

# Dimensions of the Para-Diplomacy of Border Areas in International Relations Studies: A Systematic Literature Review

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Paradiplomacy has changed the scale operations and monopoly of nation-states with the involvement of sub-state units in international cooperation. In the context of globalisation, the expanding role of sub-state actors have given rise to several interesting phenomena regarding international relations issues. This article aims to analyse the patterns, dimensions and research trends of border areas through paradiplomacy research. The review provides a better understanding of current paradiplomacy studies and discoveries that have not emerged in previous research. This research is based on a systematic literature review. It contributes to a significant research gap and can provide a new analysis of current paradiplomacy studies. It has important implications for border area co-operation research. The results highlight that most previous studies that developed dimensions of paradiplomacy have been primarily conducted in Europe and America. They have not been conducted in small parts of Asian border countries. The originality of this article lies in there being no other research on paradiplomacy in border areas under the framework of a systematic literature review. This article represents a new direction of research for any countries who are anxious to develop dimensions for paradiplomacy.

**Key words:** *dimensions of paradiplomacy, international relations, systematic literature review.*

## Introduction

Paradiplomacy is increasingly essential in contemporary international relations. Sub-State actors challenge the paradigm of international relations in which nation-states are the only relevant main actors in international cooperation (Kuznetsov, 2015). For the former, the challenge is to identify public policies based on the condition that the regions should provide their citizens with new international roles. This phenomenon was first observed by Duchacek (1986, 1990) and Soldatos (1990) in their studies on federalism and federal states in the 1980s. In the study of the international role of sub-state units, there are various newly adopted terms and concepts. These include microdiplomacy, protodiplomacy, paradiplomacy (Duchacek, 1984), multilevel diplomacy (Lee, Hocking, Bardie, Schlosser, & Morlino, 2011), federative diplomacy and federal foreign policy (Marcos & Rodrigues, 2017). However, the term paradiplomacy has been applied internationally as a way of describing the international actions of sub-state units (Aguirre, 1999). The development of paradiplomacy articles and studies have become a reference, particularly in Asian countries. In other words, paradiplomacy represents the foreign projection of the domestic competencies of sub-state governments, which dominate and concentrate on the issues of low policy in any countries (Rodrigo, 2016).

In the twentieth century, the participation of the world's paradiplomacy approach has increased rapidly, especially in Europe and American Countries. The researchers' findings have shown that governments' sub-states have been successful in engaging in paradiplomacy. This is so particularly in western and eastern states and besides the uncertain legal framework of international activities' actions (Casson & Dardanelli, 2012). Based on Mchhugh (2015), a comparison of the study of theoretical literature on international diplomacy with Paradiplomatic and proto-diplomatic activities influences foreign policy. It also becomes an aspiration for other provinces to do international actions (Mchugh, 2015). Brasileira (2017), in particular, argues that support from the aspects of technology, infrastructure, foreign investment and human resources help a region to maintain its claims to qualify as a competitive and relevant international agent (Brasileira, 2017).

Kuznetsov (2015) describes that paradiplomacy as a form of political communication to achieve economic, cultural political or other advantages. It essentially consists of the independent actions of sub-state governments with foreign, non-governmental and governmental actors (Kuznetsov, 2015). Before being spread all over the world, paradiplomacy initially emerged in the industrialised countries of Europe and America. It applied mainly to a federal system. Brazil was designed to carry out international relations by creating an enabling an environment for non-central governments to develop overseas activities in the 1980s (Salomón, 2011). It did this through the first bureaucratic structure in the sub-state government, accompanied by a process of political decentralisation.



Paradiplomacy was recognised in Asian countries through the phenomenon of international participation of sub-state and municipal governments in Asian countries. In this participation, sub-state actors must develop their international strategies. Regions and municipalities are part of essential international actors. Therefore, the international community is aware of the economic significance of several countries. Several US states (namely California and Texas) adopted a foreign policy to increase their internal autonomy (examples from other regions include Quebec and Catalonia). This phenomenon poses a challenge for sub-state governments to further play their role in dealing with environmental issues, investment promotion, cultural and educational exchange, etc. As a result, sub-state entities, such as provinces, federations and municipalities obtain benefits and opportunities from various political structures that arise as a result of globalisation (Moreno, 2016). Globalisation is a new modality in the management of the internationalisation process of the state, businessmen, social actors and sub-state political entities (Milani, 2011). This means globalisation fosters total diplomacy for sub-state governments to play a role in carrying out their diplomacy. It also provides the widest opportunity for various elements of the society and government to carry out international relations in various fields.

Understanding of paradiplomacy has evolved, leading to a change in the meaning and basic value of diplomacy. It has shifted from a formal nature regarding the state to a broader concept. In general, within the scope of international politics, diplomacy refers to the peaceful conduct of human affairs through the use of persuasion, recommendations, communications and negotiation techniques (Lee et al., 2011). Duchacek (1984) illustrates that both the territorial components of a federal unitary system and decentralisation use the term microdiplomacy to affirm their power and activities in international competition. It goes beyond the responsibility of a single nation-state and constitutes a major challenge that can hardly be handled merely within the framework of intergovernmental relations.

## **Literature Review**

This research provides a comprehensive summary of the current literature relevant to paradiplomacy in Europe, America and Asia. A systematic literature review technique, whereby some existing studies were comprehensively reviewed and classified, is based on relevancy to the research area. It is also based on the methodology of the studies that have been conducted before. Several theories of the social sciences have proven useful in this research study. This includes the theory of diplomacy that developed in a paradiplomacy approach. According to Soldatos (1990) and Duchacek (1986, 1990), who introduced the term in an academic debate and justified it theoretically, paradiplomacy is an aspect of globalisation and regionalisation in which sub-state actors play an increasingly influential role in global politics. The phenomenon of paradiplomacy presents new theoretical questions regarding the role of the state and sub-state actors in international affairs. It also presents

questions regarding the challenges to the existing state system and international law, forming the basis of the international political order.

In a literature review studying the international role of sub-state units, there exists various newly adopted terms and concepts. These include microdiplomacy, photo diplomacy, paradiplomacy (Duchacek, 1986, 1990; Soldatos, 1990), multilevel diplomacy (Hocking, 1993, 2004), federative diplomacy and federal foreign policy (Rodrigues, 2008). However, the term paradiplomacy has been applied internationally as a way to describe the international actions of sub-state units such as governors, mayors, regents, businessmen and private institutions in the international arena (Aguirre, 1999; Kuznetsov, 2015; Tavares, 2016). Furthermore, Duchacek (1990, pp. 14-15) identifies six main methods/instruments of paradiplomacy: (1) the establishment of permanent offices in foreign capital cities or centres of commerce and industry to represent sub-state governments abroad; (2) foreign trips for leaders widely covered by local and international mass media; (3) short-term professional fact-finding missions sponsored by sub-state units; (4) trade exhibitions and investments featuring technology, tourism, investment and other advantages of a region or municipality; (5) the establishment of free trade zones; and (6) the participation of representatives of sub-state governments in international conferences or official delegations sponsored by the national government.

This research found another social theory about marginality theory, which was subsequently applied to the units of the sub-state borders by Browning and Joenniemi (2003). In a more general field, paradiplomacy contributes to border regions and strengthens the sovereignty of the state in a global world (Browning & Joenniemi, 2003). This theory describes the peripheral actors as having a unique position in the country (concerning the centre). They can successfully carry out their role and connect with the international world (with the same marginal and/or central actors). Marginal actors can utilise the advantages of their geographical location and act as mediators or bridges of cooperation between countries. They can turn their marginality into resources and transform remote areas and less developed provinces to accommodate the intense flows of goods, services, capital, technology, and international people. Sub-State actors challenge the paradigm of international relations in which nation-states are the only relevant main actors regarding international cooperation (Tavares, 2016; Kuznetsov, 2015; Michelmann, 2009; Vigevani et al., 2004; Aldecoa & Keating, 1999). However, one of the challenges is to identify public policies on the condition that the regions can provide their citizens to chance to be involved in international roles. The term paradiplomacy has been applied internationally as a way of describing the international actions of sub-state units (Aguirre, 1999; Kuznetsov, 2015; Tavares, 2016). The development of paradiplomatic articles and studies has become a reference, particularly in Asian countries. In other words, paradiplomacy represents the foreign projection of the domestic competencies

of sub-state governments dominated and concentrated on the issues of low policy (Rodrigo, 2016).

In a study conducted by Keating (2013), European countries were more concerned with the importance of the capacity or ability of sub-state governments to implement paradiplomacy. This was to avoid disorientation and optimise the results of their cooperation. This capacity relies on the established institutions to support the activities with a reliable leadership that has a strong motivation to accomplish the regional interests. These regional interests are essential to enhancing city development by improving the border economy, resolving traditional state boundaries related to population mobility, harmonising cultural relations between border communities and solving issues of migrants from non-European countries (Aldecoa and Keating, 2013). A study by Clark and Gutierrez (2011) explores the role of the substantive actors of paradiplomacy. The latter is carried out by sub-state governments, states, municipalities and other non-state actors in the context of globalisation. Sub-state and municipal governments use paradiplomacy as a way of gaining interest and influencing other parties outside their territorial boundaries (Gutierrez, 2011). In this regard, globalisation dominantly reduces the state by effectively implementing all its policies. The sub-state government identifies the fact that state sovereignty is not the only requirement to enter the international arena. Thus, sub-state governments utilise paradiplomacy to promote their regional interests internationally. This is done through trade, culture, tourism and even politics. The establishment of regional diplomacy in the European Union shows the important role of the change in the vision of diplomacy to strengthen cooperation between sub-state governments and communities in the region.

In Indonesia, a study on paradiplomacy examined the implementation of paradiplomacy in Yogyakarta in 2013 and Aceh in 2017 (Alimukti, 2017). This study briefly attempts to examine how sub-state actors in Indonesia's Riau Islands utilise paradiplomacy as a resource for solving problems and ensuring their development is sustainable when compared to other countries or municipalities. The role and benefits of the approach to regionalism strengthen a combination of social, economic, political and international organisations. The capacity building and capability of paradiplomacy attempt to establish contributing regulations, empowerment and advocacy for sub-state actors. They establish intensive communication and dialogue between state and sub-state actors as well as central and regional policies that can promote self-enforcement and narrow the gap between foreign policies and regional government policies.

Paradiplomacy has recently been used in the literature on International Relations in Asian countries to express the international actions of sub-state actors. It is categorised as private or commercial paradiplomacy or a non-paradiplomatic government that occurs frequently between federal states and urban paradiplomacy. The simple definition of paradiplomacy is

the participation of sub-state actors in international relations through the formation of a formal and informal connection. This can be either permanent or ad hoc, with foreign public or private entities. It has the aim of promoting and enhancing the dimensions of social, economic, cultural or political development (Cornago, 2010). In another context, global paradiplomacy is described as consisting of the relationship between the political actors and the countries that transform the sub-state governments into actors. The latter are not merely related to trade, industry, or culture in other continents but are also relevant to various foreign national government institutions or branches (Duchacek, 1986a, pp. 246-7). In the theory of international relations, the phenomenon of paradiplomacy shall be analysed through three theories of international relations. These are the paradigm of liberalism, realism, and constructivism.

Liberals such as Keohane and Nye question the traditional paradigm of international relations, where state and interstate relations are the only components of global politics. For liberals, global politics is not a system of political interstate relations but a political interaction between each 'important actor' whose characteristics include autonomy, control of substantial resources relevant to a particular area and participation in cross-state political relations. In the concept of a sub-state in the state government, global politics has broad implications, including different entities (e.g. departments and groups) within the central government and the sub-state government. Therefore, liberals observe that sub-state governments are autonomous actors in international relations, capable of establishing international cooperation. Regarding the decline in the division between high and low politics, it is explained that the relationship of the state's security in relationship to other states in the international system is autonomous in a highly political state.

An essential part of international relations is a series of issues related to low politics, such as climate change, sustainable development or education. Therefore, regions and municipalities, as entities dealing with such issues daily, naturally tend to develop various international co-operations. Furthermore, liberal theory refers to the issue of the correlation between transnational relations and types of political regimes (Kuznetsov, 2015). In addition to loyalty to the State, paradiplomacy is seen as an instrument to promote regional identity, since it can be explained that the emergence of regions as transnational actors is the result of the strengthening of sub-state identity. It shows that factors such as economic globalisation, federalism and decentralisation have triggered an increase in the Para-diplomatic activities of sub-state units. The international relations that are shown, such as those of the Canadian provinces and the sub-state units in the United States, are more significant than those of Mexico. They involve the issues of sustainable economic development, the environment, natural resources, security, culture, education, science and technology. The dynamics of this sub-state is highly essential to finding solutions to general global and regional issues through

the sub-state. It is also essential to promoting new forms of multilateral cooperation in regions/provinces.

The Para-diplomatic activities of the regions and municipalities, in the eyes of the realists, constitute the effect of 'rationalising the foreign policy of the national central government, considering that the activities of sub-state authorities abroad are beneficial for the benefit of the state rather than dangerous' (Kuznetsov, 2015). Paradiplomacy is merely an instrument in the toolbox of the state's foreign policy. Thus, regional participation in international relations will be based on formal or informal agreements of state governments and will promote state interests. The realists perceive that the decentralisation of the state is growing and that the delegation of freedom to the sub-state government provides the power of autonomy. However, they claim that this process occurs because the sub-state government must serve national interests. In this regard, the realistic approach allows the existence of paradiplomacy in authoritarian countries. Contrary to the opinion of the liberals, the realists do not link the external activities of the regions with political pluralism in a country. China considers the role of Para-diplomatic actors to be natural, since it is in line with the foreign policy of the central government. Furthermore, the diplomatic interests of the regional constituents are strongly encouraged by the Beijing government.

In the paradigm of constructivism, state actors are influenced by inter-subjective structures, rather than material capabilities. Inter-subjectivity is based on a system of collective meaning in which the state participates and reproduces through practices. Sovereignty is the most essential structure of inter-subjectivity. Paradiplomacy appears in constructivist works, particularly in the context of building a regional identity as a state. Therefore, if a region has the purpose of establishing its identity as a state, it must try to participate in foreign activities. The region must signal its status to the outside world and obtain the response and recognition of other international actors (Sharafutdinova, 2003). Thus, foreign activities can constitute policies that represent a region in a particular image and can be an essential part of identity construction. In doing so, sub-state governments try to incorporate the elements of a sovereign state into regional identity.

The long practice of paradiplomacy in developed countries is part of the continuation of the history of integration in the respective countries. Paradiplomacy, as part of transnational interactions, is growing rapidly throughout the world. It marks a local awakening to face global issues, obstacles and offer opportunities (Mukti, 2015). According to Lecours, the practice of paradiplomacy can be categorised into 3 groups. Firstly, the relations and cooperation of sub-state governments are merely oriented towards pure economic goals such as market expansion, the development of foreign investment, and mutual investment. These relations do not involve complex motives such as politics or culture. This type of transnational interaction is commonly practised by the states in the United States and

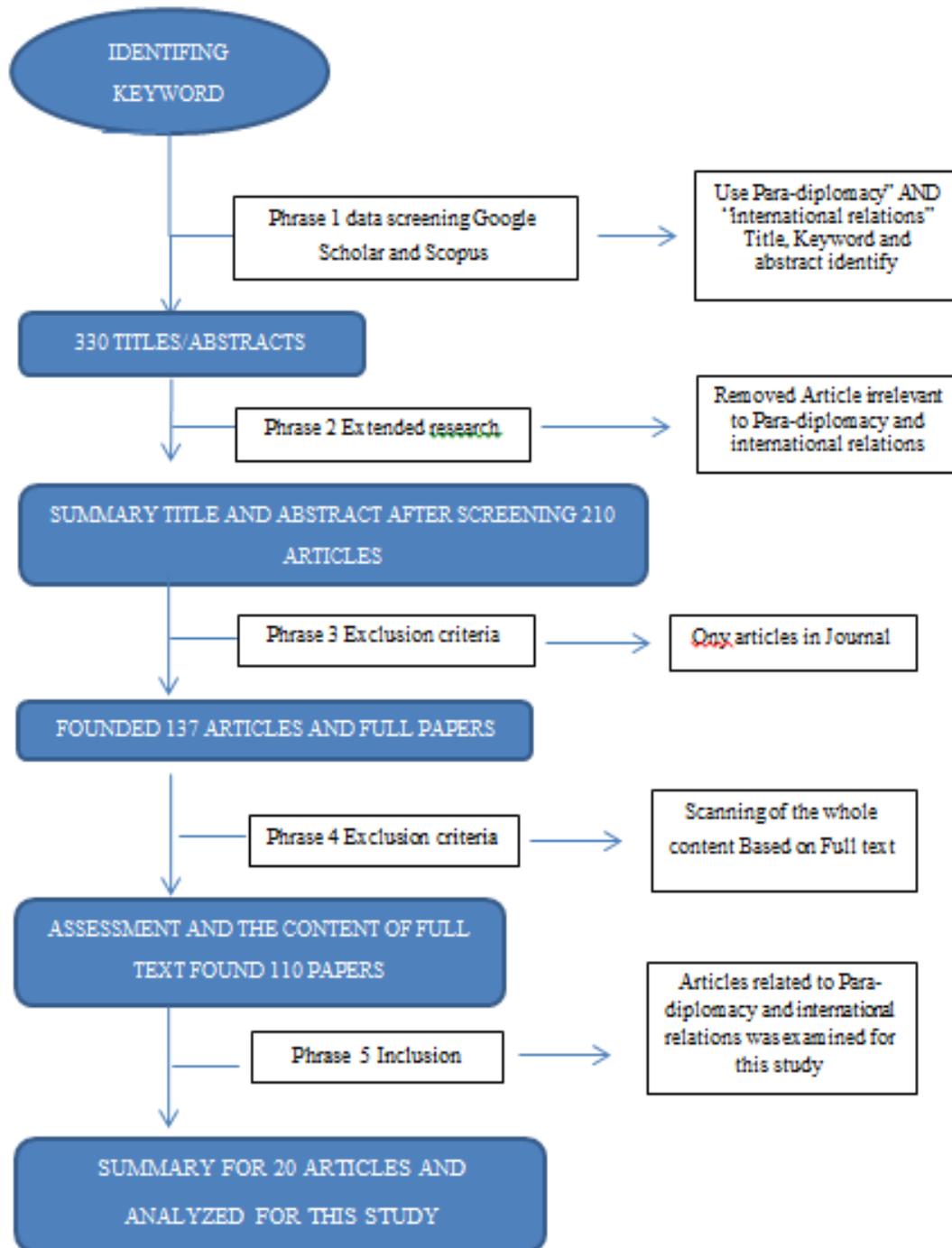


Australia. Secondly, paradiplomacy involves various fields of cooperation (multi-purposes). These include the economy, culture, education, health, transfer of technology and others. The concept of these relations refers to a model of cooperation between several regions using decentralised cooperation. Several provinces in Germany or 'landers' practice this model. Moreover, the sub-state government of Rhone-Alpes, France, has established relations with several African states, such as Mali, Senegal and Tunisia as well as provinces of Vietnam and Poland. Thirdly, a complex paradiplomacy involves specific political motives and regional identities. They attempt to establish international relations with great enthusiasm to express their specific and autonomous national identity, which is different from most regions of the country. In these three categories, the implementation of paradiplomacy by regional governments in Indonesia, either by provinces or districts/municipalities, can be categorised in the second category. The local government almost constantly uses the 'memorandum of understanding' in establishing relations and cooperation with foreign parties, covering a variety of complex fields. These include economic cooperation, education, culture/arts, agriculture, health, technology transfer, expert assistance, technical assistance, etc. (Alimukti, 2017).

### **Research Methods**

Kitchenham (2007), in his paper Guidelines in performing Systematic Literature Reviews in Software Engineering, finds that a systematic literature review is a means of evaluating and interpreting which available research is relevant to a particular research question, topic area, or phenomenon of interest. Systematic reviews aim to present a fair evaluation of a research topic by using a trustworthy, rigorous, and auditable methodology (Kitchenham, 2007). All available research in all relevant academic databases last a few years on online journals such as Google Scholar and Scopus. The step of the methodology adopted in this paper is illustrated in the Figure1 below:

**Figure 1**  
*Search process*



We did electronic searches in the following database online. This study conducted an online search on electronic databases, indexed by Google Scholar and Scopus. The search string was

created using the strategy from Barbosa and Alves (2011). It can be explained follows: (Barbosa & Alves, 2011).

Phase 1: Around 330 results were found by using the keywords paradiplomacy and international relations.

Phase 2: All papers in this area were checked and articles irrelevant to paradiplomacy and international relations were removed.

Phase 3: After the initial screening, it was found that 51% of papers found from phase 1 were not relevant due to being out of scope or context. A further, focused search was performed using keyword-only journal papers.

Phase 4: After this exercise, the research found only 110 papers relevant to the study.

Phase 5: After Scanning all contents, the main text in the 110 papers was read and only 20 of them were found to be relevant to the research topic. Profiling and categorising were applied to search within all relevant article parts. The search considerations were based on methodology, relevancy, key findings, years, country, language and limited recommendations. The process began in February 2018.

## **Findings**

In the post-cold war era, the Paradiplomatic approach has developed dynamically in several directions. A group of sub-theories aims to explain the factors leading to the emergence of sub-state units as international actors of the decentralisation of nation-states. Contrary to this view, the 'classical' paradiplomatic approach emphasises the constant interaction between foreign and domestic factors. In reality this generates and influences the international activities of sub-state units. Duchacek (1990, pp. 16-18) distinguishes between three types of paradiplomacy: trans-border regional paradiplomacy, including cooperation between cross-border regions (cross-border cooperation); transnational paradiplomacy, consisting of cooperation with overseas regions (cross-border cooperation); and global paradiplomacy, defined as an international contact with foreign central governments, international organisations, businessmen, interest groups, NGOs and others.

This research study proposes the dimensions of paradiplomacy in a structured, transnational variety by the national government. In it, sub-state governments, companies, universities, mass media, etc. play a key role in implementing sub-state joint projects. As mentioned in the previous section, this research found that only 20 studies were found to be relevant to the topic of paradiplomacy in border areas. These studies are classified based on relevance. The

methodology was adopted for the countries in which the study was conducted. Several publications have focused on countries with border regions as an implication of international relations. All 20 published papers are included in the 12 main dimensions of paradiplomacy. They consist of contemporary issues in international relations studies. The profiling table below offers a synopsis of the main findings of each paper:

### ***Key findings and usefulness to researchers***

(1) This article aims to analyse how the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) projects its distinctive cultural identity internationally. It does so by identifying the cultural elements in the state's paradiplomacy from 1987 to 2014 through a sequence analysis. It includes two elements: RS' para-diplomatic and cultural institutions; and RS' para-diplomatic agenda. The author discussed three phases that are identified in terms of space given to culture in the institutional paradiplomatic framework. These have resulted from actions in the structural cultural policy at a federal and state level. This can be seen as a factor in the agenda of expanding paradiplomacy (Grande, 2018).

(2) The article found that the ability to conduct diplomatic relations is generally considered an exclusive attribute of sovereign states, but the participation of local and regional governments in international relations is becoming increasingly important worldwide. This phenomenon, also known as paradiplomacy, has important historical antecedents. However, it has acquired new prominence in recent decades as a result of the transition to the global economy and the rise of global connectivity (Cornago, 2018).

(3) These papers show that practices of paradiplomacy in conversations about recent political geographic scholarship (in particular geo-politics). it begins by introducing the increasingly plural understanding of diplomacy that has challenged dominant state-centric discourses and foregrounded the inherent spatiality of diplomatic practices. This very useful article explains that the theory of contemporary diplomacy can be improved and increased by others through study (Chatterji & Saha, 2017).

(4) This article explores how the interests of one regional case, Wales, were accommodated in the pre-negotiation phase, at a domestic level. This was done through intergovernmental structures and at an EU level through paradiplomacy. The authors discussed that Wales influence neither UK nor EU, and Wales has focused on awareness-raising, highlighting that the UK Government does not command the 'monopoly on perspectives' towards Brexit in the United Kingdom (Hunt & Minto, 2017).

(5) This article examines Yunnan's relations with the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). In analysing countries grouped in the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) GMS Program and focuses, it focuses on two arguments. Firstly, it argues that unlike subnational governments in

federal states Yunnanese authorities do not use domestic opportunity structures to develop the province's international agency. Instead, they pursue paradiplomacy as a subnational state-building project, designed to extract economic assistance from the central state. Secondly, it asserts that, unlike other Westphalian states, the Chinese government has recognised the benefits of paradiplomacy as a way to enhance the structural competitiveness of its borderland provinces in the regional economy (Tubilewicz, 2017).

(6) This source develops explanations for how sub-state governments are active internationally. It indicates that this is central to understanding their unexpected growth as international actors. Based on this, the article highlights strong variation in the opportunity structures that shape sub-state diplomacy across policy domains like agency structure relationships. Therefore, expanded multi-level framework recognises the impact of non-governmental organisations and international institutional opportunity structures (Royles, 2017).

(7) Pajtinka's paper discussed Taiwan's engagement in international relations from the viewpoint of the practical performance of its foreign activities. Taiwan carries out official diplomatic activities concerning those foreign states with which it has established diplomatic relations. Unofficial qua-diplomatic or Para-diplomatic activities carried out by Taiwan concern the states with which it does not have diplomatic relations. The authors shed light and place some emphasis on their institutional backgrounds, legal regulations, and other conditions for their practical performance. It is concluded that the differences between the diplomatic and Para-diplomatic dimensions of Taiwan's foreign activities are rooted mainly in their formal and protocol aspects. From the viewpoint of their organisation and practical performance, these differences are minimal (Pajtinka, 2017).

(8) This article considers how chief ministers engage in parallel diplomacy. It notes how they draw on regional cultural resources and make connections with a regionally defined diaspora. The author indicates that, as a federal state, India's state government system has taken a greater interest in foreign relations for co-operations (Wyatt, 2017).

(9) Lequesne's paper discussed the weakness and successful mobilisation of non-central governments, which has increased their relevance on the international stage. There were few in the international arena that is inhabited by an ever-larger number of players. These sometimes have significant autonomy from the central state. The rise of paradiplomacy complicates conditions for both international negotiation and the formulation of foreign policy in federal regimes (Lequesne & Paquin, 2017).

(10) The author evaluates paradiplomacy in its relationship to international involvement, which grew and developed considerably in the city of Rio de Janeiro since the ceremonial Olympics (Brasileira, 2017).

(11) The Spanish self-governing regions' international actions date back as far as the 1980s. Together with the Basque Country, Catalonia is the self-governing region in Spain with the most active trajectory towards international action. The author found that these actions, for the first time in the history of Catalonia, became international actions. With these actions we witness clear signs of developing protodiplomacy (Segura, 2017).

(12) This article involves Canadian and Latin American relations between states. Co-operations involved economic and geopolitical concerns during the Second World War. The author argues that social groups from Quebec had other incentives to establish connections with Latin America. However, civil society's engagement was distinctly more cultural and social in its objectives. This article shows that social groups from Quebec attempted to influence Canadian – Latin American relations to suit their interests (Demers, 2016).

(13) The author argues that in the context of economic globalisation, the emergence of cities' cultural paradiplomacy is strongly related to the restructuring of the State and its external administration. It is also related to the intensification of the 'cultural branding' of cities as a tool for global competition. The cultural paradiplomacy of the city of Barcelona and its local effects, through the recognition of the city as an active participant on the international stage, is based on its evolution from an industrial to a service economy (Zamorano & Rodríguez Morató, 2015).

(14) This article seeks to make two contributions to the literature on paradiplomacy regarding the foreign activities of the Gagauz autonomous region in the Republic of Moldova. It stresses that theory-building efforts need to incorporate consideration of foreign states that support diplomatic activities by non-central governments (Cantir, 2015).

(15) This article contributes to the analysis of the current situation of cross-border cooperation in Latin America. It explores an approach based on four components: 1. the development of an infrastructure project, 2. a high-level political agreement, 3. the institutionalisation of a framework to regulate the relationship between local authorities and 4. other institutional arrangements focused on the participation of civil society in border areas. It also investigates the contribution of paradiplomacy to strengthening the endogenous capacity of border authorities (Oddone & Vázquez, 2015).

(16) The multilevel governance approach has advanced the examination of the actors and levels involved in climate governance. This article shows that the diplomatic activity of local

and regional governments is still constrained by international and domestic legal frameworks. If cities and regions are to help in addressing the inadequacies of the international climate regime, then domestic and international legal frameworks will need to further accommodate subnational diplomatic activities (Setzer, 2015).

(17) This article evaluates the rise of 'new powers' in international politics, which has been frequently associated with a re-emergence of traditional notions of sovereignty. It indicates that this is a backlash against the weakening of nation-state sovereignty related to globalisation. The author argues analysis of foreign policymaking in India is the least-likely case weakening sovereignty from within a sovereignty-oriented rising power. The dynamics observed in the case of India reflect many of the traits of current globalisation processes. These range from regionalisation and identity politics to the multiplication of actors in the conduct of foreign politics (Plagemann & Destradi, 2015).

(18) This paper draws insight from the paradiplomacy of three South African provinces to assess the extent to which the foreign relations of provincial governments represent a model process that contributes to the democratisation of foreign policy. It argues that paradiplomacy has done little more than encourage subnational elites to monopolise the few foreign policy prerogatives that Pretoria has transferred to provincial governments. This is due to the absence of effective mechanisms to promote meaningful deliberation, accountability, transparency and representation in the provinces, (Nganje, 2014).

(19) This article evaluates that, in the framework of regional geopolitics and economic benefits for the Kurdistan Region in Iraq, the practice of this paradiplomacy does not indicate an intention to secede from Iraq (Mohammed & Owtram, 2014).

(20) The author argues the concept of paradiplomacy is used to distinguish the international activities of subnational and non-state actors that have limited capabilities and legal powers in the foreign policy sphere when compared to national governments (Pertti Joenniemi and Alexander Sergunin, 2014).

## **Discussion and Conclusions**

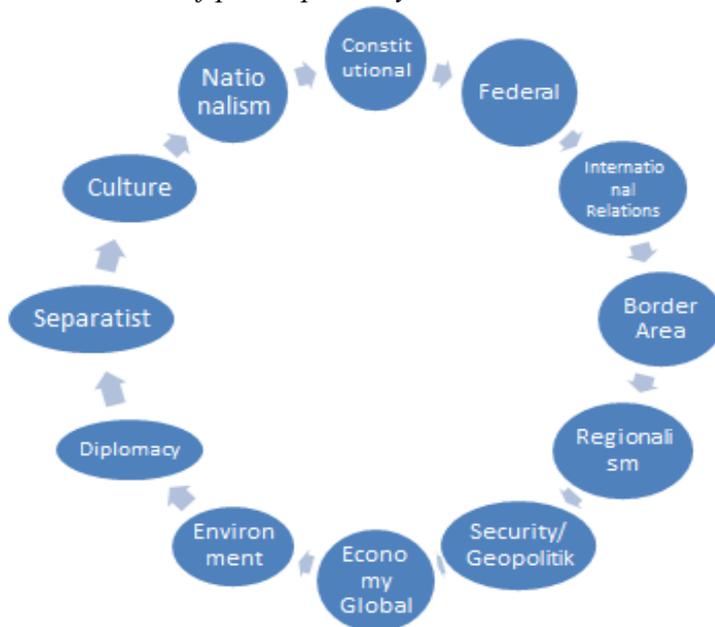
### ***Dimensions of paradiplomacy***

The multidimensional perspective on the involvement of subnational governments in international affairs, provides a theoretical foundation for establishing an integrative explanatory paradiplomatic framework. It does so with a comprehensive understanding of all aspects of this phenomenon (Kuznetsov, 2015). Figure 2 below discovered novelty in the literature review It has found a previous dimension of paradiplomacy, which amounts to 12 dimensions. This is cultural paradiplomacy. It is a contribution to this research that uses the

latest literature review articles. Thus, most of all academic work on the involvement of local governments in international relations consists of some dimensions that will develop. This classification allows systematisation and utilisation of better knowledge about further research on paradiplomacy.

**Figure 2**

*12 dimensions of paradiplomacy*



**Source:** Researcher 2018.

Twelve Dimensions of paradiplomacy have become increasingly essential tools for the horizontal exchange of public policies among sub-state governments. In this regard, municipalities have played an important role due to their ability to record and disseminate good practices and experiences that can be applied in local contexts, even in other countries. Duchacek (1986, 1990) and Soldatos (1990) introduced and established a theoretical basis for the term paradiplomacy in academic debate. It is defined as a fundamental aspect of globalisation and regionalisation. Sub-state actors play an increasingly influential role in the political world (Sergunin, 2014). Duchacek (1990) describes that a multilevel approach in paradiplomacy is not a new issue in international relations. It is confirmed by the institutional approach, which considers the impact of the institutions to have changed the structure and activities of the sub-states in the international world (Keating, 1999). So far, paradiplomacy studies have been largely concentrated in Europe and North America.

The capacity of the objectives of the sub-state actors are less anarchist and destructive, more pragmatic and skilled as well as being more organised and coordinated paradiplomacy activities. In spite of the regular disputes, both state and sub-state governments ultimately



tend to consider paradiplomacy as a general resource to increase international activities. Sub-state actors can successfully develop specific paradiplomacy methods and dimensions, which are classified into two categories. Direct methods are carried out by seeking legitimacy and international recognition through the adoption of local laws, signing partnership agreements, establishing representative offices overseas, attracting foreign investment, enhancing the international image of the region as well as working with international organisations and twin cities. Meanwhile, indirect methods are carried out by affecting central legislation, exploiting national parliaments, utilising diplomacy and central infrastructure in the regions and exploiting international organisations. The combination of direct and indirect strategies has offered the best guarantee of success for paradiplomacy in the areas bordering with developed countries.

However, sub-state actors in each Asian country have a characteristic that creates a moderately unique context in the development of their international strategies (Michał Słowikowski, 2018). Other researchers have emphasised the importance of the role of the state. However, it will not be a complete role, particularly in making decisions at the domestic level. The emergence of the multilevel approach has weakened the role of the State regarding the emergence of supranational institutions, such as the European Union (Marks, 1996). Based on this debate, it is concluded that the nation-state is no longer the only agent capable of promoting international activities. This means that the role of non-central government increases the advantages in foreign policy.

### **Research Contributions**

Study of paradiplomacy contributes to the foreign policy of any country. It focuses on the participation of foreign parties from sub-state authorities such as in Asian countries. The provinces and municipalities actively invite and host international delegations, organise events and even establish representative offices abroad. Therefore, this research was aimed at providing the dimensions of paradiplomacy. Researchers gave a comprehensive summary of the current issue in the field of international relations study. Researchers have conducted very few studies in this area, so this research has contributed to a significant research gap. After all, it is the first study to contribute to a systematic review in the area of paradiplomacy. This review included a concept, dimension, definition, area of focus, tool used and differential empirical cases in border areas and many others. This review could assist researchers who are seeking knowledge and references in the area by providing them with useful resources for further investigations and developed studies in international relations. The profiling table described in this paper can be considered as a starting point for any new researcher in this field. For example, PhD students could evaluate the issue of state and sub-state diplomacy with this guided review.

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