United States in 1976, the Middle East, the USSR and Switzerland in 1977, etc.[3] The blooming of paradiplomacy was reflected in the creation by Alberta of the special department responsible for external activities in 1972.[4] The provincial government promoted actively the interests of Alberta by encouraging foreign visitors to come to Alberta. For instance, the US vice-president Walter Mondale visited the province in 1978 and a few years later premier Lougheed hosted his UK colleague Margaret Thatcher as well as the Soviet delegation headed by the later General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev.[5]

Emerged in the 1970s, the paradiplomacy of Alberta, in the last forty years or so, passed through different stages of evolution and at the present moment the subnational diplomacy of Alberta presents an efficient and well-organized apparatus. Today Alberta maintains ten overseas offices in different parts of the world

and in 2013 the provincial premier announced that the government will open six new outposts by 2015; the province keeps up ten programs of "twinning relationships" with foreign subnational governments across the globe and develops transboundary partnership with the neighboring US state of Montana; Alberta sends up to 400 missions/delegations annually to the target foreign markets and hosts almost 140 missions to the province; Calgary is called one of the world energy capitals.[6] These are just a few examples that demonstrate the blooming of paradiplomacy of the province of Alberta. Step by step, by going over from the first to the sixth question of the explanatory pattern, this chapter will put together all pieces of the Alberta paradiplomacy puzzle.

What are those causes that accelerate the government of Alberta to go abroad? The explanatory framework offers eleven potential variables that can determine the growth of paradiplomacy:

1 Globalization;
2 Regionalization;
3 Democratization;
4 Foreign policy domestication and internalization of domestic politics;
5 Federalization and decentralization;
6 Problems with the nation-building process;
7 Central government insufficient effectiveness in foreign relations;
8 Asymmetry of constituent units;
9 Outside stimulus;
10 The role of regional leader/political party;
11 The role of borders.

The key task of this part of the chapter is to look at Alberta through the lenses of its historical, political, economic and cultural development and define those causes that can be considered as the most crucial for the blooming of the phenomenon of Alberta paradiplomacy. It is necessary to emphasize that in this chapter the Alberta paradiplomacy is examined not only in its current status but in the attempt to provide a comprehensive snapshot on paradiplomacy from the moment of its appearance in the early 1970s until 2013. Consequently, there is a default assumption that the strengths and causes of the blooming can vary from period to period.

The impact of each variable from the list of eleven will be evaluated by scale with four meanings: (1) strong, (2) moderate, (3) weak and (4) none. The meaning "strong" will be given to those variables that can be defined as factors that have a high impact on the blooming of regional external activities. The scale item "moderate" labels those causes that bring not major but quite important additional synergy effects for the rise of paradiplomacy. Under the tag "weak" the causes with secondary significance will be labeled. And the scale item "none" simply means that the variable has no tangible power for the research case. I calculate the measurement of the status of each potential cause on the grounds of qualitative analysis of the relevant data which was extracted from expert interviews, provincial documents and secondary sources.

1 Globalization – a strong cause

Globalization, especially in its economic manifestation, can be called a strong variable that determined the stirring up of the Alberta government in international relations. The incredible increase of the role of the global market and foreign investments, the intensification of the interdependence between countries, the pressure of the supranational trade and customs regimes and numerous other expressions of the new global reality brought both important challenges and great opportunities for Alberta, probably more than to any other Canadian province. The point is that Alberta's prosperity primarily depends on revenue from natural gas and oil: the province is the world's third largest exporter/producer of gas behind only Russia and Norway. Alberta possesses about 13 percent of the world oil reserves; more than 60 percent of the provincial oil is exported to the USA, accounting 15 percent of the US total crude imports; over 100 Alberta energy companies are active in over 118 countries.[7]

The importance of properly accommodating the interests of Alberta to globalization realities had already been recognized by the provincial government in the 1970s. Jim Dinning, the deputy minister of Alberta Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs Ministry in the 1980s, illustratively expressed this provincial acknowledgement on this issue by saying:

> […] What brought us into the field (international relations field- A.K.) in the 1970s was, I believe, a realization of the tremendous impact of events outside our border, events beyond our control, on our economy and in our well-being. […] We became involved more and more in the field as we realized that Canada's foreign policy, particularly its economic and trade aspects, has a substantial impact on our economic development. […] The prices on these commodities (oil and natural gas – A.K.) are determined in foreign capitals: London, Riyadh, and Washington although far away are like next door neighbors in terms of their effect on Alberta. No other provincial government's budget is as exposed to external events. […] A one dollar change in oil prices on international markets affects provincial revenues by numbers excess of hundred millions of dollars. It then became apparent why we want to be involved and why provinces believe they should be involved and why they are involved in the international scene.[8]

Although this opinion was expressed by the Alberta government official a few decades ago, recent interviews with provincial representatives conducted in 2010–2011 for this research project as well as Alberta's International Strategy 2013 vividly demonstrate that until today the factors of globalization and global competitiveness primarily accelerate the paradiplomacy of Alberta.[9] The officials as well as the government program documents accept the fact that the prosperity of the province depends first and foremost on the energy sector. However, under the pressure of globalization, over the last 20 years Alberta actively has tried to diversify its regional economy by developing the value-added activities in such

areas as telecommunications, biotechnology, nanotechnology, software engineering, etc. In this connection, it is also interesting to note that the Alberta decision to open a provincial office in California in the near future is led by the desire to stimulate cooperation between Alberta business, science and educational organizations with the high technology sector of Silicone Valley.[10]

2 Regionalization – none

As it has been already mentioned previously in this book, regionalization can simply be considered as a process of subsidiarity launched from the global and supranational levels. In the case of Canada, the process of subsidiarity is not determined as much by some outside global forces as it is shaped by the federalization process which is driven by internal historical, political, economic and cultural factors of the national development of Canada. The impact of the variable of federalism on the blooming of Alberta paradiplomacy will be examined further in this chapter.

3 Democratization – none

The impact of the democratization on the blooming of paradiplomacy in the case of Alberta seems irrelevant. Canada belongs to the group of so-called old democracies, i.e., countries with the continuous history of some form of political representative democracy. Therefore the emergence of Alberta paradiplomacy in the 1970s and its further development can not be strongly linked to the democratization processes.

4 Foreign policy domestication and internalization of domestic politics – a moderate cause

The global tendency of the blurring borders between domestic and foreign politics has definitely found its reflection in Canada and became an important factor for flourishing paradiplomacy of Alberta. This circumstance was noticed in the early 1970s by the first researchers on Canadian subnational diplomacy such as Howard Leeson and Vilfried Vanderlest who believed that:

> [...] International organizations and international legislation have increasingly concerned matters, wholly or in part within the legislative jurisdiction of the provinces. Correspondingly, there has occurred a realization within the provinces that international events have a direct bearing on provincial matters. Obviously, it is untenable for the provinces to allow the federal government the sole proprietary right to participate in international negations concerning matters within provincial competence simply because external affairs are involved.[11]

Since then, the processes of domestication of Canadian foreign policy and internalization of domestic politics received more verification. Today, we can say

that in the case of Alberta the most illustrative evidence of the watering of the frontiers between "high" and "low" politics can be identified primarily in the dimension of international economics. This area of political decision-making strongly linked Canadian foreign policy to Canadian domestic affairs and stimulated the rise of Alberta interest to act beyond national borders.

It is generally known that Canada is one of the wealthiest nations in the world with a highly developed economy. According to the World Bank data, the GDP of the country in 2012 was 1.821 trillion US dollars and this amount is more than 2 percent of the world economy.[12] One of the important constituents of the Canadian economy is international trade, which according to expert estimations consists above 40 percent of the national GDP.[13] If we look at the statistics of Canadian international trade, we can see that the key export commodities are the products of the energy sector – for instance, in 2010 the export share of energy products consisted of 96,486 million dollars, which is equal to approximately 22 percent of the total country export in this year.[14] The production of a crude oil, natural gas and their derivatives is mainly concentrated in the Alberta province, and hence, as a matter of fact Canadian international trade crucially depends on the petroleum industry of the province. According to article 92A of the BNA Act, 1867 (British North American Act), which is a major part of Canada's constitution, the management on non-renewable natural resources primarily belongs to provincial competence.

Since the early 1970s, oil and gas have received tremendous importance in international trade since they are considered as strategic commodities in global affairs, especially due to a few waves of world energy crises. At that time, Ottawa actively participated in the MTNs rounds (Multilateral Trade Negotiations) within GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) where it discussed with other nations various questions on international trade, including issues related to the global energy market. Naturally, Alberta could not be indifferent to international negotiations on energy issues that were being undertaken by the federal government because the whole prosperity of the region and its inhabitants as well as the realization of the provincial programs completely depend on the achievements of the regional energy sector. Figuratively speaking, gas and oil are those main links that connected in one chain the domestic and international politics of the Alberta government. In 1973 during the Tokyo round of the MTN, Alberta did a quite successful trial to promote the provincial interests by sending regional representatives to Japan and by pushing Edmonton-Ottawa dialog on matters of gas and oil. According to Jim Dinning, the long term member of the provincial government with different portfolios, the main concern of the province at that time was about the impact that national protectionist measures were going to have on Canada's ability to improve its access to foreign markets.[15]

> […] Through various position papers, we outlined our views on trade liberalization and called for our objectives to be promoted in the Tokyo round. […] When questioned on whether all the activities that were undertaken by

> Alberta at that time were useful, I believe that we had, and still have, an influence in maintaining Canada's commitment to trade liberalization.[16]

The Alberta government has practiced the promotion of provincial interests by participating in the international MTN rounds of GATT.[17] These paradiplomacy activities of Alberta illustratively show that the variable of foreign policy domestication and internalization of domestic politics has impacted on the flourishing of paradiplomacy of this western Canadian province. However, this cause is tagged as a moderate one because, in the case of Alberta, domestication of foreign policy and internalization of domestic policy is determined by the global energy factor. Therefore domestication of foreign policy and internalization of domestic policy can be considered as supplements to the globalization cause rather than as independent variables in this matter.

5 Federalization and decentralization – a strong cause

The principles of federalism are the inherent essence of the Canadian state. The history of Canada's nation building process is very much determined by the evolution of intergovernmental relations and by the division of powers between the federal government in Ottawa and the provinces. As one of the most well-known experts on Canadian federalism, Richard Simeon, vividly notes in this regard:

> […] The division of powers is constantly in flux. The weight of influence has swung from federal dominance to classical dualist federalism, to a reassertion of federal influence, to the present, in which two powerful orders of government use many jurisdictional, bureaucratic, financial and political levers to shape policy over broad areas.[18]

The division of powers between center and provinces was determined at the BNA act of 1867: management of education, hospitals, taxation, natural resources and other matters of the local or private nature are within the provincial competence.[19] However, the constitutional text offers just a general frame of intergovernmental competence division. The real balance of federal-provincial powers is shaped by permanent intergovernmental competition. In the 1960s–1970s, under the pressure of global tendencies as well as domestic factors, a new significant step in the evolution of Canadian federalism took place – international affairs became the area of the Canadian politics within which provinces also started to have an important voice. The first contribution in the linkage of federalism to international relations was done by Quebec, where the new Liberal government under Jean Lesage came to power in 1960. The Lesage provincial cabinet conducted the so-called Quiet revolution which pushed forward the political debates about the necessity of searching a new status for Quebec either by changing the Canadian federal arrangements or by giving more national sovereignty to the francophone province.[20] Under the rule of this new government, the province declared its right to conclude international agreements in such fields of

exclusive subnational jurisdiction as education, especially with foreign francophone entities. Some external activities of Quebec led to the crisis of relations between the province and official Ottawa. One of the most tense situations in the federal-provincial relations in matters of external affairs emerged in the end of the 1960s, when Quebec participated in an international conference in Libreville with the official involvement of Gabon authorities. The Canadian federal government expressed its serious displeasure by serving diplomatic relations with this African state at the moment of the severing of diplomatic relations between Ottawa and Libreville.[21]

Alberta became the second province that demonstrated high intention to act internationally and to influence Canadian foreign policy, especially on all issues related to gas and oil. In comparison with Quebec, the Alberta government from the beginning emphasized that its external activities by default can be considered not as an alternative but only as a supplementary component of the national foreign policy. The provincial premier Peter Lougheed who occupied his position in the 1970s until the mid 1980s, once clearly noted about his province's constituent diplomacy: "We are certainly not going over there to try to cancel or blow up what the federal government has done, but to complement it."[22] The current interviews with Alberta officials show that the loyal position towards the federal government did not change throughout the last four decades. One of the respondents from the Alberta government stressed that the province acts in foreign affairs only in harmony with the federal government.

> […] We have good working relations with federal government, with department of foreign affairs. We closely work with them and recognize when it comes to international treaties – they are the leading organization. Canada is a decentralized federal system – in our areas we can sign our agreements but we work with federal government and advice with them on what we are doing.[23]

Although the Alberta paradiplomacy is always presented as non-conflictual and assisting force to national foreign policy, some experts tried to find "rebellious" underlying grounds in the high desire of Alberta to go abroad. For instance, Chris Liebich thinks that just as the Quiet revolution and the nationalist aspirations propelled Quebec abroad, the rise of the so-called western alienation tradition opened the international horizons for Alberta.[24] Western alienation is the phenomenon that characterized in the literature as a political ideology of regional discontent that is based on the faith of many western Canadians that their provincial political and economic interests are not achieved equally with the interests of the Ontario and Quebec provinces.[25] Some researchers on Alberta emphasize that western alienation is not a marginal idea, but it is the central point in the regional identity of Albertans.[26] In the end of the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s, the theme of western alienation in Alberta emerged with new strength because Trudeau's federal government launched the National Energy Program (NEP), which obliged Alberta, in favor to other provinces and first of all Ontario and Quebec, to sell oil on the domestic Canadian market with

prices lower than the market. The NEP program increased the belief of Alberta that Ottawa did not promote fairly the provincial interests in foreign and domestic affairs, and this circumstance, according to many scholars, contributed greatly to increasing the provincial interest to go beyond the national borders.[27]

However, despite the existence of the western alienation ideology in Alberta, this fact does not make the nature of the blooming of the Alberta paradiplomacy the same as the Quebec one. In the case of Alberta, it is the federalist aspirations and not the nationalist ones that are the driving force for the regional involvement in international affairs. Albertan politicians are pragmatic actors for whom paradiplomacy is not the instrument for international recognition but a tool to protect their regional interests on the domestic scene, to keep the federal-provincial relations in the constructive tension and to influence on the national foreign policy in energy related issues. In this sense, the phrase of Jim Dinning, the deputy minister of Alberta Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs Ministry in the 1980s, reflects very well the essence of the pro-federalist nature of the Alberta involvement in international affairs:

> [...] We are unique in that we have unique interests that too often get lost in the national interest. We have unique interests that reflect the diversity of each of our provinces. For that reason it is important that provinces pursue those provincial interests, using their own mechanisms but recognizing all the while that the primary responsibility of the federal government is to determine the Canadian position on foreign policy issues. The two need not be in conflict and if managed properly, fairly, and sensibly they will be in harmony and will bring economic prosperity to this country.[28]

6 Problems with nation-building process – none

The problem of nation-building can not be named among the causes of the flourishing of paradiplomacy in Alberta. It does not mean that there is no problem of nation-building in Canada at all – by contrast, the case of Quebec demonstrates that in different periods of time this problem arises in various degrees of tension. In the case of Alberta we can not see any sign of the struggle of the region for sovereignty or for international recognition. The above-mentioned political ideology of western alienation is not bringing a separatist message – Albertans do not impugn their place within the Canadian federation and to the contrary, they strongly identify themselves as Canadians in their international activities. One of the government officials on the direct question of what is his identity during abroad missions instantly responded: "Canadian – first, Albertan – second."[29]

7 Central government insufficient effectiveness in foreign relations – moderate cause

Ronald Atkey, one of the first researchers who examined the role of the Canadian provinces in international affairs, noticed that paradiplomacy can be caused

by the fact that in some areas of international affairs, subnational governments can conduct more effective policy:

> […] the skills, knowledge and resources required for some types of Canadian international activity are found only in provincial government departments. Departments of education are the most notable examples in this respect, although other areas such as hydroelectric power, tourism, and lands and forests also must be considered. It is often more convenient and practical simply for a particular province to enter into a direct relationship with a foreign government or agency in these fields of exclusive provincial jurisdiction rather than unnecessary to interpose another level of governmental bureaucracy not as closely attuned to provincial needs.[30]

Indeed, the low politics issues like education and tourism, for example, are the part of the subnational competence in Canada, and the provinces, including Alberta, can offer international programs that can compete in terms of effectiveness with the federal ones. For example, Alberta develops very advanced international cultural and educational cooperation with Ukraine since its independence in 1991. Alberta entered in sister province relationships with Lviv and Ivano-Frankovsk oblast, launched programs of educational and cultural exchange.[31] The focus on cultural cooperation with this Eastern European country is determined by the circumstance that more than 332 thousand Albertans, i.e., about 10 percent of the total provincial population, have Ukrainian ethnic origins and for that reason the Alberta–Ukrainian interaction is not only the matter of external relations but at the same time an important factor for provincial domestic politics.

However, we need to acknowledge that the realization of cultural and educational projects have a secondary priority in the whole list of interests of Alberta in foreign affairs. The main concerns of the province in international relations are linked to the problem of changes that take place in the global energy sector and the key interest of the region in the international scene is to promote better conditions for the provincial gas and oil export. Since the 1970s the provincial government fully realized that the federal government is unable to represent entirely all specters of Alberta's interests in the international arena. The regional elites naturally have assumed that the actions of the federal government in foreign affairs can be insufficient or that Ottawa can simply ignore the interests of Alberta and therefore the province should have its own contribution in order to increase the effectiveness of the national foreign policy.

The "increasing of the efficiency" of the national foreign policy for the interests of Alberta was implemented by various approaches and organizational formats. For example, as it has been already mentioned before, since the MTN Tokyo round of the GATT in 1973, the province started to actively sponsor regional delegations to visit different international economic forums and even expressed desire to organize one of the GATT events in Alberta.[32] Secondly, the subnational authority has permanently opened provincial overseas offices in

different parts of the world in accordance with strategic interests of the regional economy. One of the most special of the Alberta abroad offices is functioning in Washington D.C. The deputy minister of the MIIR John Cotton explained that the mission of the US office differs from all other Alberta overseas offices: "It is not trade and investment; it is what we call advocacy – relations with Capitol Hill, Senate and White House."[33] In the official governmental reports, the Washington Office is marked as "instrument in ensuring that U.S. decision-makers and influencers are fully apprised of the role Alberta energy plays to the US economy and to ensure that US policy does not penalize Alberta."[34] So, these two examples of Alberta paradiplomacy clearly demonstrate that the provincial government perceives Ottawa's efforts in foreign policy as not beneficial enough for the region's sustainable economic development. Certainly, this factor pushes the region to search for alternative mechanisms of influence in the international field. Therefore we can conclude that the variable of the central government's insufficient effectiveness in foreign relations has a moderate impact on the blooming of Alberta paradiplomacy. Why moderate? I believe that it would be an exaggeration to label this cause as a strong one, because after all, Ottawa's position in international affairs is oriented to promote effectively the position of the whole federation and the particular federated entities as well. Indeed, sometimes there can be some contradictions between the federal and provincial interests. However, in the overwhelming majority of situations, the intention of the central government consists in conducting foreign policy in the way which is acceptable and beneficial for all actors inside Canada. This behavior of the national government can be largely explained by the political model of Putnam's two-level game theory which states that "at the international level, national governments seek to maximize their own ability to satisfy domestic pressures, while minimizing the adverse consequences of foreign developments."[35] Therefore, Alberta paradiplomacy mainly does not need to challenge the federal government foreign policy line, but it is looking for opportunities to secure additionally the provincial interest in international scene.

8 Asymmetry of constituent units – none

Canada is an asymmetric federation. It consists of two different types of constituent units – provinces and territories. The provinces and territories constitutionally are not equal in their competence because the former receive their power directly from the BNA 1867 act, whereas the later obtain their authority from the federal government. Accordingly, from the legal point of view there is an asymmetry in power competence between Alberta and three Canadian territories: Nunavut, Yukon and Northwest Territories. However, in accordance with the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy, the asymmetry of the subnational structure of the state is understood not only as a phenomenon that based on inequality of a legal status of the constituent units, but asymmetry is defined in terms of a disproportion in regional economic development. If we compare Alberta with the other nine Canadian provinces, we can see that the region is

among the leaders on the level of economic prosperity; but some other provinces show better results by a number of important economic development parameters. For example, such a key mark of economic development as the level of the GDP is traditionally much higher in Ontario and Quebec in comparison with all other provinces, including Alberta. Thus, in 2008 the GDPs of Ontario and Quebec were at the level of 584,460 and 302,748 million dollars respectively, while the Alberta GDP is in third place and it consists of 291,577 million dollars (see Canada's GDP by province and territory in appendix).[36]. If the asymmetry in the economic development of constituent units matters significantly for the blooming of paradiplomacy in the case of Canada, it is logical to assume that Ontario must be one of the most active Canadian regions in external affairs. However, this is a wrong assumption. Andre Lecours, who recently conducted a general research on Canadian provinces' involvement in international relations, argues that only Quebec, Alberta and New Brunswick are active internationally. Ontario and British Columbia, in spite of the good profile in provincial economic development, have only very modest international presence.[37] So, as a matter of fact, we can see that although New Brunswick has a GDP of only 27,376 million dollars (twenty-one times less than the GDP of Ontario and seven times less than the GDP of British Columbia), the external activities of this province reached the advanced stage. Consequently, we can logically conclude that in the case of Canada there is no significant correlation between the asymmetry in economic regional development and the blooming of paradiplomacy.

9 Outside stimulus – a weak cause

Paradiplomacy can be fueled under the influence of outside powers. For example, researchers note about the important role of the French fifth republic and personally the role of the French president Charles de Gaulle in the rise of paradiplomacy in Quebec in the 1960s. The leader of France encouraged the Canadian francophone region to develop its own international personality.[38] Can we detect any outside assistance force in the case of Alberta? The analysis of all collected data allows us to presume that supranational regimes such as GATT/WTO, Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) had an indirect impact on the flourishing of the constituent diplomacy of Alberta. All these trade regimes are the institutional frameworks for the negotiation process of various economic issues between national governments. However, due to the fact that many areas of international negotiations such as energy, health care, agriculture lay in the domain of the Alberta government responsibility, experts like Chris Kukucha absolutely reasonably note that:

> […] Ottawa became increasingly aware of the need to secure the provinces' compliance when negotiating and implementing these agreements. Thus was created a new dynamic in Canada's federal-provincial relations. The federal government expanded consultative linkages with the provinces through a series of federal provincial committees, now known as CTrade.[39]

It is necessary to emphasize that this note is especially true for the case of Alberta. The province, maybe more than all other Canadian regions, depends on the decisions on international trade, because its prosperity is primarily based on petrochemical products export. What Kukucha says can be interpreted in the way that GATT, NAFTA and other supranational trade regimes caused the development of Alberta paradiplomacy by pushing the federal government to engage the province in intensive consultations regarding issues negotiated in the global trade agenda. At the same time I evaluate the outside stimulus cause as a weak one, because it has only indirect influence.

10 The role of the regional leader/political party – a strong cause

A ruling political party and a regional leader can be a significant factor for the rise of subnational aspirations to go abroad. As it has been already mentioned previously, in Quebec the increase in provincial involvement in international relations was determined to a great extent by the coming to the power in 1960 of the new Liberal government under Jean Lesage. And what about Alberta in this regard? Let us give an outlook on the case of Alberta in this matter.

In August 1971 a very important change took place in Alberta politics: the Social Credit party that was a ruling power in the province for thirty-six years yielded its leadership in Alberta to the Progressive Conservative (PC) party, which until now keeps its authority in Alberta politics. Peter Lougheed became the first provincial premier from the progressive conservatives and occupied this position a few terms until his decision to resign from office in November 1985. It is exactly with the name of Lougheed and the Progressive Conservative party that it is possible to link the emergence of the strong interest of the province to international relations. The Lougheed's election platform in 1971 that brought him and his party into power included a few strong statements regarding establishing Alberta's position in international affairs. Thus, the progressive conservatives' political platform included the following promises:

- To have the Alberta Government play a much more vigorous role than in the past in promoting and preserving markets for Alberta crude, natural gas and other petroleum products – to refuse to accept a position that in this vital Alberta industry the federal government can negotiate agreements without consultation and concurrence by the elected representatives of the people of Alberta and the Alberta Government.
- To open a Washington D.C. office of the Alberta Department of Mines and Minerals in order to assure that the Alberta Government is much better informed as to United States and World petroleum developments.
- To continue to maintain a climate of attraction to foreign investment recognizing the large capital investment needs for further development of the oil industry – but at the same time to expect a social balance sheet from our corporate citizens reflecting recognition of their social responsibilities to the people of Alberta.[40]

Therefore, not surprisingly, one of the first acts introduced by the new premier was the act of establishing the department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs (FIGA) which came into force in June 1972.[41] For the last four decades, the FIGA department which is currently titled as the Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations (MIIR) has gone through different administrative transformations and has been given various functional responsibilities. What was always constant is the special attitude towards paradiplomacy demonstrated by the PC government. The incumbent PC leader and the head of the government Alison Redford is definitely continuing to develop Lougheed's legacy in international relations. Although the 2013–2014 Alberta budget was proclaimed as a fiscal challenge for the province because it predetermined many budget cuts, the MIIR budget instead got additional financial allocations which are 16 percent higher than the spending forecast for 2012–2013 ($37,144 million versus $31,868 million).[42]

One can assume that the role of the ruling party is overestimated and other above-mentioned factors such as globalization, federalization, foreign policy domestication, etc., are the real causes of paradiplomacy and therefore it does not matter what political party leads the province – all of them will have to be active promoters of Alberta in international relations due to the above-mentioned reasons. This proposition has its logic; however the strong impact of exactly the "PC factor" to the rise of Alberta paradiplomacy can be also proved by the decades of ongoing disagreement of the PC political opponents with the Tory's high aspirations to go abroad. Thus, for instance, the leader of the Alberta Liberals from 1974 to 1988 Nick Taylor stated:

> Mr. Lougheed's system of strutting onto the international scene, like some new banana-republic general … smacked more of a new African dictator than a sober Canadian and was considered in international circles as gauche at best, and at worst irresponsible grandstanding.[43]

The long term leader of the Alberta New Democratic Party (NDP) from 1968 to 1984 Grant Notley blamed the PC's government for its naivety about the province's clout on the international scene and compared in dark tones the Alberta paradiplomacy with Quebec's external activities:

> If premier Bourassa (the Quebec prime-minister from 1970 to 1976 and from 1985 to 1994 – A.K.) were to go to France to ask the government there to help pressure the Canadian government to push bilingualism in Canada, people would be on the streets in protest. But Lougheed is ready to go to a foreign nation and ask them to help change Canadian policy.[44]

The current representatives of opposition such as the NDP member in the provincial legislature David Eggen expressed criticism towards Redford's government active stance in paradiplomacy by labeling it as "outrageous" and "largely inappropriate."[45] So, it is reasonable to assume that if in the future the PC party

will lose its leadership in Alberta, a new ruling party may significantly change the intensity and vectors of development of the provincial involvement in international relations. Thus, the analysis of the case of Alberta provides us with strong evidences that the variables of a regional leader and a regional ruling party can be considered as crucial ones for the blooming of the provincial external activities.

11 The role of borders – a weak cause

Alberta has one international frontier – Montana is the only US state the province borders with. It is not an exaggeration to say that the transborder paradiplomacy is not a primary priority direction for Alberta's activities abroad. The close cooperation with the neighboring foreign region was launched only in the 1980s when Alberta and Montana agreed to form Montana Alberta Bilateral Advisory Council (MABAC).[46] The main aim of the new bilateral organization is to facilitate on a regular basis discussions on issues of common interests related to ecology, transportation, agriculture, education and emergency management, i.e., a regular set of problems of so-called cross-border housekeeping. MABAC meetings are usually held annually, altering Alberta or Montana. Among the most vivid successful examples of cooperation in the border area, it is possible to name the Alberta firefighters' assistance in fighting wildfires in Montana in the summer of 2006. In the sense of trade cooperation, Montana can not be called as a key Alberta international partner in the US market – in 2009, Montana was only in the 14th place of Alberta's export among all the American states.[47]

Hence, we can conclude that border matters for the development of the Alberta paradiplomacy, however the significance of transborder regional cooperation with Montana in comparison with other paradiplomatic activities occupies a minor position in the list of causes that induced the blooming of Alberta paradiplomacy.

The legal grounds of the Alberta province paradiplomacy

In accordance with the explanatory framework of paradiplomacy in this part of the research, we should scrutinize the constitutional arrangements and the expert's commentaries in order to find the answers to two questions:

1 What is the level of legal permission of treaty-making with foreign actors granted by the Canadian constitutions/legal acts to the provincial authorities?
2 What are the constitutional requirements for federal-provincial consultations on foreign affairs issues in the case when the solution of the problem related to the international relations sphere totally or partly lie within the Alberta competence?

The British North American act of 1867 is Canada's keystone constitutional document that created the modern state of Canada which originally consisted of just

four provinces Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Alberta officially joined the Canadian federation in 1905 and since this time the principles of the BNA act have determined the status of the province and its relations with the federal center. In 1982, a major constitutional reform took place in Canada. The reform kept the BNA act of 1867 at the core of the Canadian constitution of Canada but canceled the formal dependence of the nation on the United Kingdom.

The articles from 91 to 95 define the distribution of powers between center and regions. Thus, for example, article 92A gives to subnational governments an exclusive control under non-renewable natural resources, forestry resources and electrical energy, articles 93A endows regions with exclusive competence over education. At the same time, closer acquaintance with the constitution act does not show any article or statement that clarifies what level of authority the provincial governments possess in treaty-making with foreign actors; also, there is no reference on how federal-provincial relations should be in the case when foreign affairs issues overlap areas of provincial competence. There is nothing in the Canadian constitution that authorizes Alberta's paradiplomacy, nor is there anything prohibiting Alberta to act internationally. Actually, it means that paradiplomacy of Alberta as well as the international activities of other Canadian provinces can not be evaluated properly in a constitutional perspective. The most obvious linkage between Alberta's involvement in foreign affairs and constitution of Canada is founded in article 91A. This section of the law secures Alberta's control over the provincial natural gas and oil and de-facto empowers Alberta to be involved in international relations due to the high importance of these two natural commodities in global affairs. After all, we can conclude that in Canada paradiplomacy is regulated not by special constitutional provisions but by permanent federal–provincial interactions which are in the federal nature of the Canadian statehood. Hence, if we wish to grasp the essence of Alberta's paradiplomacy, it is very crucial to examine the real practices of the provincial participation in external affairs, rather than the legal side of this phenomenon.

The predominant motive of the Alberta province paradiplomacy

In accordance with the proposed explanatory framework there are four sets of motives for regions to be active internationally: political, economic, cultural and cross-border housekeeping. The analysis of the data on Alberta's paradiplomacy shows that the predominant motive of the provincial interest in international affairs has an economic nature. This economic motivation mainly shapes the whole content of the provincial paradiplomacy since its emergence in the early 1970s until the present moment. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the prosperity of the region significantly depends on export of natural gas and oil and on the prices of these commodities in the international market – for instance, every dollar decrease in oil price equals a 141 million dollar decrease for the provincial revenue, and every ten cents decrease on natural gas price cuts the regional income by fifty-one million dollars.[48] Therefore, a keystone of Alberta's

aspiration to go abroad consists in the desire to promote in the international arena better sale conditions and a "friendly" environment for the energy sector companies. For example, in 1976 during his US voyage, primer Peter Lougheed addressed to the American congressmen, State Department officials and cabinet ministries: "we will work on the issues of natural gas for you and you work on getting a petrochemical market for us."[49]

The interviews with the current staff of the Alberta MIIR give enough evidence to think that this pragmatic economic-oriented approach to international relations did not change since the times of Lougheed. For instance, the head of the overseas provincial office in London, Jeffrey Sundquist, defines the main task of his unit solely in pure economic terms:

> Our primary responsibility is to represent the commercial interests of Alberta in the UK, to support Alberta's businesses. We are also involved in foreign direct investment for particular Alberta's industries and in general support of the businesses on the market.[50]

It seems that not only in the past and in the present, but also in the future the economic motivation will be the main driver for Alberta's paradiplomacy.

In 2013 the government of Alberta published Alberta's International Strategy (AIS) where the main directions of the provincial international engagement in near and mid-term future perspectives were identified. According to this document there are four main groups of Alberta's international objectives:

1 Diversify markets to expand the economy;
2 Build Alberta's reputation as a global citizen;
3 Prepare Albertans for success in the global economy;
4 Prioritize and integrate government actions to take advantage of international opportunities.[51]

The first group of objectives formulated as "diversification of markets" primarily means an attempt to create a better access for Alberta's businesses to the emerging economies of the world, first of all, to China and India, and therefore to decrease the extremely high dependence of Alberta's export to the US market. The United States used to play and continues to play the role of the main trade and economic partner for Alberta due to a number of objective reasons:

1 The geographical proximity (physically the province borders only with the USA).
2 The specific geo-economic arrangements (Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement which was then superseded by the North American Free Trade Agreement).
3 The cold war geopolitical circumstances (the bi-polarity of the world that existed until the early 1990s significantly limited the choice of international partners for Alberta).

Although during the last two decades the landscape of the world economy significantly changed, the export dependence of Alberta from the United States remains very high. Thus, for example, in 2012 about 87 percent of Alberta's exports went to the big south neighbor.[52] Relying heavily only on one partner has created for Alberta the unpleasant situation of the so-called "bitumen bubble." The point is that there is more than one price for oil around the world and the oil price varies due to its chemical composition, delivery locations and other factors. In the context of the North American oil market, three benchmarks are playing an important role: Maya, West Texas Intermediate (WTI) and Western Canadian Select (WCS). The last benchmark is the heavily blended crude oil that is produced in Alberta. Historically, the price Alberta received for the provincial benchmark has been lower than the price for WTI. However, in recent years the differential has grown considerably and this growing spread between benchmark prices was tagged as the "bitumen bubble."[53] According to the Premier Alison Redford this trend is getting worse for the foreseeable future because of the rapidly growing levels of oil production in the United States and the fact that physically there is no other place for Alberta to sell oil but to the US market.[54] So, obviously, the understanding of the fact that Alberta receives below world price for its oil in the US market and the forecasts that it can be in even worse situation in the future push the government of the province to diversify markets and provide opportunities for development not only for the energy sector but to boost the growth for other sectors as well. Thus, for instance, Alberta's International Strategy estimates that the agriculture sector could gain $1 billion per year and the forestry sector could gain up to $2.4 billion per year from expanded and more diversified markets for their products.[55]

Another three objectives of Alberta's International Strategy – "to build Alberta's reputation as a global citizen," "to prepare Albertans for success in the global economy" and "to prioritize and integrate government actions to take advantage of international opportunities" – are also in various ways mainly connected to economic motivations and can be considered as auxiliaries for the first objective to diversify markets. Thus, the objective "to build Alberta's reputation as a global citizen" is an attempt by Alberta to create a system of efficient public and government relations in international affairs that will improve the current negative image of the province in the perception of an international audience. The main challenge for Alberta's reputation is linked to the circumstance that Alberta's international profile is primarily associated with the energy sector and particularly with the development of tar sands which is perceived by many representatives of the public within Canada and abroad as extremely environmentally non-friendly industry. One of the most illustrative examples in this regard is the international public campaign of the influential American environmentalist group, the National Resources Defense Council (NRDC), against oil sands and for more sustainable and clean energy development. In more concrete terms, the environmentalists and those who politically support them, are strongly opposing Alberta's pipeline projects,

particularly the Keystone pipeline system that aims to be a vital transportation artery for Alberta's crude oil to refineries on the Texas gulf coast. It is interesting to note that NRDC widely uses the tools of "celebrity diplomacy," thus, for example, for the public campaign against the tar sands oil industry and the Keystone project, the environmental group attracted the famous actor Robert Redford who released a number of videos addressed to the US president Barack Obama.[56]

Additionally, to all issues with tar sands development and pipelines constructions there are other issues that significantly downgrade the image of the province in the international arena. Thus, for instance, it is necessary to mention that the negative position of the province regarding the Kyoto protocol is another significant source of a reputational loss for Alberta before the face of the global community. The reasons for denying protocol were explained by expectations of the apocalyptical consequences for the Canadian economy and particularly for Alberta's development. Income tax increase, gasoline price increase, job losses, investment flees and other negative outcomes of the protocol were depicted in the official message from the government of Alberta "Why Alberta Opposes the Kyoto Protocol."[57]

Obviously, it is difficult to reject the fact that the oil industry brings serious risks to the ecosystem and therefore there are probably objective reasons for viewing Alberta as some kind profit-driven entity that wants to promote its energy sector interests despite the disadvantages caused to environmental sustainability. The existence of these perceptions is definitely creating problems for Alberta's paradiplomacy efforts and makes the province more vulnerable in negotiations and lobbying its interest with international partners, mainly with US governmental and business stakeholders. So, the important objective of paradiplomacy is to create an efficient system of international public and government relations and through some mechanisms and tools of "soft power" to build the reputation of the province as a global actor who is not only a reliable provider of energy resources in the global market but also a decent eco-friendly player who cares about environmental sustainability. In this regard, we can mention the November 2013 trip of Alberta's environment and sustainable resource development minister Diana McQueen to the 19th annual United Nations Convention on Climate Change in Poland. The minister stated: "We need to ensure the world knows Alberta is a responsible global citizen when it comes to sustainable resource development. This conference allows us to share our story and learn from others."[58]

The third objective "to prepare Albertans for success in the global community" is also visibly interlinked with the economic motivations for the diversification of markets for Alberta's economy. The economic growth of the province and the potential expansion to the new markets can not be ensured without qualified labor. The specific labor shortage pushes Alberta to attract international students and foreign professionals. Alberta's International Strategy 2013 stipulates that together with the federal government, the provincial authorities will continue to develop efficient policies to attract foreign workers with the qualifications that are needed in Alberta.[59]

The fourth objective "to prioritize and integrate government actions to take advantage of international opportunities" is just another official acknowledgement from Alberta that provincial paradiplomacy is continuing to be in tune with Canadian foreign policy. In the current political environment when Tories are in power in both Ottawa and Edmonton, such collaboration looks like a pleasant and non-conflict experience for both sides. Just to illustrate this statement, we can remember that the above-mentioned negatively evaluated Kyoto protocol agreement by Alberta has been supported by the Liberal Government of Jean Chretien and then it was the decision of the Conservative Government of Stephen Harper to withdraw Canada from the Kyoto accord in 2011.

Obviously, besides economic motivations, there are political, cultural and cross-border housekeeping motives in Alberta's paradiplomacy, but those motives are not directly reflected in Alberta's International Strategy and have secondary priority. For instance, Alberta develops twining relationships with two subnational governments in Ukraine: Lviv and Ivano-Frankovsk oblasts. The motive of the involvement with western Ukraine is based on cultural rather than economic reasons – the population of Alberta consists of a large Ukrainian community and such cooperation helps for the provincial ethnic minority to keep their cultural identity.[60] Alberta develops relations with neighboring US state Montana and those relations are determined mainly by cross-border housekeeping motivation: both regions interact on the issues of trans-frontier transport system development, nature conservation, and emergency management.[61] In the 1990s, Alberta actively participated in the development and democracy assistantship in international projects such as Yeltsin Democracy Fellowship Program or Russia–Canada Collaborative Federalism Project. Certainly these international activities can be called as a soft power project with strong political meaning. However, those paradiplomatic actions were not the independent initiative of Alberta but they were launched, funded and supervised mainly by the federal government through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).[62]

Organizational institualization of the Alberta's paradiplomacy

There are six principal channels and organizational formats that Alberta can use in different degrees for its paradiplomatic activities:

1 Establishing a special regional department or ministry responsible for international relations.
2 Opening permanent overseas offices.
3 Officially visiting foreign regions and foreign countries.
4 Participating in various international exhibitions and forums.
5 Working within global and transborder networks.
6 Working within official federal government delegations.

In different degrees all above-mentioned channels are used by the province.

1 Establishing of a special regional department or ministry responsible for international relations

In 1972 the new government of the Progressive Conservatives headed by Peter Lougheed established a special ministry of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs (FIGA). The general powers and duties of the established governmental agency were defined as:

1 The coordination of all policies, programs and activities of the government of Alberta and its agencies in relation to the government of Canada, the governments of the provinces and territories of Canada, and the governments of foreign countries or states, and all agencies of those governments.
2 The initiation or maintenance of intergovernmental cooperation between the government of Alberta and the government of Canada, the government of a province or territory of Canada or any government of a foreign country or state.
3 The establishment and maintaining all offices outside Alberta that are necessary for the performance of the functions of representatives of the government of Alberta.[63]

Since 1972 the ministry has transited through different steps in its evolution. The title of the ministry was changed a few times and currently it is titled as the Ministry of International and Intergovernmental Relations (MIIR). The main goal of the MIIR has stayed the same since the day of its establishment – advocacy and promotion of Alberta interests within and outside Canada.

In the words of the assistant deputy minister John Cotton who is responsible for the IR direction within MIIR, the professional level and background of the provincial diplomats are comparable with the qualification of the employees of the federal foreign affairs department:

> People we hire in our department may have some academic background in such areas like international economics, political science with focus on international relations. Also we are looking for people that have an experience of working internationally. Many people here have a significant language skills and a significant cultural understanding because they come from Mexico, Brazil, and China, those who worked for a long time in India, for example. These people are not different from those people the federal government may hire for the department of foreign affairs.[64]

It is necessary to mention that besides the MIIR, who provides the overarching support for all Alberta's international activities, there are other stakeholders within the government of Alberta who are involved in the provincial paradiplomacy through their specific professional angles. Thus, for example, the provincial ministries of Agriculture and Rural Development, Energy, Environment and Sustainable Resource Development, Enterprise and Advanced Education,

Culture and some other government agencies play an important role in Alberta's paradiplomacy. The presence of multiple stakeholders within the government brings to the government of Alberta a challenge on how to manage international activities in an efficient and well-coordinated manner in the existing complex administrative realities. Alberta's International Strategy 2013 recognizes this internal administrative challenge and emphasizes that expertise across government must be better coordinated.[65]

2 Permanent abroad offices

The first overseas office of Alberta was opened in the 1920s in London and was headed by Herbert Greenfield, the fourth Alberta prime-minister from United Farmers of Alberta (UFA).[66] The main task of the Alberta representative in Britain at that time consisted in establishing business contacts and recruiting and advising immigrants.[67] In 1931 the office was closed most likely because of the world economic depression. In 1948 Alberta returned its representative to London and in a few decades opened the provincial offices in Los Angeles, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Houston, New York and in other parts of the world.[68] As of the end of 2013 we can accurately speak about ten existing international offices of Alberta: Beijing, Hong Kong, Taipei, Shanghai, Seoul, Tokyo, Mexico city, Munich, London and Washington D.C. However, the province is going to open in the near future another six abroad outposts in Chicago, Singapore, South China, India, Brazil and California.[69] Each office is responsible for advancing advocacy, trade promotion, investment attraction and other actions in favor of the Government of Alberta.

We can see that six over ten existing abroad offices are opened in Asia, two in Europe and only one office represents Alberta's interests in the USA and Mexico. This geographical spreading of the overseas offices can look quite illogical if analyzed through the lenses of the distribution of Alberta's exports destinations by world areas – about 87 percent of the provincial export goes to the USA, about 9 percent share belongs to the Asian market and only about 1 percent of the regional export receives Mexico and the EU.[70] In this sense, from the angle of the provincial export distribution, it is reasonable to assume that it should be six offices in the USA instead of Asia, but the province maintains only one permanent mission in Washington D.C. and moreover in the last two decades closed its offices in Los Angeles, Houston and New York. What are Alberta's logic and criteria for opening and maintaining abroad offices? The representatives of the MIIR explain that Alberta's choices in the offices' locations were determined by two factors: (1) the importance of a market or a country to Alberta in terms of our trade and investment interests; (2) the opportunity to add value in the terms of assistance to the private sector and supplementation of the federal government efforts.[71] In accordance with the second factor, Alberta government decision-makers found that there is less need to maintain Houston, New York and Los Angeles offices because the provincial companies do not need assistance in the USA in the same degree they need assistance in Japan or China:

> the same language, proximity, you can easily get to the US, business practices are not much different than in Canada, and hence in terms of assistance for our companies or organizations there is no need for ground presence as in Japan or China.[72]

Instead of three offices in the US "economic capitals," Alberta opened one in the US political capital. The principal task of the Washington D.C. office differs from all others because here the Alberta representatives do not work much on trade and investments but on lobbying provincial interests at meetings with American congressmen, senators and other high ranking US officials. The second and the third offices in the USA will be opened in California and Chicago because there is need to facilitate further diversification of the gas and oil oriented regional economy by developing high technologies industries.

3 Official visits

Official delegations/missions to the target markets can be considered as one of the well-developed channels for the provincial diplomacy. In the 2011–2012 fiscal year, a number of such missions/delegations consisted of 260 in total. This number refers to organized groups of Alberta businesses, including active exporters and export-ready businesses, visiting an international market in search of trade or investment opportunities. This number of delegations includes only those delegations in which the MIIR was directly involved in the organization or participation, and includes both government-led and private sector delegations.[73] The number of Alberta companies/potential investors involved in above-mentioned delegations to the target markets consisted of 641 in 2011–2012 fiscal year.[74]

4 Exhibitions forums

In 2011–2012 the number of seminars, tradeshows and exhibitions organized, sponsored or hosted by the MIIR amounted to 195.[75] And this number includes only those events in which Alberta officials not only attended but actively participated in, i.e., display or booth, serving as chairman or speaker. Certainly this channel of paradiplomacy is also quite popular and widely implemented by the Alberta government.

5 Global and transborder multilateral regional networks

Participation in the subnational international networks is one of the channels for Alberta to promote its interest beyond the national borders. One of the most illustrative examples of Alberta's international networking can be considered the provincial membership in the Pacific North-West Economic Region (PNWER) forum.[76] This network was established in 1991 and its main task is to bring together legislative, government and private sector leaders from western

Canadian provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Northwestern Territories, Saskatchewan and Yukon and from American North-Western area – Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Alaska. The main goal of the network is to cooperate and discuss issues related to energy, environment, transport and trade between member regions. There are a number of the PNWER meetings every year and the main topics of discussion included border security, disaster resilience, renewable energy, sustainable development, environment and economic development and many other issues of cooperation within the network.

Besides the PNWER Alberta is also involved in a number of other international network organizations such as National Governors Association (NGA); National Conference of State Legislators (NCSL); Western Governors Association (WGA); Council of State Governors (CSG); Canadian-American Border Trade Alliance (CAN/AM BTA). Due to the federal nature of both Canada and the United States many economic and environmental issues of decision-making are part of subnational governments' portfolio. The regional networking became an efficient point of access to the US governors and members of state legislators, as well as a tool for collaboration with other American and Canadian counterparts.[77]

6 Work within official central government delegations

The Alberta experience of participation in the international events within the official national delegations can be evaluated as quite limited. A representative of the MIIR noted in a personal interview with the author that the current federal government does not practice inclusion of the provincial authorities in the work of the national delegations, although a respondent stressed that in the 1990s and in the early 2000s the central government under Jean Chretien developed the concept of "Team Canada" as an instrument of the national foreign policy.[78] The key idea of the "Team Canada" approach consisted in increasing the trade and investment potential of Canada by going to foreign target markets with big delegations that include not only federal government representatives but also business people and subnational leaders. In total, there have been seven missions since 1994 in which Alberta was invited to participate. The first "Team Canada" mission was led by Chretien to China in 1994; the second one was to India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia in 1996; the third mission was to South Korea, Philippines and Thailand in 1997; the fourth one was to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile in 1998; the fifth one was to Japan in 1999; the sixth one was to China in 2001; the last one was to Germany and Russia in 2002.[79]

The attitude of the federal government of Canada towards the Alberta province paradiplomacy

There are two main approaches of the federal government towards paradiplomacy. Ottawa may perceive the Alberta government involvement in international affairs as a challenge for the whole nation or by contrast may consider the

provincial diplomacy as an additional source of opportunities for national foreign and domestic politics. The analysis and observations of intergovernmental relations in Canada lead us to the idea that the federal government interprets Alberta's actions beyond the borders not as a search of sovereignty but as a search for new economic opportunities for the province and consequently for the whole nation as well. The fear of the provincial egocentrism is not high, because Ottawa acknowledges that Alberta paradiplomats are first of all "good Canadians" and they conduct affairs internationally on high professional level.

In spite of high provincial aspiration to be in the international scene, Albertan diplomats and politicians in their foreign affairs, unlike their Quebecois counterparts from the beginning were not observed by the federal government as potential trouble-makers. For example, Mitchell Sharp, the secretary of external affairs in 1968–1974, once made an interesting comment:

> […] The difference between a trip abroad of a Quebec Minister is that he goes abroad purporting to speak for Quebec, as if it had an international presence, while Alberta, or any other province I know of, uses the federal mechanisms and does not purport to be an international entity. These other provinces do not act as though they had an international status; they act as part of Canada. Thus, it is not the fact there are contacts, but the way these contacts are made.[80]

Moreover, in some cases the government of Alberta not only persued its own economic interests in international affairs but provided some assistance and a backup to the federal government decisions in international affairs. For example, one can remember that the Premier Peter Lougheed backed up the controversial decision of the Canadian federal government in the epoch of the Cold War to start the testing of the US air-launched cruise missiles in northern Alberta in 1983. The British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who visited Alberta in September 1983 praised Lougheed for allowing testing missiles in the province: "I am sure there could not be cruise missile testing here unless Premier Lougheed had also agreed and the people of Alberta had agreed" – as Thatcher stated to journalists.[81]

Another very vivid sign of trust relations between Ottawa and Edmonton regarding paradiplomacy is the fact that eight out of ten of Alberta's currently opened missions abroad are co-located at the same place with national embassies or consulates.[82] Such a co-location approach allows Alberta international offices to benefit from the existing resources of the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.[83]

Therefore, although Alberta is an active subnational player in internal affairs, and although the province is impacted by the western alienation ideology, Ottawa is aware that the provincial paradiplomacy brings more benefits than risks for the Canadian statehood. This perceptional side of Ottawa's attitude to Alberta paradiplomacy determines the practical model of dealing of the federal government towards the provincial external activities. By using

Soldatos's classification that was incorporated in our explanatory framework in the previous chapter, we can conclude that the principal way of intergovernmental relations between Ottawa and Edmonton on the paradiplomacy issue is based on the parallel-harmony pattern. This model presumes that the Alberta government acts independently in the international arena in accordance with its constitutional competency, but at the same time its actions are harmonized and do not contradict Canadian national foreign policy. In other words, the above-mentioned formats of constituent diplomacy such as opening offices abroad, participating in international networks, missions to target markets with provincial business, establishing twinning relationships etc., are the independent actions of Alberta which are not coordinated from the center, but by default stay in harmony with national foreign policy. The presence of harmony is guaranteed by the principal that was diplomatically formulated in the official documents and characterizes pretty well the essence of the provincial paradiplomacy:

> Alberta is a strong supporter of a unified Canada, and believes that it is important for Canada to speak with one voice internationally. At the same time, the government of Alberta recognized it has a responsibility to work closely with the federal government to make sure Alberta's story is fully understood.[84]

Here, it is necessary to note one small exception. As it has been already mentioned, the Alberta government aspiration to go abroad is based mainly on economic motives. The parallel-harmony pattern of intergovernmental relations is true only for economic, cultural and cross-border housekeeping types of provincial paradiplomacy. Those few politically-oriented actions that Alberta performed in the international scene are based on cooperative-joint pattern, which assumes formal or informal inclusion of paradiplomacy into national foreign policy. For instance, in the 1990s Alberta actively participated in the development and democracy assistantship of international projects such as Yeltsin Democracy Fellowship Program or Russia-Canada Collaborative Federalism Project. In both projects Alberta participated in response to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), who also coordinated and funded all of Alberta's democracy-assistantship external activities.[85]

The consequences of the Alberta province paradiplomacy for the whole Canadian state development

The proposed explanatory framework in Chapter 5 distinguishes two potential positive outcomes and one negative consequence of the external regional activities. The positive consequences are related to rationalization and democratization of the foreign policy decision-making process, the potential negative outcome consists in the risk that the subnational diplomacy can forward ahead the centrifugal tendencies within nation.

If we give an outlook on the profile of the Alberta paradiplomacy since its emergence in the 1970s until now, then we can see that the provincial activities always have a positive impact for the development of the Canadian foreign and domestic politics. The Albertan diplomats and politicians always behave first and foremost as Canadians in the international scene. In comparison with the Quebecois counterparts, the Albertans are not inspired by nation-seeking aspirations but search mainly economic benefits in their external activities. Although the international interests of oil and gas industry oriented provincial economy may contradict the interests of the whole nation, the forty years history of Alberta paradiplomacy shows that those contradictions fuel the intergovernmental competitiveness within the federalist state framework but do not create a need for Alberta to search for any political sovereignty. In order to support this statement we can remember the tension between Alberta and Ottawa in the 1980s, when the federal government launched the National Energy Program (NEP). The idea of the NEP policy was to oblige the province to sell oil on the fixed price to the domestic market and this federal government approach in many ways definitely stimulated the provincial western alienation syndrome. The NEP also gave a strong impulse for federal-provincial negotiations on energy issues, but during these negotiations Alberta never sent a separatist blackmail to central authorities. Therefore, there is no reason to think that the Alberta paradiplomacy has ever forwarded any centrifugal tendencies within Canada.

Regarding the question on rationalization and democratization of the Canadian foreign policy under the influence of the Alberta paradiplomacy there are the following considerations. The interviews with provincial officials show that Alberta's pragmatic position in international relations certainly contributed in an original and well-balanced way to the Canadian international profile. Mostly all Alberta offices abroad are co-located with Canadian embassies and consulates and the provincial and federal diplomats on many economic issues work shoulder to shoulder in mutual tolerance and respect. In this sense the phrase of John Cotton from the Alberta MIIR sounds straight to the point: "the Federal government has the leading role in international relations, but provinces have their important role. It is good in general for Canada. This is a supplementary tool for prosperity. We are reinforcing what federal government does."[86] So, we can assume that Alberta's paradiplomacy is a mechanism for rationalizing the Canadian foreign policy and making it even more efficient. De-facto Ottawa delegates some international affairs tasks on the provincial level because subnational authorities can effectively manage them. Simultaneously, it also means that in the case of Canada, we can observe a strong linkage between federalism and foreign affairs and hence we can also say about some pluralistic tendencies in foreign policy decision-making process.

Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to demonstrate how the proposed explanatory framework in this book can be implemented. The case of Alberta seems as an

ideal choice for such a "test drive" of a new theoretical matrix, because on the one hand the external activities of this province are still not as much studied as that of the other cases like Quebec, for example, and there is enough space for scholarly contribution instead of reduplicating again and again generally well-known facts. On the other hand, the performance of Alberta in the international arena is very transparent for any researcher and therefore there is no problem for collecting enough data in order to find answers to the MRQ of the explanatory pattern.

This case study proves that the causes of the blooming of the Alberta paradiplomacy can be divided into three main groups. The first one includes strong causes such as globalization, the federalization process in Canada and the role of the progressive conservatives as the leading power in the province. The second group of moderate causes includes the tendency of foreign policy domestication in Canada, Ottawa's insufficient effectiveness in some issues of international relations related to Alberta interests. The third group includes such weak causes as the presence of Alberta-Montana international border and the indirect impact of NAFTA and GATT.

The legal grounds of paradiplomacy in Canada are not clear enough. In the case of the Alberta paradiplomacy section 92A of the BNA constitutional act plays a crucial role because it secures provincial competence over oil and natural gas. Due to the fact that both these natural recourses are vitally significant for global trade, Alberta as an actor who possesses the world's second largest proven oil reserves quite logically has interests in world affairs.

The predominant motive of the province to go abroad lays in economics – first of all, the promotion of the gas and oil exports and search of the FDIs. In order to realize all economic-oriented tasks, Alberta actively established the special ministry on international relations, maintains ten offices abroad around the world and plans to open new ones in the near future, participates in various international events, sends delegations to target markets and, when the opportunity presents itself, joins the official national delegations.

Generally, the pattern of intergovernmental relations between Ottawa and Edmonton on the question of the participation of the latter in international relations is based on parallel-harmony model. This model presumes that the Alberta government acts independently in the international arena in accordance with its constitutional competency, but at the same time their actions are harmonized and do not contradict Canadian national foreign policy. Albertans act in foreign affairs as good Canadians and that is why the provincial paradiplomacy contributes positively to the development of the whole Canadian state.

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7 Concluding remarks

In this final chapter I am going to review the major findings of this book and give an outlook on possible directions for future developments in paradiplomacy studies. In terms of its scholarly mission, this book can be considered as a theory proposing project, supplemented with elements of literature accessing and theory testing. The sequence of the mission completion of my research is as follows. The second, third and fourth chapters undertook the evaluation and systematization of the existing theoretical and empirical knowledge on paradiplomacy (i.e., literature-accessing mission). In Chapter 5, on the basis of the summarization of the data from previous chapters, a theoretical model for explaining the involvement of constituent units in international affairs was proposed (i.e., theory proposing mission). In Chapter 6, we examined the efficiency of the proposed explanatory framework of paradiplomacy by analyzing the case of the Alberta provincial diplomacy in Canada (i.e., theory testing mission).

Under the literature-accessing mission, the key findings of the book that can be interpreted in terms of their scholarly contribution are the following. Firstly, the introductory chapter shows that from the methodological point of view the qualitative approach seems preferential in comparison to the quantitative techniques in order to analyze the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. The arguments presented in the chapter prove that recent scholarly attempts to use some quantitative-oriented approaches, like the fcQCA technique, have a number of obvious vulnerabilities which significantly decrease the validity of such kind of researches. The main weaknesses of the implementation of the quantitative techniques in the field of paradiplomacy studies linked to the difficulty of finding quantitative indexes that are clearly related to paradiplomacy and that can measure its performance. The involvement of subnational governments in international affairs is a phenomenon that is hard to quantify. The important lack of data sets on constituent diplomacy provides strong evidence of the complexity of the procedure of operationalizing and defining the variables that characterize paradiplomatic activities of the regions in the international arena. In this situation, the most comprehensive analysis of paradiplomacy can be produced in the qualitative methodology paradigm, and the case study research strategy seems the most appropriate and feasible in this matter. This reasoning behind my conviction why the developed theoretical pattern of paradiplomacy in this book

should guide the explanation of the phenomenon of regional involvement in international relations through the case study approach.

Secondly, under the literature accessing-mission, the concepts of "region" and "paradiplomacy" were scrutinized. The correct understanding of the meaning of these two concepts is a crucial precondition for the successful inquiry on the topic of this research project. Both terms challenge political scientists due to their high ambiguity. In the second chapter I clarify the component of the terms "region" and "paradiplomacy" and offer my definitions of these two terms. The concept of "region" is defined as a territorial and administrative unit on the first level of authority after the central government in both federal and unitary state systems, like Ontario in Canada or Hokkaido in Japan. The term "paradiplomacy" is defined as a form of political communication for reaching economic, cultural, political, or any other types of benefits, the core of which consists in self-sustained actions of regional governments with foreign governmental and non-governmental actors.

The third chapter offers an overview of the development of paradiplomacy studies as a field of scholarly inquiry from the moment of its birth in the 1970s until today. I come to the conclusion that paradiplomacy studies evolved through four main stages. In the 1970s, paradiplomacy scholarship was predominantly based on case studies dealing particularly with the involvement of Canadian provinces and US states in international affairs. At that time political scientists did not invest much effort to generalize the phenomenon of constituent diplomacy in theoretical terms. In the 1980s we can see the second stage of development when North American scholars studying federalism attempted of conceptualize the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. In the 1990s, due to global changes in world politics, like the fall of the Iron Curtain and the high-speed strengthening of the EU, the activities in the international arena of the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, Flanders and Walloon in Belgium, Tatarstan in Russia attracted the attention of European researchers, and, as a result, paradiplomacy studies expanded outside the North American academic environment. The last stage of development of paradiplomacy scholarship occurred in the 2000s, and it can be defined as a period when the study of subnational authorities' activities in the international arena is crystallized in a sustainable subdiscipline in contemporary political science. One of the most important findings of the chapter consists in the acknowledgement of the fact that paradiplomacy scholarship is not a monolithic construction with some dominant paradigm and methodology that gives us a full answer to the question of how to conduct research on subnational external activities. By contrast there are many theoretical gaps in this subdiscipline, and there is therefore enough space for scholars to contribute originally in this field of research. It is not an exaggeration to say that this chapter is probably the first attempt in political science to describe the stages of development of constituent diplomacy scholarship and to classify the different schools within paradiplomacy scholarship, as well as trace the perspectives of the future development of paradiplomacy studies.

In Chapter 4 I look across the existing literature on paradiplomacy and distinguish eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy discourse: (1) constitutional dimension; (2) federalist dimension; (3) nationalism dimension; (4) international relations dimension; (5) border studies dimension; (6) globalization dimension; (7) security/geopolitical dimension; (8) global economy dimension; (9) environmental dimension; (10) diplomacy dimension; (11) separatist dimension. These eleven angles show how the problem of the involvement of subnational governments in international relations can be interpreted from various research perspectives. In addition, the chapter explains the strong and vulnerable sides of each dimension and how it is possible to deal with those positive and negative characteristics. The comprehensive survey of the paradiplomacy discourse gives way to proceed to the fifth chapter where the main research aim is to construct the theoretical pattern of paradiplomacy.

The fifth chapter has a theory proposing mission. The fact that there exists at least eleven dimensions of paradiplomacy obviously complicates the comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon and that it is why the proposed explanatory framework attempts to incorporate all these eleven dimensions together in a well-balanced way. Technically, the explanatory pattern is inspired by the MRQ technique. The MRQ is used as a tool for systematizing and formalizing knowledge on constituent diplomacy that was derived from the analysis in the previous chapters. Due to the "pre-coded" nature of the MRQ, the proposed model can be used by other researchers as a possible methodological guide for conducting a study of chosen cases of paradiplomacy. The stem of the MRQ model consists of a list of questions and the given set of possible responses regarding subnational activities in the international arena. Both questions and answers are defined on the basis of those observations that were extracted through the review of the existing literature and the documents on paradiplomacy published from the 1970s until today.

The main aim of Chapter 6 is to demonstrate how the proposed explanatory framework of paradiplomacy in this book can be implemented for conducting a case study of a regional government international involvement. In order to prove the sufficiency of the theoretical pattern of constituent diplomacy, the Canadian province of Alberta was examined. Figuratively speaking, Chapter 6 can be considered as a "test drive" for the proposed explanatory framework which must show its efficiency. The application of the "pre-coded" MRQ model to the Alberta case provides us the following stem of six questions:

1 What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of Alberta?
2 What are the legal grounds of the Albertan constituent diplomacy?
3 What is the predominant motive of the Alberta government to do paradiplomacy?
4 What channels and organizational formats of the government of Alberta are being used to go abroad? (How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in the Alberta Province?)

5 What is the attitude of the federal government in Ottawa to the paradiplomacy of the province of Alberta?
6 What are the consequences of the Alberta province paradiplomacy for the whole nation's development?

In accordance with the hints provided by the explanatory pattern, the following answers on the above-mentioned questions were detected in the case of the Alberta paradiplomacy. Globalization, the federalization process in Canada and the role of the coming to power of the Progressive Conservatives lead by Premier Peter Lougheed are the strong causes that drove the blooming of the regional diplomacy of Alberta. Such variables as the presence of Alberta-Montana international border or the functioning of the NAFTA or GATT regimes had only some minor impact in this matter. The legal grounds of the constituent diplomacy are not well clarified in Canada. However, in the case of the Alberta paradiplomacy, the 92nd article of the BNA constitutional act plays a crucial role because it secures the provincial competence over oil and natural gas. The fact that these two natural commodities have a critical significance for global trade and that the province possesses one of the largest proven oil reserves in the world tightly link Alberta to international affairs. Therefore, it is logical that the predominant motive of the province to go abroad lays in economics – first of all, the promotion of the energy sector exports and search of the FDIs. In order to manage effectively those economic-oriented tasks, Alberta established the special ministry on international relations in 1972 and at the present moment the regional government maintains a number of overseas offices around the world and plans to open new ones. Also the subnational authorities participate in various international events and send delegations to the target markets. The case study defined that the intergovernmental relations between Ottawa and Alberta on the issue of the participation of the latter in international relations is based on parallel-harmony model. It means that as a matter of fact the Alberta government acts independently in the international arena in accordance with its constitutional competency, but at the same time the provincial international behavior is harmonized and does not contradict the Canadian national foreign policy. Albertans act in foreign affairs responsibly primarily and foremost as Canadians and that is why the case study concludes that the Alberta paradiplomacy contributes positively to the development of the whole Canadian nation.

Above all, the crucial goal of the research project was to provide the full picture of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy by gathering in a systematic manner all academic achievements of the last decades in this field. The book gives an analytical outlook on paradiplomacy studies as an independent subfield in contemporary political science and examines the development of the relevant concepts and discourses. The analysis demonstrates that in spite of the increase of scholarly interest in the problem of the participation of subnational governments in international affairs, there are still various gaps in the knowledge about this phenomenon. It seems that the main difficulty lies in the lack of theoretical insights about the multidimensional evaluation of constituent diplomacy.

Contemporary paradiplomacy studies has yet to overcome a number of cognitive limitations, and therefore, in this regard the book can be appreciated as one of the steps towards covering the existing theoretical gaps. The proposed explanatory framework is a "product with an open codechapter " and thus, from a futuristic perspective provides a chance for further scholarly updates and improvements in accordance with new theoretical and practical discoveries in the broad field of paradiplomacy research.

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