Paradiplomacy in South Africa: the role of interest and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal province

By

Nolubabalo Magam

Student No: 214546887

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations

In the

School of Social Science

At the

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervisor: Dr Khondlo Mtshali

July 2018

Declaration

I, **Nolubabalo Magam**, declare that:

The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

I. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

II. This thesis does not contain other persons" data, pictures, graphs or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

III. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

IV. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced

V. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks and referenced.

VI. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, u unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the references sections.

Signature: _____

Abstract

This study offered an analysis of the importance of international relations activities undertaken by sub-national governments in South Africa, with a specific reference to the province of KwaZulu-Natal. These activities were conceptualised as paradiplomacy. The goal of the study was to advance the notion of paradiplomacy and explore how identity and interest facilitate paradiplomacy. The study explored this phenomenon from the context of Constructivism as a theory, highlighting the role of interests and identity in paradiplomacy. Positing a reciprocal relation between identity and interests, Constructivism argues that identities and interests shape and are shaped by foreign policy of a particular political entity.

This was a qualitative, single-case study which relied on primary and secondary data.. Semi-structured interviews with key informants from the national government, provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal, external partners and academics, were used to gather empirical data. In addition to that, official government reports, international agreements and MOUs were analysed to augment the empirical data. In addition, the works of leading scholars in paradiplomacy such as Geldenhuys and Nganje (in South Africa) and Kuznetsov, Keating,Lecours,amongst others were invaluable sources of secondary data in this study.

The study contributed to the growing body of literature on paradiplomay by providing analytical insight into (i) What is the legal framework for paradiplomacy in South Africa; (ii) What is the role of interest and identity in paradiplomatic activities of KwaZulu-Natal and (iii) How has paradiplomacy affected development in the province?

Although subnational governments engage in international relations, primarily, for developing their local economies, they also advance the national agenda. In the case of South Africa, paradiplomacy is a reflection of the national government's foreign policy agenda. The study showed how KwaZulu-Natal's identities and interests are shaped by the broader and historical South African context. The study demonstrated how KwaZulu-Natal's paradiplomatic activities are influenced by interests and identities. In addition, the study also explored the existence of multiple identities and interests, which are as a result of social and corporate identities. The findings revealed that paradiplomatic activities in the KwaZulu-Natal advance the provincial development strategy. The specific areas of cooperation are development-oriented

and address development challenges the province is faced with. The study concluded by recommending that the legal framework of paradiplomacy be explicit in the constitution, to ensure that subnational governments work within a clear and explicit constitutional framework.

Acknowledgment

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude and profound appreciation to all the people who contributed and encouraged me through my journey in this study; I would have not been able to achieve this had it not been for your support. I acknowledge the following individuals in this regard:

My deepest gratitude to GOD (MY COMFORTER) for everything, without which I would have not achieved anything. I am grateful for the protection, guidance and wisdom. MY ROCK OF AGES

Research participants who agreed to be part of this study

My humble supervisor, Dr Khondlo Mtshali, I thank you for your academic guidance, encouragement, mentoring and for pushing me harder even when I wanted to give up

I thank my mother, my rock (Nontombi Magam) for supporting me throughout my journey

My sisters Sindiswa and Nandipha, no words can describe my gratitude. Your love and support is much appreciated

A very special thank you to Rex you have been amazing, thank you.

I thank all my friends/colleagues who supported me, Dr. Molefe, Sakhile Nkosi, Andrew and Mutshidzi

List of Acronyms

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

BBBEE- Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

BRIC- Brazil Russia India

BRICS-Brazil Russia India China South Africa

CETESB- Companhia Ambiental do Estado de São Paulo

CoGTA – Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs

COP 17- 17th meeting of the Conference of the Parties

CNN-Cable News Network

DA – Democratic Alliance

DAEA – Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

DIRCO – Department of International Relations and Cooperation

EU- European Union

FDI- Foreign Direct Investment

FET- Further Education and Training

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GPG- Gauteng Provincial Government

HE- His Excellency

HIV-Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ICCA- International Congress and Convention Association

IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party

ITC- International Technology Corporation

IGR – Intergovernmental Relations

IR-International Relations

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal

ODA-Official Development Assistance

MDGs- Millennium Development Goals

MEC – Member of the Executive Council

MICE – Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Events

MOUs – Memorandum of Understanding

MNCs- Multinational Corporations

NCOP – National Council of Provinces

NPD- National Development Plan

NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa's Development

PFMA – Public Finance Management Act

PGDS – Provincial Growth and Development Strategy

RBIDZ- Richards Bay Industrial Development Zone

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SALGA- South African Local Government Association

SAPS- South African Police Service

SDF-Spatial Development Framework

SMMEs- Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprises

SEZs – Special Economic Zones

SNGs – Sub-national Governments

TAFI- Travel Agency Federation of India

TB- Tuberculosis

TIKZN – Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal

TKZN – Tourism KwaZulu-Natal

UN- United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

US- United States of America

WCG- Western Cape Government

List of figures

List of Tables

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY
"If we knew what it was we were doing it would not be called research, would it?

Albert Einstein

1.1. Introduction

It has become highly prevalent in the last few decades in international relations to study the participation of subnational governments in external relations with other subnational governments such as states, regions or cities of other countries. This is the case in countries such as the United States of America, Germany and Canada where states, provinces and in some cases cities engage directly with their counterparts in other countries. Studies in this area specific to developing countries have focused mainly in countries such as Mexico, India, amongst others. However, it is clear that subnational governments in Africa have over the years been involved in various international relations activities at different levels. As opposed to national foreign policies of the countries concerned, this diplomatic activity does not seek to represent a broad, general interest of the country but a more narrow and related interest of the subnational government.

The international relations of sub-national governments have created waves over the years in both politics and academia. Sub-national governments in Europe have received substantial attention and their international activities have been the most documented. However, the activities of sub-national governments in federal states such as the United States of America, Australia and Canada have also generated substantial literature (Aldecoa & Keating, 1999). Paradiplomacy is term used to refer to these activities. Lecours (2008) attests to the fact that paradiplomacy is often visible and documented in Western industrialised countries. Sub-national governments such as Quebec (Canada) (Spain), Catalonia, the Basque Country (Spain), Flanders (Belgium) and Wallonia (Belgium) are a suitable reference for unpacking the logic behind paradiplomacy, highlighting the challenges, successes, the opportunities and potential of paradiplomacy (Lecours, 2008: 1).

The forces of globalization and advancement in technology have over the years diluted the authority of national borders as main regulators of international affairs. The conduct of international relations and the influence on foreign policy are no longer the sole responsibility of national governments. The rise of new actors such as subnational governments has become more significant in conducting such relations. Duchacek (2010) explains that the field of foreign policy has expanded into non-military areas since the end of the Second World War and broadened the scope of the responsibilities of central governments. This expansion and issues that have forced their way into the foreign policy agenda, have necessitated the active involvement of other actors such as subnational governments in international relations.

In the last few decades, different newcomers such as subnational governments have seriously impugned the priority of national governments as the only main players in the international affairs. This is the case in South Africa, where provincial/subnational governments have been involved in external relations activity, post-apartheid. Studies on paradiplomacy done in South Africa by Geldenhys (1998), Zondi (2012) and Nganje (2013) have mainly focused on the broader scale of paradiplomacy. They have compared paradiplomacy in more than one province, Nganje compared Western Cape, Gauteng and The North West Province, Geldenhys looked at all the nine provinces and Zondi's focus was on all the nine provinces including municipalities. Their broad approach to paradiplomacy in South Africa necessitated a single case study approach that focused on one province.

Additionally, Tavares (2016:224) submits that in Africa, "paradiplomacy is still young and only in South Africa does it deserve a public eye. The Western Cape Province is arguably the subnational government (along with Gauteng) that holds the best track record, acting as a role model within the developing world". This view further affirms the necessity and importance of this study. Since the field of paradiplomacy in Africa and in South Africa is still new, focusing on a particular case study as this study intends to, will add to the wealth of knowledge and provide invaluable insights into the nature of paradiplomacy in South Africa and in Africa at large.

The originality of this study stems from the fact that no studies have done on paradiplomacy with a special focus on KwaZulu-Natal. The theoretical framework adopted by this study stands in contrast with most studies that have only done a comparative analysis. While most studies on paradiplomacy accentuate the material factors of paradiplomacy, this study expands on the reciprocal nature of identity and interest, thus focusing on the material and ideational factors. That is to say, paradiplomacy is shaped by more than just material interest; but also by an expression of a unique identity.

Against this background, this study seeks to explore the development of paradiplomacy in South Africa by focusing on one province, KwaZulu-Natal. In investigating the nature of the KwaZulu-Natal province's paradiplomacy, this research will interrogate the role of the province's multiple interests and identities in its international activities. The focus will be the KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier and the Intergovernmental Unit located in the premier's office, which is mandated to manage international interactions in the province.

1.2. Problem Statement

In recent times, sub-national governments such as provinces have become active actors in international relations. They have engaged and formed relations with their counterparts in different parts of the world. These engagements, termed paradiplomacy, cover a wide range of activities such as the promotion of trade, investments, cooperation and partnerships. However, these inter-provincial relations operate in most cases (in centralized states and in some states with a unitary government), as a sub-text of the broader foreign policy of the country in question.

South Africa's emergence from its pariah status following the end of apartheid provided the country with an opportunity to position itself as an African and global player in the post-cold war era, 1994 to 1999. Arguably, post 1994, South Africa's foreign policy was geared towards integration and attracting foreign investments and trade for the purpose of development. As a result, South Africa's provincial governments became increasingly involved in paradiplomacy and established

international relations unit to manage the province's engagement with foreign partners as a way of promoting development (Nganje, 2013).

Nonetheless, some of the critical challenges facing South Africa as whole and sub-national governments in particular such as provinces and local municipalities are the adequate provision of services, poverty alleviation and development. The relentless service delivery strikes in the country are indicative of the monumental challenge that exist in provinces and local municipalities. It is recorded that "community protests leapt from 162 in 2008 to 314 in 2009; the protests spiked at 470 in 2012" (Grant, 2012:2). Provinces continue to embark on initiatives and alternative ways such as partnerships to meet their objectives, as they realise that they cannot depend solely on the national allocation of funds to meet their developmental needs and in some provinces, the internally generated revenue does not suffice either.

Additionally, it is stipulated in the Municipal International Relations Policy (2010/10/28) that local governments have to find other ways that would respond to challenges and enhance service delivery and not just rely on the internal allocations given to them. The fact that local governments are trying to ensure socio-economic growth and development, has made paradiplomacy to be need-driven. In order to ensure external recognition and to attract trade and investments, provinces have to portray themselves in a particular way, have a solid identity.

The study explores the institutional, legislative as well as constitutional frameworks within which provincial governments undertake international relations. The study further identifies the gaps in the KwaZulu-Natal province in the area of international relations and explores how the province can better position itself in order to benefit more from its relations with external partners. It also evaluates the role of the International Relations Unit in the Office of the Premier and the identities formed as they engage in their international relations.

1.3. Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to analyse paradiplomacy of subnational governments in South Africa, with specific reference to KwaZulu-Natal province as a case study and explore the role played by identity and interest.

1.4. Research Objectives: Broader issues to be investigated:

- To examine the legal framework for paradiplomacy in South Africa
- To investigate the motives and goals of paradiplomacy in South Africa.
- To analyse the manifestations of identity formation in KwaZulu-Natal province
- To critically appraise of the contributions of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.5. Research Questions: Key questions to be asked
This study is guided by these research questions:

- What is the legal framework under which subnational governments in South Africa and specifically the Kwazulu-Natal provincial government engages in relations with other actors outside South Africa?
- What are the interests and identities of KwaZulu-Natal province in international relations activities?
- What are the various international relations activities undertaken by the Kwazulu-Natal Provincial government with its counterparts

1.6. Rationale and Significance of the Study

The motivation for this study is two-fold and driven by these two questions: What role has interest and identity played in paradiplomacy in South Africa; to what extent have these relations contributed to the economy and development of these provinces? It is without doubt that provincial governments in South Africa are in distress due to a number of issues relating to their development mandate, service delivery and institutional capacity; these falls within their jurisdiction as they are mandated to excel in the provision of public services. This fact motivated the researcher to seek to understand how the KwaZulu-Natal province engages in international relations with its counterparts while faced with the challenges of providing sufficient public services

and how this province has used its identity in paradiplomacy for growth and development.

Studies that focus on the international relations of subnational governments such as paradiplomacy of KwaZulu-Natal provincial government are important additions to the field of International Relations especially within the broader framework of South Africa's foreign policy. This study contributes to the noticeable scant literature on paradiplomacy focusing on specific provinces in South Africa after 1994.

The findings of the study add value and benefit the country in general and the province in particular through recommendations which would strengthen their activities. This is because the study focuses on a micro level analysis of paradiplomacy by using a single case study approach (KwaZulu-Natal province), as opposed to macro-level and comparative case study approaches that scholars in South Africa have applied/adopted. The single case approach in this study is beneficial in being able to explore all the permutations inherent in a variable operating within the framework of multiple complex actors.

1.7. Research Methodology

The type of methodology adopted for this study is a qualitative research method. This method is known to be exploratory in nature. The research design for this study is a single case study to investigate identities and interest of KwaZulu-Natal in international relations. Armato and Caren (2002:97) highlight that single case studies are suitable for explaining the nuances of social phenomena and addressing specific mechanisms that produce, reproduce, change or are otherwise related to the phenomena.

Sampling

The study used purposive sampling method. The researcher selected participants (a total of 18) who are knowledgeable on the topic under study to build a sample that is specific to the needs of the study. The participants provided information that answered the research questions.

Data Collection

Data was collected from multiple sources, both primary and secondary. These included documentation review (books, journal articles, newspaper articles, and internet sources), in-depth/semi-structured interviews (18 participants), official documents and reports from provincial government departments, national Department of International Relations and Cooperation as well as official documents from a few foreign partners, these will include partnership agreements and MOUs.

Due to the nature of the study being interpretive, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously. Data was analysed using Content analysis.

1.8. Demarcation of the Study:
Chapter One: Orientation of the Study

Chapter One presents the introduction of the whole study; it will outline the focus and the direction of the study. The chapter will consist of the research problem statement, research questions, and objectives of the study and the rationale of the study

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature on the nature of international relations conducted by subnational governments and clarifies the gaps filled by this study.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter is an analysis of the basic theory that the research is built upon. It reviews the theoretical underpinnings of the theory of Constructivism.

Chapter Four : Research Methodology

The chapter provides an in-depth outline of the research methodology, how the researcher collected data, the analysis, and techniques used and discusses the population of the study

Chapter Five: Legal Framework of Subnational paradiplomacy in South Africa

This chapter outlines and analyse the legal framework under which subnational governments in South Africa conduct international relations. This includes the legal limitations to the international agenda of provinces in South Africa.

Chapter Six: Paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal

This chapter examines the drivers of international relations of KwaZulu-Natal with its counterparts and the nature of these relations. The chapter also evaluates the role of the International Relations Unit in the Premier's Office and conclude by analysing the significance of these relations in the province. It also presents data and analyse the findings of the study. Identities and interests of KwaZulu-Natal are discussed in detail

Chapter Seven: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

The chapter states the study's major findings, recommendations for further studies and a general conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW
"Research is formalized curiosity. It is poking and prying with a purpose"

Zora Neale Hurston

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of literature review is to present a critical and in-depth evaluation of previous research related to the topic. It also ensures that, the works of others are not copied and goes further to identify gaps in literature which may be explored in further studies (Denscombe, 2007).

To place its discussion of paradiplomacy in situ, this chapter's extensive survey of literature will place a weighty emphasis on how globalization can be considered as an important factor that gives the impetus for the evolution and growth of paradiplomacy in South Africa. For instance, the dossier on South Africa's foreign policy, assumes that drivers and trends which are a consequence of globalization,

> constitute the forces that significantly influence world affairs and will therefore play an important role in determining how South Africa conducts its international relations. Successful foreign policy implementation requires that countries take into account the ever-changing environment in which they operate (DIRCO, 2011:12).

The influential role of Globalization as a phenomenon that gives impetus to the growth of paradiplomacy is a result of the reality that although, the domestic context shapes a country's foreign policy. For instance, need for security, political advancement and socio-economic growth are usually the concerns of a state. Due to the influence of globalization however, the means of achieving these needs hinge emphatically in the external environment. Starting with an attempt at conceptual clarification, this chapter will delineate the complementary relationship that exists betwixt diplomacy and paradiplomacy. Other sections of the chapter will build on that by making further conceptual clarifications. Central to this chapter however is the argument that globalization which creates a situation for a country to look outside for the satisfaction of her interests can be seen a primal force in the growth of paradiplomacy. Again, the notion that the growth of paradiplomacy is interest driven

will be further highlighted when a contextual exploration of the topic is done with regards to South Africa.

2.2. Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy

It is pertinent that all discussions of paradiplomacy need to be situated in the context of a state's foreign policy. In so doing, perspectives or answers as to the question of who and what shapes paradiplomacy and to a larger extent, the phenomenon that paradiplomacy is, becomes easy to delineate. For Alexander Kuznetsov (2015) the issue of contextualization aids in the proper interpretation of the phenomenon that paradiplomacy is. The argument here is that different kinds of subnational governments engage in international relations for different reasons.

A broad conceptualization of diplomacy describes it as a government's strategy for interacting with other states and not non-state actors. According to Barston (1988:1), "diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and states and other actors". Barston's (1988:1) position further explicates diplomacy to refer to the process or means "by which state through their formal and other representative, as well as other actors, articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchanges of view, lobbying, visits… and other related activities". In Barston's (1988) conceptualization, the "who" engages in a state's diplomatic relationship, is in a manner of speaking open ended; as his use of state's "formal and other representative, as well as other actors" is broad. As to the question of why, the notion of "interest" stands out.

Reynolds (1994:15) conceptualizes diplomacy in the context of foreign policy. In his view, foreign policy describes a "course of action or the range of actions, adopted in relation to situation or entities external to the actor". The term actor here tacitly refers to a state's government or what Barston (1988) describes as a "state's formal and other representative, as well as other actors". Both Barston's (1988) and Reynolds (1994) explication of diplomacy, to some extent makes provision for "who" engages in this relationship to be more general. There is however one thing that stands out in

Barston's (1988) conceptualization, it is the view that whomever this actor is, there is some sort of relationship that exists between them and the state. Essentially thus, it can be stated that diplomatic relationships can only be carried out on behalf of a sovereign state, irrespective of whomever the intermediary is. In support is the view by Reynolds (1994:16) that the "state is a legal entity. It and legal entity representing the people inhabiting a defined territory, and it has institutions to control it which are constituted by defined processes".

The expression, actor and coordinator of state's diplomatic relationships is usually articulated through the international roles of particular ministries. Barston (1988) for instance, emphasizes the international role of different ministries in shaping a country's diplomatic or foreign relations. Drawing from her analysis of post-apartheid South Africa, Masters (2012) highlights that some studies suggest that the major actor or player that shapes South Africa's foreign policy or diplomatic trajectory is the president. In her view however, "a review of developments in South Africa post-1994 demonstrates that the foreign policy process, including the actors that seek to influence decision-making, is in a constant state of flux". Drawing from Barston (1988); Reynolds (1994); Masters (2012) descriptions of foreign policy locate either the president or particular institutions and actors within a state as the "who" that engage in the coordination of a state's interest in the international arena.

Prima facie, the question of who or the actors with regards to foreign policy might be straightforward and easy to identify. Pigman (2010:17) in his analysis further stresses the role of not only actors but also of venues. With regards to actors, Pigman (2010:19) submits that in the classical notion of diplomacy, "who counted as diplomatic actor was inseparable from the idea of what counted as a nation state". In so doing, he emphasizes sovereign states as diplomatic actors. Pigman (2010:19) conceptualizes sovereignty under "the Westphalia system" as the ability of government to exercise effective control "over a territory and the people and the resources therein". While it is not in the scope of this study to deeply examine the debates around diplomacy and sovereignty, the important factor the study seeks to highlight is what Pigman (2010:19) himself emphasizes that "the notion of

sovereignty itself was evolving". Pigman's conceptualization of sovereignty will aid in the study's exploration of the evolution of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy.

Pigman argues that traditional view of diplomacy emphasize the nation state as the sole actor, Pigman (2010:18-19) further states that

> in simplest terms, today we observe a much wider range of actors engaging in the representative and communicative activities of diplomacy: multilateral institutions of various sorts, such as the United Nations….even so-called 'eminent person diplomats such as Bon Jovi, Jimmy Carter and Nelson Mandela.

Pigman's (2010) position can be understood as accentuating the fact that over time, the nation state has ceased to become the sole actor in the conduction of diplomacy. Kuznetsov (2015) traces this change in role to the late 1970s. Kuznetsov (2015) identifies a couple of factors that led to the origins of scholarly examination of the role of sub-national governments in foreign affairs. He effectually hinges the origins of paradiplomacy to a key shift that occurred in the theory of international relations. According to him, scholars started to "pay more attention to the complication of the perception of world politics. Global affairs became observed not only as a statecentric system, but as an environment where a significant role is played by transnational relations" (Kuznetsov, 2015:35). It can thus be deduced that the changing environment in world politics led to the involvement of subnational governments in the country's foreign affairs.

In Magone's (2006) view, such a factor should be regarded as an effect of globalization. According to him, due to globalization, nation states were faced with a lot of challenges. In spite of this however, globalization "simultaneously allowed the liberations of subnational authorities from centralized national state structures". More than just globalization, Magone also cites the need for economic competition in a global world as a reason for the emergence and growth of paradiplomacy. Similarly, Pluijm and Melissen (20077:7) view the same issue from a globalization perspective. According to these scholars, while the role of the state in the conduction of diplomacy is quite substantial and vital, since the end of World War II however,

actors other than the state have entered the diplomatic stage. These non-state actors could be divided into those with a non-territorial character, like NGOs and multinational corporations, and those with a territorial character like states in a federal system, regions and cities.

The examination conclusively takes into cognizance the essential role of globalization in leading subnational actors to taking an active role in the diplomatic process. They conceptualize globalization as the "dissemination, transmission and dispersal of goods, persons, images and ideas across national boundaries" (ibid: 8).

Kuznetsov (2015) also identifies an overlap between issues of "domestic" and "foreign policy" as another factor that influenced the growth in studies of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. According to Kuznetsov, (2015:35),

> 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 consider able push to the subnational governments to become players in international relations."

Paradiplomacy using Adam Grydehoj's (2014:11) typology is thus understood to refer to "a political entity's extra-jurisdictional activity targeting foreign political entities". For Lecours (2008) paradiplomacy simply refers to the process or act of regional governments developing international relations. It is also described as a "foreign policy capacity" of sub-state entities a termed used in reference to "their participation, independent of their metropolitan state, in the international arena in pursuit of their own specific international interests". Zondi (2012:42) describes it as an activity that sees subnational entities "playing an active and strategic role in the conduct of international relations, previously considered the preserve of national

governments". For Kiilo (2006), it refers to "the activism of non-central governments on international arena". Again,

> paradiplomacy can be simply defined as subnational governments' involvement in international relations through the establishment of formal and informal ties, be they permanent or ad hoc, with foreign public or private entities, with the objective of promoting social, economic, cultural or political dimensions of development (cited in Milano and Riberio, 2011:24).

For Grydehoj (2014), paradiplomacy is an "extra-jurisdictional" activity that exceeds "a political entity's de jure jurisdictional capacity, representing a de facto expansion of the entity's powers". Essentially, Grydehoj posits that the involvement of a subnational entity in the diplomatic process falls under a particular legal framework but not totally limited by this framework. A particular specification in Grydehoj's (2014:10) typology is that a phenomenon can be termed as paradiplomatic as long as it targets:

> Foreign political entities, i.e. must aim to influence subnational entities in other countries, foreign sovereign states, etc. When, for instance, a subnational entity exercises de facto powers to encourage economic development by participating in an international policy network or entering into a twinning agreement, this can generally be regarded as paradiplomatic activity inasmuch as it targets foreign entities. When, in contrast, a subnational entity exercises de facto powers to encourage economic development by providing financial support to key business actors within its own territory, this cannot be regarded as paradiplomacy inasmuch as the target of the activity is within the entity's jurisdiction (even if the methods being used are beyond the entity's de jure jurisdictional capacity).

One implication of Grydehoj's definition is the view that in centralized states likes South Africa; a subnational entity's involvement in the diplomatic process does not necessarily pose a threat to the central government's national policy. A supporting claim is made by Fritz Nganje (2014) who views paradiplomacy as a developmental phenomenon, because a prime reason for subnational entities to engage in the diplomatic process can be viewed as means of bettering their proverbial lot. This position also corresponds with Lecour's (2008) economic logic as he views paradiplomacy as subnational entity's involvement in the diplomatic process as an "aim at developing an international presence for the purpose of attracting foreign

investment, luring international companies to the region, and targeting new markets for exports". In a study conducted by Colin Alexander (2014), Scotland's engagement with Malawi as a developmental assistance that seeks to promote Scotland's thrust for recognition in the international arena. As Alexander describes it, "much of the development of an international profile by a sub-state is about that government creating space for itself in an already crowded arena of actors" (2014:72), this view by Alexander (2014) further underscores the self-actualization motif of paradiplomacy.

In the context of South Africa, Siphamandla Zondi (2012:42) describes this phenomenon as taking the form of different activities geared towards exploring "

> economic and other opportunities; fact-finding and lessons-sharing exercises; investment promotion expos; or wide-ranging economic cooperation guided by twinning agreement. Often, these international engagements offer direct economic, political and social benefits to the provinces and municipalities involved.

There is a converse view held by Johns and Thorn (2015) who view paradiplomacy more than just an activity that seeks to advance the interests of a particular region. According to them, the:

> concept of subnational diplomacy defined as the engagement of subnational governments and actors in policy processes and institutional arrangements for the purpose of foreign policy-making. This involves more than subnational involvement in formal diplomatic relations between national officials and the diplomatic core. It involves ongoing engagement of subnational governments and actors (both elected and bureaucratic) in transboundary institutions for the purpose of foreign policy-making (Johns and Thorn, 2015:3).

The emphasis inherent in Johns and Thorn's (2015) conceptualization is the suggestion that subnational governments not only seek to have direct diplomatic engagement with other foreign entities. They also seek to make a significant impact in the process and foreign policy practice of their respective central states. Johns and Thorns analysis was carried out with a particular emphasis "on subnational diplomacy that is autonomous from the federal governments and results in subnational foreign policy outcomes in the form of international agreements" (ibid). The emphasis of this study will be on a central system of government which does not have subnational entities with autonomy from the central government. This is

particularly pertinent as it will aid in capturing the perspective that paradiplomacy in South Africa does not necessarily seek to influence the country's foreign policy. The goal of paradiplomacy is to rather align itself with the country's foreign policy path.

Of equal importance is the reality that in examining the process of subnational entities engagement in the diplomatic process, some theorists are reluctant to employ the use of the term paradiplomacy. According to Aldecoa and Keating (1999), different scholars try to differentiate between paradiplomacy carried out by non-state entities from the classic diplomacy of states. Grydehoj (2014:10) also admits that paradiplomacy "can be a difficult subject to discuss, not least because there is sometimes an understandable reluctance to admit that one is engaging in it". In concurring that the different reservations raised by different authors with regards to the employability of the term and in some situation, the vagueness of the term, this study aligns itself with Aldecoa and Keating's (1999:2) view that the term will be used as:

> an indication of the general field, while leaving authors free to use, interpret or criticize it as they see fit. A similar problem concerns the actors involved, which include regions, cities, stateless nations and ethnic groups and a variety of sectoral and political interests. Again, we have striven for a broad and open approach, going for the term 'subnational' to refer to 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

Emphasis will be placed on examining and exploring the activities of subnational governments in international relations. Borrowing from Nganje's (2013:24) conceptualization, this study will employ the term paradiplomacy "as a purely descriptive term that accurately captures the wide range of international roles that sub-national entities with different attributes and power have assumed".

In providing an instructional and explanatory model for understanding the phenomenon of subnational government's involvement in the diplomatic process, Kuznetsov (2015:51) suggests that that there are eleven dimensions to understanding paradiplomacy. There is the Constitutional Dimension which explores paradiplomacy from a legal expertise position. The focus here is to "identify those competences that de- jure possess regional authorities in foreign affairs" (Kuznetsov, 2015:51). The second which is the Federalist dimension/Intergovernmental relations

dimension, examines the significance of federalism or the role of regional governments in the international arena as a variable that influences the development and evolution of paradiplomacy. Thirdly, the Nationalism dimension, explores "constituent diplomacy mostly as an important factor to understand nationalist aspirations on the regional level in multinational and multilingual countries" (ibid). The fourth which is the International Relations (IR) dimension, adopts a broad view of paradiplomacy. Scholars from this school of thought view paradiplomacy as a phenomenon whose provenance can be traced to the recent changes that occurred in the international arena which enabled subnational governments, NGOs and Multi-National Corporations to become significant decision makers in the international arena thereby disrupting "the monopoly of national governments as the only decision makers in the international arena" (ibid). The fifth which is the Border studies dimension, studies paradiplomacy as a gateway to understanding "the general picture of those political, economic and social transformations that challenge concrete geographical border regions of their case studies".

The Globalization dimension, views paradiplomacy as a consequence of regionalization and globalization. In the Security/geopolitical dimension, security and "the geopolitical consequences of regional governments' involvement in international affairs" is cited as the reason for the evolution of paradiplomacy" (Ibid). There is also the Global economy dimension, which focuses on the role of the development of present-day global economics and world trade in shaping paradiplomacy. The Environmental dimension, adopts an ecological view in its examination of the phenomenon of paradiplomacy. Scholars here accentuate the role of subnational governments in shaping environmental policies in the international arena. The Diplomacy dimension, simply views paradiplomacy as a consequence of the "decentralization" of a state's diplomacy. Lastly, the Separatist dimension argues that due to the emergence of some "so- called non- recognized states that was especially actualized after the collapse of the communist federations (Yugoslavia and USSR)" (ibid:52). Paradiplomacy can be understood from the locus of

> 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 (Kuznetsov, 2015).

The different dimensions highlighted by Kuznetsov (2015) are quite significant to the study of paradiplomacy. Of import to this study however are the: Globalization dimension, Global economy dimension and the Diplomacy dimension. In discussing the topic of paradiplomacy in South Africa and in the province of KwaZulu-Natal precisely, the economic dimension – that is the role economics and the market – plays is quite evident in the nature and the trajectory of the province's paradiplomatic relations.

2.3. Subnational Governments in International Relations

Lachapelle and Paquin (2005), attribute the rise of sub-national governments in international relations to the challenges faced by nation-states in a globalized world. They also submit that there is a direct link between the growth of economic globalization and the provenance of paradiplomacy. These authors suggest that the role of the nation stat has experienced a shift as a result of economic globalisation. In their view, the "competition between sovereign powers for the acquisition of new territories has been replaced with competition between sub-state governments and large metropolitan areas for the acquisition of shares in world markets" (Lachapelle & Paquin, 2005:78).

Governments around the globe are, in one way or another edging towards greater decentralization to local authorities. This shift is attributed to an increased democratization and stronger market orientation (Bennett, 1990). In the early 1990s, a large number of governments undertook a new strategy of decentralization. Their expectation was to have a well-balanced socio-economic development through the distribution of resources and mobilizing resources for better service delivery to citizens. According to Campbell, (2004:3) due to an affordable and easy to access international communication, local experiences have be made to "go global"; meaning that global perspectives and experiences from different regions have become increasingly available to local arenas.

International relations has expanded its scope over the years. The increase of issues faced by countries, led to state responsibilities overlapping to other sub-state-actors. Globalization brought along myriad challenges such as climate change, migration and development. The preceding identified challenges need both domestic and international attention and acts as a motivation for the active role of sub-national governments in addressing some of these challenges across borders. In support of this, Cohn and Smith (1996) allude that of all the challenges brought by globalization, it is no surprise that subnational governments (municipalities and provinces) have over the years increasingly engaged in international activities. Paradiplomacy is a term adopted by political scientist to refer to these activities. Scholars such as Lachapelle and Paquin, acknowledge that Paradiplomacy is not a new phenomenon, in the 19th century the Quebec government engaged in international relations. It is important to note that although paradiplomacy has been practiced for so many years, it owes much of its recognition to globalization.

2.3.1 The concept of Subnational Governments

There are different terms used to describe sub-national governments. Scholars have used various terms to describe this entity of the central government. Adopting a suitable term of reference is highly dependent on the context of one's study and the focus area.

Sanalla, (undated), uses the term "sub-national unit" to argue that the definition of sub-national unit or any other unit in the lower level of government is determined by the activities the unit is involved in. Czech Republic is divided into regions and within those regions there are sub-national units. It is appropriate to speak of a sub-state unit formed by the microregion Znojemsko and Podyjí (area on both sides of the river Dyje) which is distinguished by substantial territorial integrity and which is in my opinion the most suitable type of a sub-state unit to help us understand our view of paradiplomacy.

Sanalla (undated) draws her definition of a region from Jac (2010), who posits that a region is

delineated as a part of a territory characterized by a set of natural and socio-economic elements and relations, whose specific nature, position, structure and integration degree forms a structure of the environment with its internal relations that differentiate this territory from the surrounding territorial units.

In this regard the definition captures region as a territorial entity comprising of sub-national units, their description is unique to the Czech Republic, as it is country that is divided into self-governing regions consisting of sub-national units.

Snyder (2001) uses the term subnational-unit as an entity found within a country and easily identified by cultural, historical, ecological and socio-economic features. Snyder makes reference to Oaxaca, Guerrero, Chiapas and Puebla in Southern Mexico as sub-national units. He argues that these sub-national units are easily recognized by their indigenous populations, ecological, cultural and socio-economic dimensions. Snyder's description reflects the system in Mexico, where there are no self-governing regions made up of sub-national units.

Zhimin and Junbo (2009) use 'Province' as the preferred term, they believe that a 'province' is a broad term that refers to "all the provincial level units on the mainland: provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities" (Zhimin & Junbo, 2009:1). They clarify this by making reference to the Chinese system of government. China contains 33 province-level divisions, including 22 provinces, five autonomous regions (Guangxi Zhuang, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia Hui, Xinjiang Uyghur and Tibet Autonomous Regions); four municipalities (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and Chongqing), and two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau). Zhimin and Junbo, 2009, argue that all these low government units are captured by and can be referred to as 'province'. In their definition of province they make reference to a region as part of a province. However, the term 'region' is widely used to refer to the secondary entity of the central government.

On the one hand, Johns and Thorn (2015) describe a region as a broader entity that consists of subnational governments. In the context of North America, Johns and Thorn (2015) refer to the United States 'Great Lakes Region' as consisting of subnational governments such as (New York, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan,

Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania) and two Canadian Great Lakes provinces (Ontario and Quebec). Sharafutdinova (2003), refers to non-central units of government as regions. The author refers to Tatastan as a region that engages in paradiplomacy under the authority of the central government. Hocking (2013) refers to both regional and local governments as Non Central Governments. On the other hand, Kuznetsov (2015:22) defines region 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.

A far-reaching political science perception of the term 'region' is provided by Kuznetsov (2015). He submits that in the field of political science,

> 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 (Kuznetsov, 2015:21).

The top pattern is mostly used in describing sub-national governments, provinces, subnational units, amongst others. Lecours (2008) uses the term region interchangeably with sub-national government.

Kuznetsov (2015) further argues that a research problem determines the definition or the meaning attributed to the concept "region". The implication here is that the content and the limits of the concept are derived from one's own study. That is to say area of focus and purview of a study determines how the term 'region' is conceptualized. This view is further supported by evidence in an array of literature that sees scholars classifying 'region' differently to suit their work. There is one common denominator however; and it is in the description of region as the secondary sphere of the national/central government. However, in this study Sub-national government is used to refer to secondary entities of the central government.

2.4. Paradiplomacy and its Evolution

Paradiplomacy as a concept is highly contested. Sub-state relations with their counterparts have been defined by many scholars in different ways. Keohane and Nye (1974) introduced a new concept - transgovernmental relations, they used this concept to refer to international relations of different government units. They defined transgovernmental relations as sets of direct interactions among sub-units of different governments that are not controlled or closely guided by the policies of the cabinets or chief executives of those governments. Keohane and Nye, emphasize that their definition does not cover international activities that are done at national level but rather at other levels which are below the central government. Provinces, cities and government departments are considered as such.

Another concept that defines the international interactions of sub-national units (governments) is paradiplomacy. The first definition of paradiplomacy was drafted by Ivo Duchacek and Panayotis Soldatos in 1990. They posit that paradiplomacy "refers to direct international activity by sub -national actors (federated units, regions, urban communities, cities) supporting, complementing, correcting, duplicating or challenging the nation-states' diplomacy" (Duchacek and Soldatos, 1990:17).

Much later in 1999, Noe Cornago augmented the concept of paradiplomacy by including the security aspect that kept recurring in the interactions of sub-governmental units. Cornago (1999) defines paradiplomacy as:

> sub-state governments' involvement in international relationships, through the establishment of formal and informal contacts, either permanent or ad hoc, with foreign public or private entities, with the aim to promote socio-economic, cultural or political issues, as well as any other foreign dimension of their own constitutional competences

Drawn from the above definitions by scholars, for the purpose of this study, paradiplomacy is defined/refers to a range of international interactions undertaken by sub-national governments (provinces, municipalities and cities).

It is without doubt that the traditional Westphalian state-centred system has been radically altered by the evolving international system. The end of the Cold War blurred the role of the central government as the only actor in international relations (Magone, 2006). According to Vaughan (2011) world politics in the 21st century are informed by forces that challenge the Westphalian state-centric view of international

politics. He asserts that, since the end of the Cold War, globalisation and transnational integration have flushed out the notion that international politics are centred on one actor which is the nation-state. A multi-centric world has been evolving since the end of the twentieth century, creating "overlapping memberships" between state-centric and multi-centric actors (Rosenau, 1988).

According to Rosenau (2006) the "multi-centric world" consists of actors that are not sovereignty-bound and these actors compete, collaborate, interact and at times conflict with the state-centric world. He points out that subnational governments are part of these actors. Duchacek (1990), highlights that the involvement of subnational government in external activities or international relations has been increasing over the years. He notes that in 1985, twenty nine US states had fifty-five permanent offices in seventeen foreign countries while in 1970 it was only four US states with such relations.

Pluijm and Melissen's (2007) definition of the concept of paradiplomacy takes on the title of "city diplomacy". These authors view the role of cities in the process of international relations as worthy of mention. According to them, more than just a new centre of diplomatic relationships, the fact that in 2007 for the first time in human history, more people live in urban areas than in rural areas. Such a reality in their view places an important dimension to the role played by cities in the diplomatic process.

Alexander Kuznetsov (2015), in bid to provide a comprehensive insight for researchers in the field of paradiplomacy, provides six questions that are necessary in understanding the evolution of paradiplomacy. These questions in his view "are crucial for the comprehensive analysis of paradiplomacy of an examined region" (2015:101). These questions are:

- What are the causes of the blooming of the paradiplomatic activities of an examined region?
- What are the legal grounds of constituent diplomacy in the country of an examined subnational case?

- What is the predominant motive of the government of an examined region to be involved in international affairs?
- How has paradiplomacy been institutionalized in a given region?
- What is the attitude of the central government towards the paradiplomacy of its constituent entities?
- What are the consequences of paradiplomacy for the development of the whole nation? (Adapted from Kuznetsov (2015:100-101)

Starting from a general position, these questions will be adopted to understand the evolution of paradiplomacy in South Africa. The reason for adopting these questions to develop answers in a broad manner – that is using South Africa – rather than the province of KwaZulu-Natal is due to a dearth of literature on the topic with regards to the region/province in question. Subsequent chapters of this study however will use the province of KwaZulu-Natal to situate the answers to the above questions.

Kuznetsov (2015) opines that by identifying some variables that can provide an explanation, a clarification as to the rise of subnational involvement in international relations becomes possible. He also suggests that causality – that is reasons for the rise of subnational involvement in the diplomatic process can be divided into "external/universal" factors (factors associated with globalization). The second factor "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" (*Ibid*:102).

Kuznetsov (2015) cites Globalization as a very important "external/universal" factor in the evolution of paradiplomacy. According to Paquin and Lachapelle (2005) globalization has led to the emergence of economic competition between subnational actors other than the age long competition between sovereign states. According to these scholars,

> International reorganization at the economic level has led to a new international division of labour: competition between sovereign powers for the acquisition of new territories has been replaced with competition between sub-government states and

large metropolitan areas for the acquisition of shares in world markets (Paquin and Lachapelle, 2005:78).

Accordingly, they view globalization and the concurrent need for economic growth and developmental need as influencing the involvement of subnational entities in the diplomatic process. Inherent in this position is the view of paradiplomacy as a "policy capacity" enjoyed by subnational actors in a world that is growing increasingly global.

In Pluijm and Melissen (2007:7), the implications of globalization for the involvement of subnational entities in diplomatic process is as result of a growing grey area in the international and national political sphere. A case in point according to these authors is that an international issue like global warming has become a national one as "droughts threaten crops, while national issues like defence becomes international issues as nuclear weapons threatens countries around the world". The consequence of that in their view is that an avenue has been created for subnational entities and other non-state actors to get directly involved in taking active part in the economic, cultural and political responsibility of the central state. Inferring, globalization influences the growth of paradiplomacy as it creates an opportunity or to some extent places a mandate on subnational entities to share in the "burden" of the state.

So for these authors, globalization influences the involvement of subnational entities, not simply for economic and developmental reasons, but also for survival in a changing world. This is to say that "the foreign relations of SNGs (provincial, regional, state, municipal or city governments) have also evolved in intensity and sophistication, a trend that is reflected in the emergence of networks of SNGs attempting to influence global policy debates in areas such as sustainable development, aid effectiveness and global economic governance" (Nganje, 2014:89).

Magone (2006) on the other hand, sees paradiplomacy emerging as a way of subnational entities to cope with the thrust of globalization. In concurrence to this is the suggestion by Milani and Ribeiro (2011) that through globalization, there is a definition of "new modalities in the management of internationalization processes

being deployed by states, business, social players and also subnational political entities". Paquin and Lachapelle (2005) view globalization as giving a thrust to the advancement of paradiplomacy as "regions and cities offer unlimited advantages that determine the issue of investment. They compete to acquire private investments and positioning of decision-making centers. This inventive competition promotes innovation, efficiency collective allegiance…"

There is also the view held by some scholars (Lecours, 2008; Melissen and Criekemans, 2013; Grydehoj, 2014;) writing in the context of semi-autonomous regions or regions fighting for autonomy that sees globalization as influencing the growth of paradiplomacy in the sense that the process of direct diplomatic relationship becomes a tool of cultural preservation and a vital tool in their quest for autonomy or recognition. The role played by globalization is that it creates an entry point for these semi-autonomous or autonomy seeking regions by giving them a platform to express their identities to the rest of the world.

Grydehoj (2014) opines that due to globalization which has led to the proliferation of supranational and international entities, there has been a complication with regards to the delineation of powers in some states. Accordingly,

> Both paradiplomacy and internally oriented expansions of jurisdictional capacity could prove worthwhile for a subnational entity seeking outright independence or greater self-determination, and both types of activities necessarily challenge higher-level entities' notions of the powers that the subnational entity possesses (Grydehoj, 2014:13).

Melissen and Criekemans (2013) view paradiplomacy in one of their seminal works as a "tool for reterritorialization". For Keating (1999) the need to promote a region's identity, language and culture in an increasingly global village further emphasize the need for a subnational government to engage in direct diplomacy with other foreign entities. Keating (1999:2) further stresses that "globalization itself has economic, cultural and political dimensions… Culture may also be globalizing in some respects, but local and minority cultures are also reviving, and territory is seen increasingly as the basis on which to protect and develop them".

In stressing the influence of globalization on the evolution and the growth of paradiplomacy, Porter (1990:622) assumes that "Internationally successful

industries and industry clusters frequently concentrate in a city or region, and the bases for advantage are often intensely local while the national government has a role in upgrading industry, the role of state and local government is potentially as great or greater". As Kuznetsov (2015) sees it, "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" (:102). Effectually, the extent to which globalization influences the evolution and the practice of paradiplomacy in different regions in the world may vary considerably, it however remains a salient and pertinent variable (ibid).

There is also the important role played by Democratization in the evolution and spread of paradiplomacy. It is assumed that the wave of democracy that spread through the world 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" (Kuznetsov, 2015:104).

Simultaneously, democratization not only led to the erosion of totalitarian regimes, it also allowed for a system of government that encouraged the sharing of power and decision making between different levels of government. Kuznetsov (2015:105) describes Federalization and Decentralization and an Internal/Domestic factor that led to the growth of paradiplomacy. According to him, "The rise of paradiplomacy can be explained as a result of the evolution of intergovernmental relations within particular states". Using the examples of federal states like America and quasi-federal states like Spain, can provide "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. 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 (Kuznetsov, 2015:105)

Magone (2006) also speaks of how decentralization gave the thrust for regional/sub- national entities to play an important role in the world economy. He views the role played by decentralization in promoting the emergence of paradiplomacy strictly in the economic sense as subnational entities "can be regarded as flexible enough structures to build efficient networks for economic growth"

Again, Pluijm and Melissen (2007) consider such an arrangement or process as a "form of decentralization of international relations' management, choosing cities as the key actors". Such a practice in the eyes of some scholars is an infringement on the central role of a state's Ministry of Foreign affairs. However, Pluijm and Melissen submit that such an arrangement does not mean that the diplomatic route of subnational government and that of the central government take different routes; "but rather along the same route although in a different car" (2007:9). The functioning logic here is that, both the central government and the subnational entities engage in the pursuance of their interests but in different but not conflicting manners. A crucial element in diplomacy is the axiom that a state's diplomatic relationships are geared towards pursing national interests. It is tenable to extend this element to subnational governments' involvement in the diplomatic process.

Other factors cited for the development of paradiplomacy includes but are not limited to insufficient effectiveness of the central government in foreign relations. In the purview of federalized states, Kuznetsov (2015) sees this as giving a thrust to the development of paradiplomacy in that "subnational governments often have more experience, knowledge and resources for some types of international activities". This also concurs with Magone's (2007) "economic consciousness" logic, which suggests that regional actors have both the capacity and resources to foster their interests in

the international scene without relying on the central government. While Magone uses this to examine the growth of paradiplomacy in the context of regions seeking autonomy, the logic is also relevant to understanding the growth of paradiplomacy in centralized states.

In Pluijm and Melissen (2007), paradiplomacy is conceptualized as the "institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another" (:11). Effectually, the notion of promoting interests stand out for these authors as a reason for cities/subnational entities to engage in paradiplomacy. According to them, cities engage in city to city diplomacy as means of serving the interests of their city and community (ibid). They also view citizen activism, a situation where the citizens of a particular city encourage their representatives to engage in specific diplomatic activities like Global Warming initiatives as another reason for the growth of paradiplomacy.

Additionally, Pluijm and Melissen also speak of cities engaging in paradiplomatic activities as an act of solidarity with other cities. According to them, cities can have

> 'idealistic' motives for engaging in diplomacy. Although in many of those cases self-interest plays a role as well, solidarity can be said to be an important reason for becoming involved. Many of the city-twining projects with South African townships in the late 1980s, for example were set up by Western cities to show their solidarity with the black population in South Africa in the fight against apartheid (Pluijm and Melissen, 2007:15).

2.4.1. Factors Influencing Paradiplomacy

2.4.1.1. Nationalism

Various conceptualizations of nationalism, describe it either as a sentiment towards a nation, an ideology, a doctrine or a tool for political mobilization (Etheringthon, 2003:5). The first conceptualization of nationalism as a form of sentiment towards a nation entails the formation of identities. That is to say, through nationalism, people develop a strong sense of belonging to a particular nation. The preceding supposition

finds a lot of weight in Montserrat Guibernua's conceptualization as she describes nationalism as the "sentiment of belonging to communities whose members identifies with a set of symbols, beliefs and ways of life, and have the will to decide upon their common political destiny" (2003:4). The emphasis of nationalism as a sentiment to a nation which in turn can be understood as a tool for identity formation informs this study because, inherently such a view supports the idea that identities are malleable. For instance, Smith's (1991:25) examination of the origins of nations or nationalism emphasizes the role of collective cultural identity. A concept, which he describes as:

> not to a uniformity of elements over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture

The pertinent claim that "collective cultural identity" or "shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity" (Smith, 1986:32) which could be regarded as a precursor of nationalism; further serves to accentuate the conceptualization that nationalism is quite important in the promotion of a collective identity and destiny (Guibernau, 2004).

Inferring from the preceding thus, nationalism can also be considered as a tool for political mobilization as it seeks to rally a people around a particular cause based on the notion of shared identity and destiny. A case in point is the region of Catalonia in Spain. Sainz de Vicuna (2015:6) notes that nationalism plays a very important role in their quest for self-determination. While Sainz de Vicuna advances the economy as a reason for the Catalans desire for secession, according to him, "partly responsible for this upsurge in support for independence is the deep economic crisis that shook Spain and Catalonia in 2008 and from which they are still slowly recovering" (ibid). He however also emphasizes the fact that "Catalans are proud of their cultural and historical heritage. They have struggled with the Spanish central governments for the preservation of their institutions, cultural space, and for greater self-government since their incorporation to the crown of Castile in 1715" (2015:6). Similarly, Stoica and Horga (2016:6) also accede that the need to affirm cultural distinctiveness and to promote the national character of a particular community has led to a growth in paradiplomatic activities. It is therefore conceivable that nationalism

which is a tool for promoting collective cultural activity is positively linked with a growth in paradiplomacy.

Additionally, nationalism conveys the importance for external recognition and the distinct nature of states. This phenomenon indicates the political identity of societies within their host countries and clarifies how government adopts such through its policies. Nationalism is driven by what Wendt (1992) refers to as 'shared knowledge' be it language, race, religion, culture or historical association. Nation-states which are the prominent units of the international system have nationalism as the distinguishing factor amongst them. In affirmation, is the supposition by Sainz de Vicuna (2015:9) that some sub-state entities "use the international arena as a space to assert their national and cultural distinctiveness".

Nationalism is a significant factor that forms part of paradiplomacy. It has proven to spearhead paradiplomacy more so in Western industrialized regions. The most prominent being Quebec, Catalonia, the Basque, and Flanders amongst others. Lecours (2001) posits that regions with nationalist leaders engage in paradiplomacy to pursue their nationalist agenda. Subnational governments with distinct features such as culture and language often seek external recognition by securing resources and support to preserve their existence. Kuznetsov (2015:110) also emphasizes the cultural or what can be regarded as the nationalist dimension of paradiplomacy when he notes that:

> 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.

Also, in the case of Quebec which drafted a series of cooperation policies with France and other Francophone states to strengthen and safeguard the French language and culture. These regions often argue that government institutions (central) do not acknowledge and give recognition to their distinct culture and language and therefore fear their identities being diluted (Lachapell and Paquin). Catalonia has its own language and culture and they use paradiplomacy to preserve

their identity independent of Spain. Lecours and Moreno (2001) summarize this view when they argue that there is a logical connection between nationalism and paradiplomacy as the latter seeks to be deployed as a tool for the promotion of cultural identity and the consolidation of the collective interests of a sub-regional government.

A case in point is the Tatarstan region in the Russian Federation. Without express or awaiting permission from the central government, this region has the liberty to engage in economic and political ties with other countries through paradiplomacy. The region shares close ties with the Republic of Bashkortostan due to its search for autonomy. The relationship between Tatarstan and Bashkortostan is premised on a 'shared knowledge' in culture and language (they are of the same Turkic ethnic group) (Askerov, 2015).

The relationship between these two regions is for identity and linguistic fortification. The shared knowledge amongst them paves way for smooth cooperation. It can be argued that in this particular instance, an identifiable and a significant variable of paradiplomacy is nationalism. As Lecours and Moreno (2003) posit that regions where institutional change/independence is sought by the government – like the Tatarstan region – paradiplomacy becomes a "functional necessity". In Lecours and Moreno's (2003) view, nationalism provides a strong thrust for the international activities of sub-national governments and those with very strong nationalist movements are more likely develop strong international activities in order to promote regional interests.

2.4.1.2. Political Motivations, Nationalism and Paradiplomacy

Political motivations have also been cited as another vital precursor to paradiplomacy. Keating (1999:11) cites political motivation as a vital influence on paradiplomacy. Kuznetsov (2015:66) finds a correlation between political motivations and nationalism. In his view, "nationalism logically leads regional governments to

seek international agency". The predominant view is that paradiplomacy gives a thrust to nationalism as it situates a sub-state entity in the international arena.

The decline of military force as a policy tool and the increase in economic and other forms of interdependence increased the probability of cooperation among states. Globalization and the evolving international system has heightened relations between state and non-state actors, state actors and state actors, this is what Keohane and Nye refer to as the multiple channels of contact. These channels gave a platform for local and subnational governments to engage in economic activities with their counterparts in a globalized economic world (Nye and Keohane, 1977).

According to Rana (2015), in the system of 'Interdependence', states cooperate with their counterparts due to their shared common interest. The aftermath of this cooperation yields ensures stability in the international system. Globalization diluted the cultural and economic frontier that existed between states. It paved way for sub-national governments to pursue their economic interests across borders. Paradiplomacy is to some extent a direct consequence of Globalization. International relations are no longer the sole responsibility of sovereign states. Sub-national governments compete for shares in the global markets and seek to attract investments; this has led to multinational companies seeking to establish relations with sub-national governments. The relationship between MNCs and SNGs is overt as we see a frequent and growing concentration of international industries and clusters in a city or region. Porter (1990) highlights that the concentration of industries in cities serves as an advantage for local governments and the responsibility of the national government is to ensure that these industries grow and develop, meaning the role of the local government is greater in this regard (Porter, 1990: 622).

2.5. South Africa's Foreign Policy

The cold war and South Africa's attainment of inclusive democracy in 1994, "set new parameters defining South Africa's foreign policy towards the African continent. On the one hand, Pretoria can for the first time since the Republic's independence in

1961 openly establish and maintain contacts with African states" (Pfister, 2000:1). There is an underlying assumption that post 1994, the international relations of South Africa, took on a different shape. Karen Smith (2012:68) for instance, sees South Africa's emergence from isolation post-apartheid as creating an opportunity for South Africa to emplace itself as an important player in the international arena.

The most recent document on South Africa's foreign policy is a white paper document titled 'Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu'. It is a policy proposal that intends to provide a definition and guidance for the trajectory and the purpose of South Africa's foreign policy. The document articulates the objective and the purpose of the country's international relations as working to ensure that the country becomes,a winning nation in the coming decades of the 21st century. The international relations work must also endeavour to shape and strengthen our national identity; cultivate our national pride and patriotism; address the injustices of our past, including those of race and gender; bridge the divides in our society to ensure social cohesion and stability; and grow the economy for the development and upliftment of our people (DIRCO, 2011:3).

The document further articulates that "South Africa's unique approach to global issues has found expression in the concept of Ubuntu. This concept informs our particular approach to diplomacy and shape our vision of a better world for all" (2011:4). There is thus the projection that South Africa's international relations will be to engage with the world to promote mutual development.

The dossier further delineates that there will be certain key areas focusing on South Africa's foreign policy. These areas are: the African Agenda, South-South Co-operation, North-South Dialogue, Multilateral and Economic Diplomacy, and bilateral relations with individual countries. As the document articulates it:

> Remaining loyal to the constitutional principles that have inspired South Africa since 1994, our foreign policy is currently based on the primacy of the African continent and the Southern African Development Community; commitment to South-South cooperation; the centrality of multilateralism; consolidating relations with the North; and the strengthening of bilateral social, political and economic relations (2011:4-5).

The reason why South Africa's foreign policy focuses on the above mentioned key areas is because the country:

- accords central importance to our immediate African neighborhood and continent;
- working with countries of the South to address shared challenges of underdevelopment;
- promoting global equity and social justice; working with countries of the North to develop a true and effective partnership for a better world;
- and doing our part to strengthen the multilateral system including its transformation, to reflect the diversity of our nations, and ensure its centrality in global governance (DIRCO, 2011:4).

In spite of the above humanistic approach to international relations by DIRCO, Smith (2012) argues that South African leaders (post-apartheid) "realized the benefits of positioning South Africa as a global citizen – not only to advance global normative goals but also to advance South Africa's national interest" (2012:68). In accord is the view by Wheeler (2011) that the DIRCO dossier on foreign policy intends to create a South African Development Agency. The reason provided for such was that the country intends to ensure that its developmental assistance are channeled "through a single agency, in order to have a record of assistance provided by all government departments responding to requests from counterparts in other countries in their areas of responsibility". Granting the preceding intention of the government to be transparent and ensure efficacy in its development, Wheeler still believes that the country intends to "use development partnerships (the term 'foreign assistance' is considered politically incorrect) in a tactical manner to promote South Africa's interests" (2011:3). An extrapolation from the above arguments and similar arguments (see Geldenhys, 1998; Pfister, 2000; Vickers, 2012; Nganje, 2013) stand to affirm the supposition that promotion of national interest is the leitmotif of South Africa's foreign policy. "Foreign policy, being an extension of national policy and interests, is an important component in South Africa's strategy for development and social purposes" (DIRCO, 2011:10).

2.6. South Africa's Paradiplomacy

Majority of the corpus of literature's (see for instance Keating, 1999; Paquin and Lachapelle, 2005; Rosenau, 2006; Grydehoj, 2014; Kuznetsov, 2015) discussion on paradiplomacy is primarily Western and it focuses in some regards on semi-autonomous regions, "developed" world and states with a well-developed paradiplomatic mechanisms. The exploration of the phenomenon in Africa or in the developing world and in centralized states is quite lacking and this creates a gap that needs to be filled. This section's exploration of the phenomenon in South Africa seeks to do that.

Fritz Nganje's (2014) seminal work on paradiplomacy views it from a developmental perspective as an activity most aligned with the overall developmental route of the country's foreign policy. In essence, paradiplomacy is need-driven. Zondi (2012) on the other hand in spite of lauding the progress of paradiplomacy in the country, stresses their "misalignment" with the country's foreign policy.

In a bid not to rehash arguments, this study still maintains that extensive emphasis can always be placed on the role of globalization in the blooming of paradiplomatic activities in South Africa. The foreword of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) document on South Africa's foreign policy, states that "South Africa strives to promote its national interest in a complex and fast-changing world. The impact of these complexities and changes must be factored in to the nation's work to achieve a better life for its people both at home and in a regional and continental context" (DIRCO, 2011:3). Explicitly, the above extract shows that the promotion of interests in a globalized world can be viewed as the primary objective of South Africa's foreign policy. The document goes further to acknowledge that "the business of national interest cannot be the purview of the state alone, but it can encourage an enabling environment of dialogue and discourse among all stakeholders to interrogate policies and strategies, and their application in the best interests of the people" (ibid).

In conceding that the state alone (let us take this to mean the central government) cannot be the only entity tasked with the duty of promoting national interests, the state in the above extract thus decides to put in place an environment that will enable all stakeholders (NGO's, Multinationals and Sub-State entities) to develop ways of promoting and satisfying the interests of the people. It can thus be concluded that the provenance of paradiplomacy should be traced to the intention of the state to create an environment that would enable all stake holders to seek to promote and satisfy national interests.

Similarly, Siphamandla Zondi (2012) attributes the growth of paradiplomacy to the new democratic dispensation of 1994. He speaks of globalization as leading to what he describes as perforated sovereignty; a situation that ensures that national actors have ceased to be the only players in the international arena. Increasingly, subnational actors due to globalization now enjoy roles as important political and economic actors in the international arena. Accordingly, "perforated sovereignty has enabled South African provinces and municipalities to deepen their engagements internationally" (Zondi, 2012:44).

Regarding how external factors like Globalization give a thrust to subnational governments' involvement in international relations, Deon Geldenhuys (1998:15) describes how in the 1970s, states became preoccupied with issues like 'high politics' of security and the 'new politics' of scarcity. These issues were regarded as pressing concerns and they left central governments with a lot on their plates. The muted supposition here is that through the forces of globalization, domestic interests were exposed to the impacts of international events. Additionally, the inability of many national governments to respond effectively to new challenges or to come to the rescue of their sub-national units was further laid bare. This view concurs with Pliujm and Melissen, 2007; Kuznetsov's (2015) suppositions that because of globalization, international issues became domestic problems. Geldenhuys (1998) further describes the situation as 'awareness'. By implication, global events happening at a distant, affected subnational entities domestically. As a consequence, subnational entities are drawn to engage directly with external actors; and this can be viewed as a reaction to a distant threat or opportunities. The aim of

SNGs direct involvement in international relations can be understood as an attempt to diminish this threat and capitalize upon the perceived opportunities in order develop new skills and techniques (Geldenhuys, 1998:16). It can thus be argued that this awareness of vulnerability due to external forces like globalization has led South Africa's provinces to engage in paradiplomacy.

In the Western Cape for instance, the province's International Relations Strategy highlights some of the risks and opportunities that may accrue to the country due to an increasingly interconnectedness of the world through globalization. Consequently, it is posited that this factor has affected the country's economic sector.

> Provinces have had to adopt a new approach to provincial economic growth coupled with socio-economic imperatives. The Western Cape Government has recognised the need for a differentiated approach particularly when dealing with international partners as it relates to promoting the province's comparative advantages – economic, social and cultural (Western Cape Government, 2014:9).

Inherently, the Western Cape seeks to promotes its socio-economic and cultural interests by placing emphasis on "on creating an enabling environment for economic growth at the regional level by using the Western Cape's comparative advantages" (ibid,10). So the Western Cape's and by extension, the involvement of most South African provinces in international relations can be viewed strictly as a response to their individual developmental needs and to foster economic growth or whatever opportunities that trends in globalization provides.

There is the argument that a lot of ambiguities shapes the content of DIRCO's foreign policy document. Tom Wheeler (2011) for instance, speaking in reference to South Africa's foreign policy document categorically states that "the draft, if that is what it is, trots out all the clichés, like Ubuntu (meaning "humanity towards others"), Batho Pele (meaning "putting people first"; an initiative by the South African government to enhance delivery and quality of public services). There are also the platitudes about national interests, without saying how the lengthy list of objectives will be achieved" (:1). So to say that the foreign policy which is supposed to provide some such of structure for paradiplomacy is lacking in clearly stated objectives puts the conduct of paradiplomacy in a very grey area.

Conversely, Nganje (2013:30) is of the view that the "structural determinants of paradiplomacy at the national level are situated primarily in the constitutional framework of the state. The distribution of powers in any given state plays a significant role in conditioning the international agency of its sub-national units". Inherently, there is the presupposition that a sub-national unit in a centralized state like South Africa can only participate in the diplomatic process under the purview of the country's constitution. The need for a constitutional grounding of paradiplomacy can be seen as an attempt for a central state to grant a reasonable level of autonomy to its subunits to pursue it developmental end and at the same time to ensure that there is coordination with the central unit so as to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.

In South Africa, it is supposed that departments in different provinces have entered into different and in some situations isolated international agreements and partnerships. It is noted that some of these partnerships or agreements have become inactive or obsolete. The Western Cape Government (2014:10) submits that:

> Departments are thus unable to engage with a transversal strategic provincial approach and unable to adequately respond to global issues which affect the province. An agreed strategic approach, articulated in an IR strategy, along with a clear and co-ordinated communication plan, will ensure optimal outcomes in international engagements and agreements.

In South Africa, the constitution provides for a foreign relation competence of the provinces. Geldenhuys (1998) for instance affirms that while the South African Constitution "does not once mention the word 'federation', the distribution of powers between South Africa's central and provincial governments displays unmistakable federal features". Geldenhuys went further to make an historical surmise of the different South African constitutions from 1910 till the till the adoption of the 1996 constitution. He stresses the fact that at different epochs the different constitutions of the country, granted a certain level of autonomy to the provinces, homelands or whatever the case may be. In spite of this however, the conduction of foreign affairs has always been left to the central government. According to Geldenhuys (1998:5-6):

The South African Constitution does not recognise the provinces as subjects of international law. This fact, it could be argued, disqualifies them from entering into treaties (meaning formal arrangements dealing with matters of gravity) with foreign parties. It is then not surprising that the Constitution makes no express provision for the provinces to enter into international agreements. Yet, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs, 'the provinces are not prohibited from entering into contracts with other entities abroad, provided they have the legal competency to do so.

Whilst Geldenhuys' analysis affirms that there is no explicit constitutional backing for paradiplomacy in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, he however concedes that taking a closer look at some of the competencies that the 1996 constitution grants provinces, some of those competencies have foreign policy relevance. Noteworthy are some of the matters listed in Schedule Four of the 1996 Constitution. For instance,

administration of indigenous forests; agriculture; animal control and diseases; cultural matters; disaster management; environment; health services; nature conservation; pollution control; tourism; and trade. It is not easy to identify similar matters in the schedule of exclusive provincial legislative competence; perhaps veterinary services, provincial planning, and provincial roads and traffic may affect relations with a neighboring country… The provinces' involvement with those matters mentioned in Schedule Four is qualified by the Constitution's provisions on conflicts between national and provincial legislation (Section 146). National legislation that applies uniformly to the whole country takes precedence over provincial legislation if the former (a) deals with a matter that cannot be regulated effectively by provincial legislation; (b) is necessary for inter alia the maintenance of national security, of economic unity, and for the protection of the environment; and (c) aims at preventing various kinds of 'unreasonable action' by a province (Geldenhuys, 1998:6).

So while the constitution may grant certain concessions to provincial government that may have foreign policy relevance, the constitution nonetheless according to Geldenhuys (1998), "follows the international pattern of centralizing foreign relations" (:7). Nganje (2013) also lends his voice to the preceding supposition that two forms of constitutional basis for SNGs involvement in foreign affairs are identifiable. In the first instance, "which is mostly discernable in unitary states and highly centralized federations, the international activities of SNGs are not directly sanctioned by the constitution" (:37). Nganje extends his analysis to the South African situation and he notes similar to Geldenhuys' position that there is an ambiguity in the South African 1996 constitution regarding the role of SNGs in the foreign relations domain. The

constitution according to him falls short of "explicitly permitting or denying SNGs a role in external relations (ibid). In spite of this ambiguity, Nganje suggests that certain parts of the constitution provide a legal ground for SNGs to demand for more involvement in international relations.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter began with a broad conceptualization of paradiplomacy as sub state entities' engagement in international relations. Inherent in this conceptualization is a suggestion that a state is no longer the sole player in the field of international relations. Globalization was underscored as a core driver of paradiplomacy. The argument therein is that through the forces of globalization, the role of nation state as the sole actors in the international arena came under challenge. That is to say that through globalization, a new form of economic competition between subnational actors other than the age long competition between sovereign states alone emerged. Fundamentally, the accent is that globalization serves both as a pull and push factor for sub regional entities to engage in the international relations. Other factors like nationalism, and a move for regional secession were also underscored as other factors that give a thrust to paradiplomacy around the world.

In the South African context, it was articulated that the engagement in international relations still remains a prerogative of the central government, constitutional ambiguities, and the provision for power sharing in the constitution which was to enable subnational entities to promote their constituent development was accented as factors that shape paradiplomacy in the country. The argument put forward here is that subnational entities' engagement in international relations is done solely for developmental purposes. The next chapter outlines the theoretical framework upon which the study is rooted. It discusses in detail the theory that explains the phenomenon of this study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
"Research is formalized curiosity, it is poking and prying with a purpose"

(Zora Hurston, 1891-1960)

3.1. Introduction

A theory is a set of ideas that categorise relationships that exist between variables. Denzin (1988) explains a theory as one which provides a "description that goes beyond the mere or bare reporting of an act, but describes and probes the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action" (Denzin, 1988: 39).

A theoretical framework outlines a general overview of the study and shapes the research questions as well as the method of collecting data. A theoretical framework is necessary for every research as it defines the theoretical underpinnings of a specific study. Its purpose is to identify and label the important variables that are relevant to the research problem. This enables the researcher to connect the dependent variables with the independent variables and if possible elaborate any moderating variables. The process of selecting the most appropriate theory, which explains the context of the research, involves an analysis of the most relevant theories of international relations. Amongst them realism and liberalism. Yin (1994) purports that a case study research, such as this one, requires the researcher to place the study with in a framework (theoretical or conceptual) at the onset of the inquiry, this is because a theory has an influence on the outline of the study and analysis of data. As such, this study identified constructivism as the most appropriate theory for this inquiry.

The study of the foreign relations of sub-national governments has attracted enormous attention in world politics recently. These type of relations are a shift from foreign policy and international relations carried out by nation-states. The foreign relations of sub-national governments are commonly referred to as paradiplomacy or subnational diplomacy. Literature on paradiplomacy has been dominated by the quest to find out 'what accounts for/ motivates sub-national government's

involvement in international relations?' Scholars have cited globalization and interdependence as providing the platforms for paradiplomacy, hence the literature has been dominated by neo-liberal and Historical institutionalism approaches. Sharafutdinova (2003) uses a different approach to paradiplomacy by adopting the theory of constructivism to "reveal the potential political salience of such activities". Relying on constructivism, this study demonstrates how identities and interests shape paradiplomacy.

This chapter presents a theoretical perspective of paradiplomacy focusing on identities and interests of subnational governments. The following sections are outlined: a critical analysis of neo-liberal and historical institutionalism approaches; a critique of the theory of realism and liberalism; and lastly constructivism is analysed within the context of this study.

3.2. Historical Background

In the mid-1940s, Realism was a commanding school of thought in international politics. During the Cold war for instance, the rationalist school of thought dominated the sphere of political theorization. The idea that power and interests shape international relations was in vogue. Realism, according to Hans Morgenthau (1984), has six principles[1]. The first principle, which is felicitous for this study, asserts that politics is governed by objective laws which are rooted in human nature. Thus, it is important to study the nature of human relations in order to understand international politics. The second principle is that politics is a concept defined by power. National interest is secured by national power, states are driven to act by their national interest.The sign-post that helps political realism to find its way through the

---

[1] Hans Morgenthau's six Principles of Realism
(1).Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature; (2). The main sign post that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of intellectual politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power; (3).Realism assumes that its key concept of interest defined as power is an objective category that is universally valid, but it does not endow that concept with a meaning that is fixed once and for all; (4). Realism maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal; (5). Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. As it distinguishes between truth and opinion, so it distinguishes between truth and idolatry; (6). Intellectually, the political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere, and thinks in terms of interest defined as power.

landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. This concept provides the link between reason trying to understand international politics and the facts to be understood (Morgenthau, 1984). Realists believe that "interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judged and directed…." (Morgenthau, 1984).

However, changes in the international system led to the provenance of other theories that challenged some of the suppositions of realism. The Neo-Liberals, for instance, in the 1970s challenged Realism and argued that the theory is ill-suited to explain changes in the international relations. The Neo-Liberal position stood in direct opposition to realist perspective, which views international politics as a system of antagonists seeking security.

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye consider the international system as what Reus-Smit refers to as "a cobweb of political, economic and social relations binding sub-national, national, transnational, international and supranational actors" (Reus-Smit, 2013:213). Keohane and Nye (1979), accentuate the magnitude of the roles of other actors apart from the state. They sought for the value of non-state actors and transnational relations as well as the interdependence between states. The authors later reappraised their work and strengthened their position by explaining the significance and power of sovereign states in the concept of complex interdependence.

Complex Interdependence was advanced as a concept that challenges the fundamental assumptions of traditional and structural realism which focuses on military and economic capabilities to explain state behaviour. Complex Interdependence on the contrary highlights the emergence of transnational actor's vis-à-vis the state. It is important to acknowledge that states are not the only actors in international relations. Globalisation and the evolving international system have heightened relations between state and non-state actors. Keohane and Nye refer to this as the multiple channels of contact. These channels provide a platform for local and subnational governments to engage in economic activities with their counterparts in a globalized world.

This challenge did not go unanswered, in an attempt to save the theory of Realism, Kenneth Waltz modified realism in his 1979 book titled "The Theory of International Politics". According to Reus-Smit (2013), Waltz (1979) gave realism a new identity. Waltz argues that the ordering principle in international politics is anarchy and states are driven by self-interest. Waltz founded structural realism or what is usually referred to as neo-realism. For Waltz (1979), the structure is the material configuration or arrangement of units in a system. It is in other words the diffusion of material capabilities under anarchy. Dessler (1989) defines structure as an environment in which action takes place. Structure means the 'setting' or 'context' in which action unfolds. The structure shapes the behaviour of states in the same way that a market becomes a force in itself and a force that the constitutive units acting singly or in small groups cannot control (Lee, 2004).

When defining a structure one must ignore how agents relate with each other but rather focus on how these agents are arranged and positioned because the arrangement of agents is the responsibility of the structure. The structure refers to the international system and agents are members of this system (states). Waltz argues that culture and ideas do not matter in international relations because all states are influenced by the structure of the international system. According to Waltz, the 'structure' of the international system is said to be 'anarchic' and this anarchy does not imply the presence of chaos and disorder but simply refers to the absence of a world government (Waltz 1979, 88). As a result of anarchy, states tend to expand their security; this makes international cooperation proposed by neo-liberals difficult.

In explicating the relationship between structure and agent, structural realism argues that the crucial aspect of international politics is better clarified by the structure of the system. The structure of the international system shapes the behaviour of states. This means that the basis of Agents' action is structure.

As a challenge to neo-realism, liberal institutionalists argue that emphasis should be placed on international organizations; this would be a fundamental base of explaining international relations. They highlight the important role played by common goals and the potential of cooperation fostered by international organizations.

Keohane (1984), developed a theory that would explain cooperation between states in an anarchic system. This theory contributed three main factors that became the order of international politics; power; interest and International Corporation. According to the neo-liberals, states are disinclined to cooperate in an anarchic system; this is because no one will hold states accountable for their commitment to any agreement. However, international institutions are remedial to this reluctance by fostering the cooperation of states in an anarchic world.

According to Rana (2015), in the system of 'Interdependence', states cooperate because it is in their own common interest and a direct result of this cooperation is prosperity and stability in the international system. As opposed to realism, neoliberals' argue that international politics can no longer be divided simply into' high' and 'low' politics. Rana believes that 'high politics' of national security and military power still remain important and relevant, but 'low politics' such as economic, social and environmental issues, also rank high in the international agenda.

A notable difference between neo-realism and neo-liberalism lies entirely on the question of states interest in relative gains or absolute gains. Neo-Realists argue that relative gains is a principal factor that motivates actors in international politics. States are paranoid about power balances and therefore interested in measuring their power against that of others, in fear of a decline. Hence neo-realists are discontent about international cooperation and see it as huge risk (Reus-Smit, 2013). Relative gains phenomenon is argued as being a hindrance to cooperation in an anarchic system.

The background outlined above denotes an important factor that separates neo-realists from liberal institutionalists, and that is the potential of international cooperation among states in an anarchic world. Neo-realists argue that there is no likelihood of international cooperation in an anarchic world "*since Thucydides, realists have proposed that international anarchy makes cooperation difficult because agreements cannot be centrally enforced*" (Snidal, 1991(a): 701). While liberal institutionalist argue that cooperation is possible and gives a directive on when and how cooperation can be fostered "*Relative gains do not inhibit cooperation to*

nearly the extent suggested by realist theorists of international relations"
(Snidal,1991 (b): 389).

3.2.1. Post-Cold War Political Theorization

The post-Cold War era saw a new wave of thought coming in as an alternative to the short-comings of rationalist theories. As the debate went on between neo-realism and neo-liberalism, critical theorists shook the ground rationalism stood on. The active participation of critical theory in international relations stage were guided by the seminal works of Robert Cox, Richard Ashley, Mark Hoffman, and Andrew Linklater. As a result, two important and dissimilar approaches unfolded. One stressed the important role of universal principles, dialogue, and difference; the other focused entirely on the revolutionary transformation of social relations and the state in international political economy. These seminal works over emphasized the need to take into account the growing pluralism in the post-cold war theorization and what this meant for understanding and interpreting the growing complexity of global politics (Roach,2010).

Critical theorists challenged the image of social actors as antagonists whose interests are formed before they interact. They also challenged the claim that social actors engage in relations predominately for strategic purposes. Critical theorists instead argued that actors are innately social and their interests and identities are a social construction and products of intersubjective social structures (Reus-Smit, 2013). The evolution of constructivism is viewed as an advancement of critical theory, Price and Reus-Smit (1998) believe that the intellectual base of constructivism is derived from critical theory. Critical theorists emphasize the importance of social relations, norms and identities in global politics, the same sentiments echoed by constructivism.

According to Hopf (1998) Constructivism challenges the continuing dominance of neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism. Wendt (1992) argues that self-help in international relations is as a result of the interaction of actors. Constructivists believe

that interests are generated by state social identities and how they view themselves in relation to other actors in the international community (Griffiths, 2008).

However, the end of the Cold War changed the international system and challenged the assumptions of theories that dominated the cold war era. More specifically, the end of the Cold War exposed the shortfall of rationalist theories to foresee the end of the war and provide direction on how states would balance power after the Cold War (Jackson and Sorensen, 2012). Although Critical Theorists challenged the view point of rationalists on legitimate knowledge, nature of social world and the purpose of actors, it was not until constructivists made their way through to the global politics podium that the dismantling of rational theories became apparent. Price and Reus-Smit (1998) view constructivism as a natural consequence of critical theory. Reus-Smith (2013:226) argues that:

> the veracity of the epistemological, methodological and normative challenges that critical theorists levelled at rationalism has not diminished, but the rise of constructivism has focused the debate on ontological and empirical issues, pushing the meta-theoretical debate of the 1980s off center stage.

3.3. The Theory of Constructivism

International relations, a field in the discipline of political science, was dominated by two schools of thoughts post-World War I. These schools of thoughts were deployed to understand how states relate and how international politics worked. Realism and Liberalism, known as rationalist theories are guided by the assumption rational choice, facts or reality determines the key decisions taken by states. While both theories privilege material factors, they differ on the possibility of cooperation in international relations. The discipline of international relations was dominated by this difference for decades, until Sociology and Anthropology influenced international Relations. Sociologists and Anthropologists employed a cognitive perspective in their explanation of the different aspects of human action and decision making. Since then, rationalist theories have come under criticism from constructivism for their failure in highlighting the importance of ideas and shared knowledge in international relations. According to Reus-Smit (2013), the end of the Cold War questioned the

assumptions neo-realism and neo-liberalism offered in international politics. These two approaches failed to predict the end of the Cold War and their arguments could not explain this predicament. Constructivists saw this as an opportunity to unearth a new perspective to global politics.

Constructivism in International Relations was first developed by Nicholas Onuf, who used the concept to coin theories that explain socially constructed aspect of international politics. Onuf (1989) posits that the distinction between material and social factors is not clear and argues that both these factors contribute to the co-constitution of people and societies. According to Onuf (1989), hegemony, hierarchy as well as heteronomy are described as alternative structures of power in world politics. Constructivism in this view is defined as a theory that acknowledges that reality is influenced by our social settings or environment.

Social constructivism argues that international relations are socially constructed and "imbued with social values, norms and assumptions" (Fierke, 2007: 168). The theory highlights that important aspects of international politics are socially constructed as opposed to being "consequences of unchanging human nature as classical realists argue". Constructivism, according to Hopf (1998) is viewed "with a great deal of skepticism by mainstream scholars" (*ibid*: 171). There are many reasons to this, Hopf cites three major one's; mainstream's miscasting of constructivism as necessarily postmodern and anti-positivist; constructivism's own ambivalence about whether it can buy into mainstream social science methods without sacrificing its theoretical distinctiveness; and related to this ambivalence, constructivism's failure to advance an alternative research program. Other scholars perceive constructivism as far behind liberalism and realism (Nau, 2012). Adler (1997) for instance holds that the contribution of constructivism to a better understanding of international relations goes unnoticed.

However, constructivism remains an influential theory in international relations. As Holsti (1985) asserts that "most constructivists work within the theoretical and epistemological premises of the social sciences, and seek to expand rather than undermine the purview of other theoretical perspectives". Hurd also believe that

"constructivism addresses both philosophical and empirical issues that were inaccessible through the prevailing models of international relations" (Hurd, 2008:299).

Additionally, Hurd (1998) makes an important supposition that realism focuses more on material gain, that is that states respond to material needs, incentives, power and rationalism to be about instrumentalism (that states pursue individual advantage by calculating costs and benefits). Constructivism, by contrast, emphasizes the social and relational construction of what states are and what they want (Hurd, 1998:299). Essentially, thus it has been put forward that power and the interest of actors remains at the core of each of these paradigms. Hurd (1998) consequently asserts that it is wrong to associate a substantive interest in power exclusively with realism, because all the "paradigms" of international relations are interested in power, as motivation, cause, or effect.

In Liu's (2010) submission, constructivism is construed as providing a clear picture of how actors in international relations choose their interests and preferences. Realism and liberalism according to Liu provide an explanation of how goals are pursued by states and how states evaluate the costs and benefits of their actions. These rationalist approaches however do not offer a well-defined indication of what states prefer and what motivates these interests and preferences. Social interpretations of what actors confer on objects and practices in international relations are provided by the constructivist approach.

One of the defining features of constructivism is that it gives meaning to other important factors apart from material. Thus, Wendt asserts that "A fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them" (1992: 396). Onuf (1989) believes that international politics is a 'world of our making', constructivism is thus interpreted as explaining that beliefs, norms and ideas are constructed and determine identities of actors such as states.

According to Wendt (1995), constructivism in international relations, is marked by two major tenets: (1) "that the structures of human association[2] are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces" (:73). This means that material resources gain meaning "for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded" (Wendt, 1995:73). This method is idealistic; (2) "the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature" (*ibid*). The preceding view is a structuralist approach because of its emphasis on the growing powers of social structures (Wendt, 1999:1). This means that the behavior of actors in world politics is formed by the predominating ideas of the time. Effectually, structures trigger action from actors based on how actors interpret them.

It is important to note that while realism views power as military capability and describe interest as an egoistic desire for power, security and wealth; the neoliberals on the other hand view institutions as playing a significant role in world politics. Neo-liberals routinely describe power and interest and sometimes institutions as "material" factors. For constructivists, the idealists' emphasis on the role of 'ideas' stands as a novel inclusion into the power and interest debate. As a result of the preceding inclusion of ideas by constructivists, Wendt (1999) explains that this focus goes back to Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin (1962), who pioneered a tradition of cognitivist research on the role of belief systems and perceptions in foreign policy decision-making. These scholars emphatically stress that ideas in international relations explains an important aspect of behaviour beyond the effects of power, interest, and institutions alone.

Effectually, Constructivism is said to be characterised by certain assumptions concerning human action (Kratochwil, 2001:15). Such assumptions accentuate one

---

[2] Also referred to as social structures are characterised "in part, by shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge. These constitute the actors in a situation and the nature of their relationships, whether cooperative or conflictual. A *security dilemma,* for example, is a social structure composed of intersubjective understandings in which states are so distrustful that they make worst-case assumptions about each other's intentions, and as a result define their interests in self-help terms. A *security community* is a different social structure, one composed of shared knowledge in which states trust one another to resolve disputes without war" (Wendt, 1995:73)

of the main features of constructivism which is the 'social construction of state interest'. First, it is assumed that the environment in which agents/states take action is social and material. Secondly, it is further assumed that this this setting can provide agents/states with understandings of their interests (it constructs them). Checkel's (1998) view is that the first assumption reflects a notion that material structures are given meaning by the social context through which they are interpreted. In affirmation with Checkel, Hurd (2008) defines these "structures" as institutions and shared meanings that make up the context of international action. The second assumption addresses the nature of human agents and states, specifically their relation to broader structural environment. For Hurd (2008) these "agents" refer to any entity that operates as an actor in the structural environment. The social constitution of interests encompasses all the ways that actors' interests and identities might be influenced by their interactions with others and with their social environment (Hurd, 2008:303).

Arguably, it can be submitted that structure and agent are important features of constructivism. As Wendt (1999) contends that any structure in a social system has three elements which are material factors, interests, and ideas. He believes that interests are central to material conditions; that is interest determines the pursuit of material factors and this interest is largely influenced by ideas.

Using Figures **1.1** and **1.2** this study will attempt to show how Constructivism differs from realism.

Figure 1.1. Realism
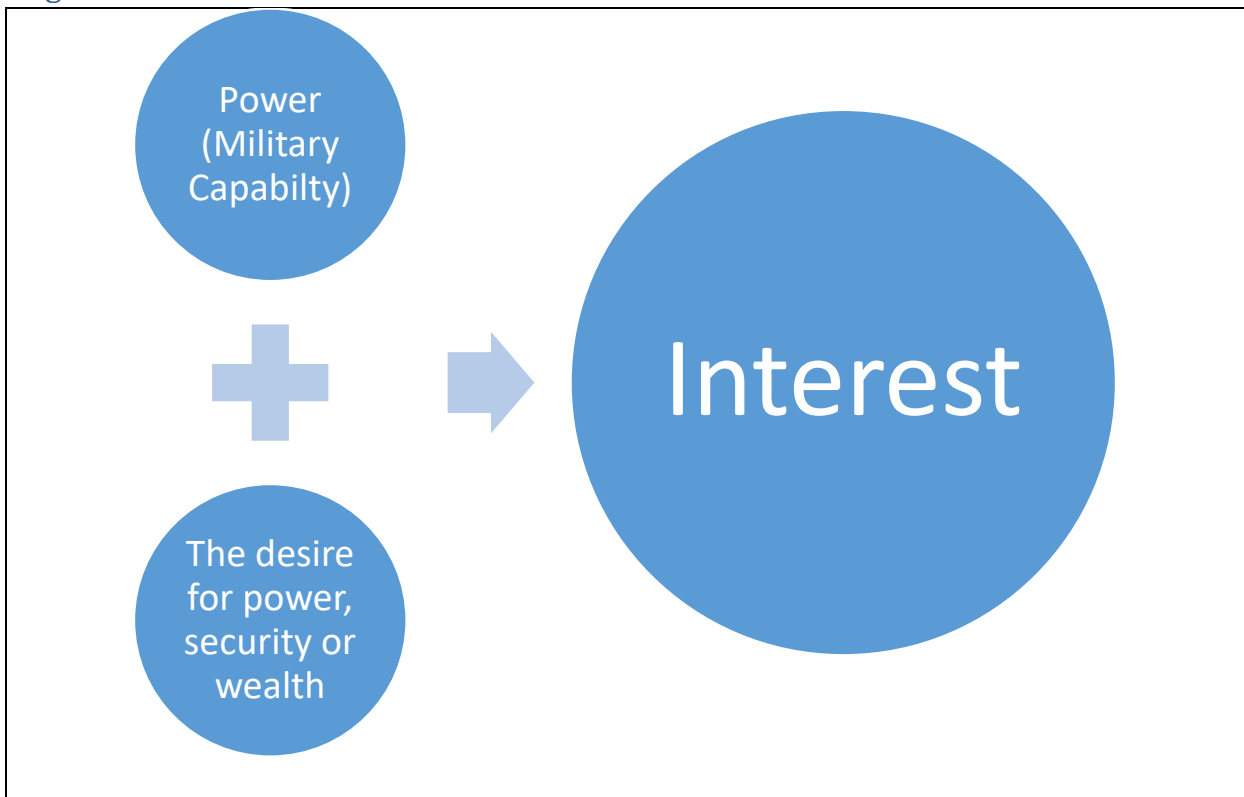
Figure 1.2. Constructivism
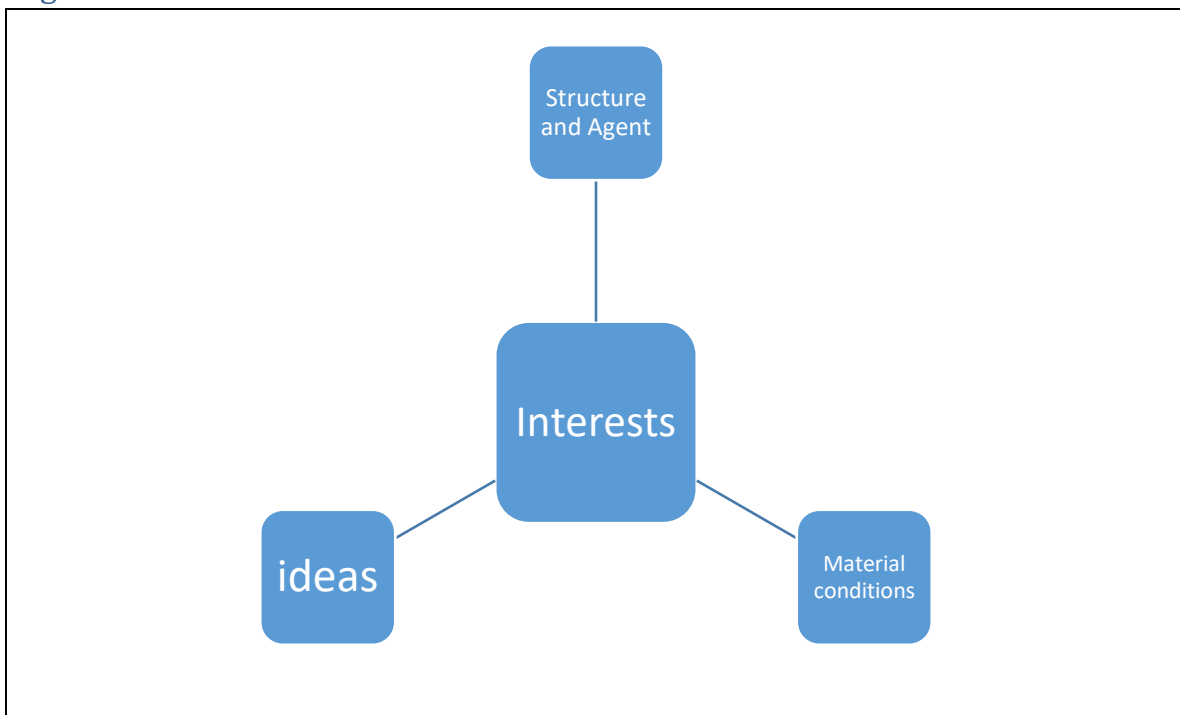
3.3.1. Major assumptions of Constructivism

3.3.1.1 Reality is determined through human action

An essential assumption held by Constructivism is the notion that reality is created through human action. In other words, reality is not given by nature but humans construct reality in the world. This view suggests that reality in international politics is constructed. Onuf (2013) for instance argues that social relations are a construct of human beings. Individuals, in a similar manner as actors, live in a world of their own making. Entities are a consequence of social facts derived from human action (Searle, 1995).

The figure 1.3 below explicates Onuf's argument. Tellingly, the figure suggests that the world receives meaning upon contact with actors. That is to say our social settings derive their meaning from human contact and interaction. It is important to express the supposition that the figure intends to depict. Humans give meaning to the social settings, that is, social environment exist because humans give meaning to it. Social environment is viewed as an object that does not have any meaning until there is an interaction with actors. As Onuf (1989) submits that humans and states (actors) live in a world of their making. That is to say identities evolve from a particular social environment and the expression of these identities is strengthened by a pursuit of several interests that fortifies or aligns to the multiple identities. Humans just like actors have multiple identities and interests and social interactions allow these interests and identities to manifest. A case in point is the evolution of South Africa's identity as a very progressive country in Africa. This identity was strengthened by several actions taken by the country (like it being the first country in Africa to legalise same-sex marriage). The interest of actors in international relations be it material or non-material, is intrinsic to what Griffths, O'Callaghan and Roach (2008) call "social corporate identities". Hence the figure below depicts identity before interest.

Figure 1.3 Interaction of Interests and Identities
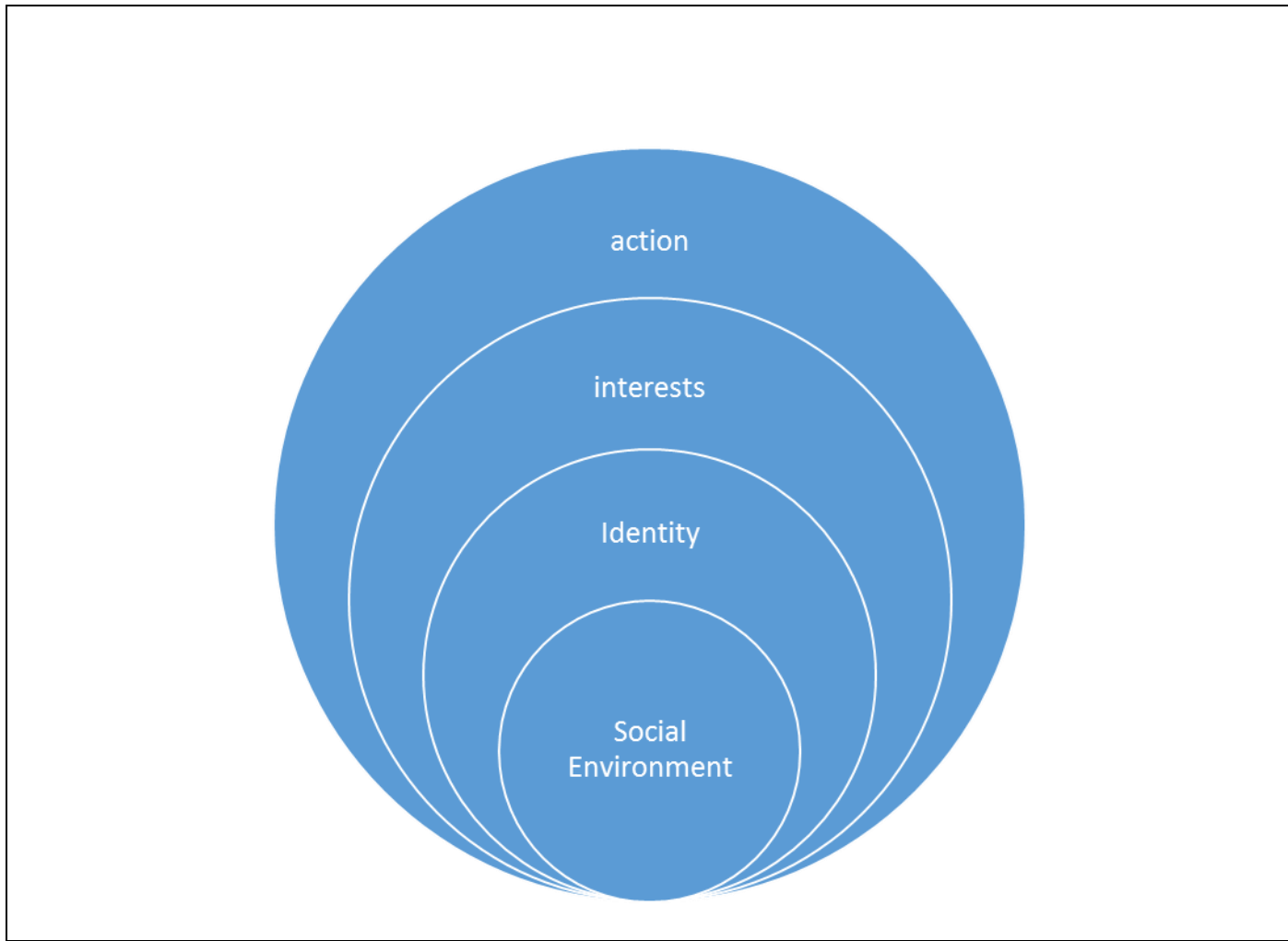
Onuf, in his elucidation of how reality is a product of human interaction cites the advents of states as an example. According to Onuf, "Countries are self-contained worlds because people talk about them that way and try to keep them that way. Yet they are only relatively self-contained" (2013:4). Determinately thus, states are not given by nature or discovered, the boundaries, identitis of states are a social construction. Onuf (2013) makes reference to states as being socially constructed, France, South Africa, Uganda are constructed by people (body of citizens) and their actions. In addition to this the international system derives its meaning or it is shaped by the interaction of states. During the Cold War the international system attained its

meaning from social interaction of states (bipolar). Onuf's supposition is that the international system is a meaningless object and it is shaped by social interaction.

3.3.1.2 People give meaning to objects

According to Kenneth Waltz self-help system is an inevitable consequence of anarchy. That is to say because there is no central government, that is, there exists anarchy, and states are forced to pursue power in order to survive. The uncertainty that exists in the system influences states to seek security by maximizing relative gains over absolute gains in order to maintain their existence. In order to maximize power, states expand their militaries, economies and establish balancing coalitions, and this tactic weakens other hegemons (Mearsheimer, 2007). In other words self-help system can be explained as 'the survival of the fittest'. Precisely, realists purport that the absence of an authority higher than nation-states, leads to a self-help system (Weber, 2009; Cudworth & Hobden, 2010).

The self-help system proposed by realists as the gospel truth is dismissed by constructivists. Their submission is that the self-help system does not account for why there are friends and enemies in the international system. Wendt believes that everything depends on the meanings objects have for states. The behavior of states depends on how states perceive anarchy. States can opt to be friends or enemies in the anarchic system, and self-help is not the only outcome anarchy has for states. Wendt's argument is that states or actors can have different meanings toward the same object and these meanings define the nature of the relations thereof. Threatened by North Korea's Nuclear weapons, America responded harshly, in contrast China has not altered its relations despite the sixth nuclear test by North Korea. If North Korea is considered an object, then this example gives credence to the fact that 'objects have different meaning for different states'.

3.4 Constructivism and multiple meanings of anarchy

Alexander Wendt's 1992 publication "Anarchy is what States make of it" challenges realist perspective on anarchy in international relations. Wendt argues that the self-

help system explained by realists, is informed by the interaction of states in the system as opposed to anarchy or human nature. Wendt rejects structural realist's assumption that anarchy is the main factor driving interactions in the international system. He asserts that "people act towards objects, including other actors, on the basis of meanings objects have for them" (Wendt: 1992: 396); this means that our reaction to anarchy is determined by the meaning we attach to it. According to Hopf (1998) we can think of anarchy as having multiple meanings to various actors in international politics. Figure 1.3 below is used to illustrate how different theories understand and perceive anarchy. Anarchy can be viewed as an object that has different meanings for different actors. For realists, anarchy is the ordering principle in global politics, and as a result of anarchy, the world is a self-help system where conflict is inevitable. Neo-liberals perceive anarchy as what makes it easy for states to cooperate (international institutions, organisations) and finally constructivists argue that anarchy is what states makes of it, meaning actors decide what anarchy is to them depending on circumstances.

Figure 1.4. Multiple meanings of anarchy
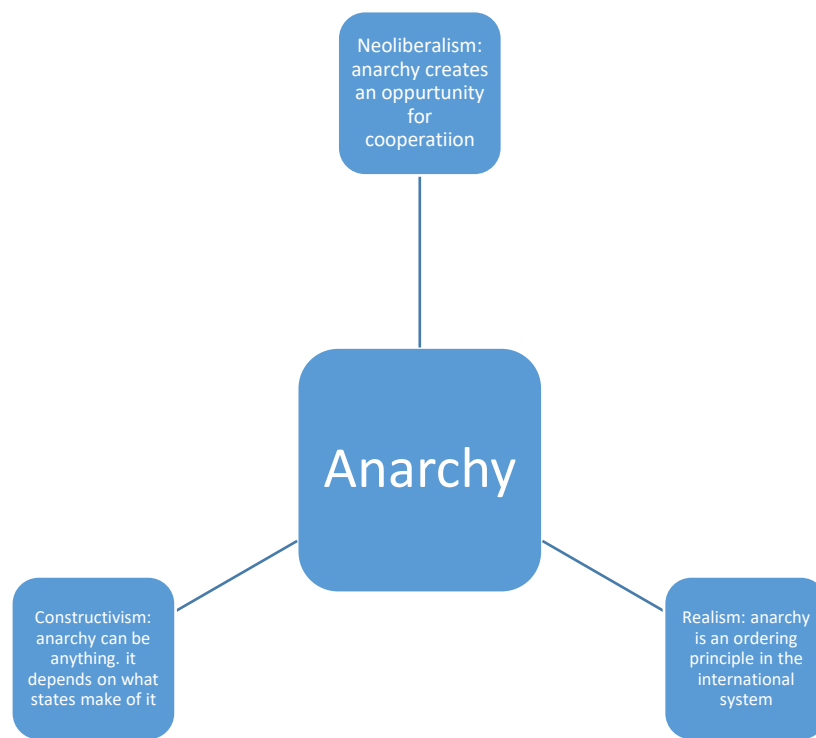
This figure draws a picture of how anarchy has multiple meanings in international relations. It can be said that it assures Wendt's submission that "anarchy is what states make of it". Using Onuf's statement that objects are given meaning through interaction, this figure proves that anarchy (object) bears different meanings for theorists. To realists, self-help is a consequence of anarchy and it makes conflict inevitable, to liberalists' anarchy presents an opportunity for cooperation and to constructivist anarchy is anything states wants it to be.

For Constructivists, self-help and power politics are socially constructed institutions within a structure (Wendt, 1992). This is in contrast with realist perspective that self-help and power politics are given and are features of anarchy.

According to Wendt (1999) 'predation' is an efficient cause and anarchy provides a platform for excessive freedom of behavior and therefore both anarchy and aggressive behavior of states (states preying on others) generate a self-help system. It is important to note that Wendt points out that, the aggressive behavior of states towards others may not necessarily translate to power politics; instead it may condition identities and interests formation.

Hence Wendt's notion that "people act towards objects on the basis of the meanings those objects have for them" means states act towards anarchy on the basis of what it means to them, states decide what anarchy is to them. Anarchy is therefore not a deciding factor on the behavior and arrangement of actors in the international system, but rather actors decide, upon the point of contact, how to behave towards each other.

For Onuf (1989) anarchy is "the absence of the kind of rules that make the state a legal order; it is the absence of rule such as we find within states". Onuf (1989) states that the absence of a world government does not imply anarchy "international relations was never a matter of anarchy, any more than domestic societies could have been" (Onuf, 1989:161). He argues that there are rules in international politics that regulate and form part of the relations amongst states and therefore anarchy does not exist. According to Onuf people make society and society makes people but what binds them together is rules. Rules are statements that tell people how they

should conduct (practices) themselves. He asserts that rules are not limited to legal rules that are enforced but the practices (conduct or behaviour) of agents can be indicative of rules that are not necessarily legal and explicit.

There is no doubt that the world is not in absolute disarray and rationalists and other scholars substitute 'rules' and privilege 'balance of power', domination of superpowers, the international system (bipolar system)' as factors that save the world from utter chaos (Onuf, 2013). That means there are rules in international relations, there are practices (conduct) associated with international trade, as much as there is no anarchy within states, anarchy does not exist outside states. In other words, sub-national governments have rules on how they should behave when they engage with their counterparts in the international arena. Onuf argues that rules are not limited to legal binding rules naturally actors in international relations know how to behave.

3.5 Identities and Interests in International Politics

Constructivists argue that actors in international relations are driven by shared knowledge, norms and culture. Non-material characteristics such as norms and culture are important aspects in international relations and help form identities. These factors (norms, culture, and historical background) are essential contributors to identity formation. The concept of identity is understood as 'relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self'. Identity has been elevated by constructivists as a crucial element in international politics where identities are a result of 'construction' that is usually done by political and cultural elites. Identities are defined through interaction with the 'other', they are informed by the behaviour of both parties (Sharafutdinova, 2003: 615). For Alexandrov (2003) state identity is "a set of broadly accepted (often symbolic or metaphorical) representations of state, in particular in its relation to other states, together with the corresponding beliefs about the appropriate behaviour, rights or responsibilities" (2003:39).

Wendt (1994:385) submits "interests are dependent on identities and are not competing causal mechanisms but distinct phenomena". Although the study

supports Wendt's position that interests and identities are distinct phenomena, this study argues that identity and interest mutually influence each other. Interest depends on identity and the identity of an actor is dependent on the interest.

An entity such as a state or subnational government has two basic identities: corporate identity and social identity. Wendt (1994) defines the social identity of actors as "the status, role or personality that international system ascribes to a state". International actors determine social identities. Wendt's explanation of social identity falls within a systematic level of Constructivism which does not consider the domestic factors of a state's identity. On the other hand, corporate identity is "*the internal human, material ideological or cultural factors that make a state what it is".* It is an inborn or given characteristic of an actor, corporate identity is dependent on the domestic factors of an actor. Corporate identity best describes the identities of sub-national governments in South Africa. Provinces use their territorial advantage, natural features such as the sea, cultures, language and history to form identities. The identity of KwaZulu-Natal as Zulu-Kingdom is a perfect example of a corporate identity. Wendt provides four interests that can be generated from a corporate identity:

1. Physical security, including its differentiation from other actors 2. Ontological security or predictability in relation-ships to the world, which creates a desire for stable social identities 3. Recognition as an actor by others, above and beyond survival through brute force 4. Development, in the sense of meeting the human aspiration for a better life, for which states are repositories at the collective level.

It is worth noting that, corporate interests can also generate an identity. For instance, Tatarstan has interest of being recognised as a sovereign state, the pursuit of this interest shaped the identity of Tatarstan. Its identity was constructed to suit its interest. The manner in which this sub-national government portrays itself aligns with Wendt's (1994:385) view that:

> corporate interests provide motivational energy for engaging in action at all and, to that extent, are prior to interaction, but they do not entail self-interest in my sense, which is an inherently social phenomenon. How a state satisfies its corporate interests depends on how it defines the self in relation to the other, which is a function of social identities at both domestic and systemic levels of analysis.

Social identity is an identity that is an outcome of interaction with other actors. Wendt further conceptualizes social identities as a set of meanings that an actor portrays as features of itself "while taking the perspective of others, that is, as a social object." Actors pursue their interest based on how they portray themselves to the outside world. That is through interaction, they strengthen their social identities while pursuing their interests (Wendt, 1994). Be as it may, social identities help to conceptualise how the international system influences identities, interests and the structure of actors. The identities of actors is made up of both the corporate and social identities. Bearing that in South Africa subnational government engage in international relations for the development purposes, and international recognition they use their corporate identities and their social identities to pursue their interest.

The search for external recognition by subnational governments fits into the systematic level of Constructivism, where social identities are considered. For instance, in South Africa the province of the Western Cape is in pursuit of international recognition, influencing this is that fact that the province is governed by a different political party from that of the other eight provinces. Wendt (1994) highlights that actors can have multiple identities; multiple social identities are informed/determined by the interest an actor seeks to pursue. Multiple identities are as a result of Social identities as opposed to corporate identities which are stable. Social identities, as explained above are determined by the interaction states have with others, multiplicity stems from this process because actors engage with various actors in pursuit of different interests (Barnett, 1993).

Additionally, Social Identities and interests, which are systematic, change gradually as actors, socialize in the international system. The changes in the international system alters the identity and interest of actors as they interact with others. For instance, the challenges the world faces due to climate change has led to an interest in environmental paradiplomacy by sub-national governments. Sub-national governments, including KwaZulu-Natal, have interest in adapting to climate change and adopting an identity of a green environment province. This identity and interest

is realized through the provinces social interaction with its counterparts and enhanced by the provinces corporate identity.

3.6 Relevance of Constructivism in Paradiplomacy (in this research)

Most studies of paradiplomacy focus on globalisation and interdependence paradigm, privileging functional and economic underpinnings behind the international activities of sub-national governments. Nye and Keohane's (1984) concept of complex interdependence provided a comprehensive paradigm to explain paradiplomacy in different part of the world.

Zhimin and Junbo (2009) acknowledge and privilege economic interdependence for the increasing active participation of Chinese provinces in paradiplomacy "since Chinese provinces have woven themselves into a state of economic interdependence with outside actors, these outside economic partners could exert a 'pull' on coastal China and affect Chinese policy towards them" (Zhimin and Junbo,2009:4).

Sharafutdinova (2003) provided a different perspective to analysing paradiplomacy. The author raised the importance of identities and interests in paradiplomacy. The findings were that Tatarstan as a sub-national government in the Russian Federation "sought to practice its statehood through the conduct of its foreign relations, projecting its state identity externally" (2003:626). This approach revealed the essential aspect of identities and interests in paradiplomacy, it highlighted the role played by ideas and the construction of identities and interests in the foreign relations of sub-national governments. As already argued in this chapter, rationalists cannot explain why actors pursue different identities, when do these identities change and how they influence interests. These questions are answered by constructivism since this theoretical approach asserts that new identities and interests are formed through the process of interaction and can therefore change (Wendt, 1992).

In its study of sub-national governments, this study is guided by constructivism. This theory is essential in the study of international relations as it "addresses both philosophical and empirical issues that were inaccessible through the prevailing

models of international relations" (Hurd 2008:299) This study argues that sub-national governments seek external recognition and development and therefore interact with their international counterparts in pursuit of these. Their interaction with multiple actors multiple brings about multiple identities. As noted in this chapter that social identities along with corporate identities breed multiple identities, Katzenstein (1996) argues that identities are constructed and determined by the interactions and the social context of actors. Thus, in the context of globalisation and economic interdependence, subnational governments engage in international relations thus reshaping their identities and interests. Using the case study of South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province, this dissertation shows the role of identities and interests in the paradiplomatic activities of this province, the interests and identities that are determined by both domestic and international interaction.

3.7 Conclusion

In order to find a theory that is relevant for studying paradiplomacy in South Africa, this chapter began with the survey of existing international relations theories. This chapter showed that realism and neo-realism, since they emphasize material factors at the expense of ideational factors, are not adequate for this project. This chapter further argued against the Neo-liberal approach, which is solely reliant on economic interdependence and globalisation as the plausible explanation for paradiplomacy. The constructivist approach highlighted the importance of explaining paradiplomacy from an identity formation perspective, arguing that beyond economic interdependence and globalisation, identity plays an important role. The pertinence of identities is further expressed in the way constructivism describes its impact on interests. A major supposition of this study is the argument that some of the factors that influence paradiplomacy are driven by interest. A view emphasised when Hocking (1986) gives credit to economic factors as the driving force behind paradiplomacy "undoubtedly, changing international and domestic economic patterns have provided a major stimulus to the desire of regions to concern themselves with foreign relations" (*ibid*: 482).

Essentially, and as this study construes it that an important supposition of constructivism s that the identity of an actor defines the interest and activities an actor will engage in. As the chapter accented, an important facet of constructivism is the claim that the identities and interests of a subnational entity are in vital part constructed by social structures. This effectively means that the provenance of the identities and interests of a state/subnational government is endogenous. Since constructivism holds that identities and interests are socially constructed, this creates a room for what Wendt describe as multiple identities. Importantly thus, an affirmation of social identities and interests are not being in fixed state but in a continuous state of evolution is established. This in essence debunks other theories like realism that primarily argue that the interests of a state are fixed and not malleable.

The preceding view can be used to explain the nature of the interactions of subnational governments with their counterparts as socially constructed on the basis of the similarities among them. The shared knowledge allows them to seek partnerships/relations with each other. Identities are formed by virtue of interaction. Sub-national governments form identities when engaging in international relations, they seek international recognition.

The chapter endeavoured to address the weakness of rationalist theories by arguing that constructivism is a suitable approach to explaining paradiplomacy. Constructivism does not only recognise the existence and importance of 'material factors' but this theory acknowledges the pinning existence of 'ideational factors'. As Wendt (1994) would accentuate that in state relationships are not solely about material incentives, "it is also about the reproduction and transformation-by intersubjective dynamics at both the domestic and systemic levels-of the identities and interests through which those incentives and worlds are created" (:394). The veracity of Wendt's claim will be substantiated in the chapters 5 and 6 where the interplay of interests and identities is articulated in the different paradiplomatic activities that the province of KwaZulu-Natal has.

Having outlined the orientation of the study in chapter one, the literature review in chapter two and lastly the theoretical framework in this chapter, the next chapter

discusses the choice of a research design as well as the methodology, data collection and data analyses.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
"Not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted" (Albert Einstein 1879-1955)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explains in detail the methodology adopted in this study. The methods of inquiry including the choice of the research design, data collection and data analysis methods are presented. It further discusses the ethical issues taken into consideration as well as the selection process of respondents and endorses the choice of such respondents. The research methodology chapter is an important aspect of this study as Bogdam and Taylor explains as "a broad sense of processes, principles and procedures, by which we approach problems and seek answers. As in everything we do our assumptions, interests as well as goals greatly influence which methodological procedure we choose to use" (1975:1).

4.2. Methodology

Methodology is a set of procedures or methods applied in conducting a study. According to Schensul (2012), research methodology is a set of procedures that allow the work of the researcher to be analysed, repeated and adopted. Set of procedures provide a guideline on what choices should be made in relation to sampling, data collection and analysis. With that to consider, Mouton, (1998:39) asserts that a close relationship between research questions, methodology and the methods of data collection need to be taken into account. Additionally, the choice of a methodology depends entirely on the research problem and the objectives the study seeks to meet (Mouton, 1998:39).

According to Mouton (1998:39) the choice of methodology depends entirely on the research problem and research objectives. He makes a distinction between three

levels of methodological dimension of research. The paradigms being the first then the qualitative and quantitative research.

The study adopted a qualitative research method. It proved suitable because it involves multi methods, as it focuses on the interpretation and the naturalistic approach to the subject matter. It provides a platform for the researcher to study things in their natural setting and attempts to make sense of the phenomena. Qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of inter-connected methods with the aim of getting a better fix on the subject matter (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2).

Bryman (2012:36) propounds that in qualitative research, in the process of gathering and analysis data; the emphasis is on words rather than numbers. Further still, Bryman shares the view that a qualitative research approach predominantly highlights an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research. It is thus interpretive as individuals use it to understand their social settings and provide a view of social reality as ever-changing.

Clark's (2004) submission is more detailed elucidation of qualitative research as an inquiry in which the inquirer navigates key variables by making a broad and general inquiry. In Clark's elucidation, the inquirer captures in detail the responses of participants in words, expression or images. The inquirer also examines and codes the data for description and themes. Interpretation of the meaning of information is depicted from subjective observation and a detailed final report is articulated.

Regarding the literature on paradiplomacy, an extensive corpus of scholastic inquiry are hinged on qualitative research approaches, like the use of comparative case studies and single case studies to explore the international relations of sub-national governments. This study also adopts a qualitative research approach, guided by a single case study of KwaZulu-Natal province, to explore the nature of its foreign relations and contributing factors.

4.3. Research Paradigm

Research has three aspects, which are ontology, epistemology and methodology. All these aspects of research explain the method of inquiry in research.

According to Taylor, Kermode, and Roberts (2007: 5), a paradigm refers to "a broad view or perspective of something". Additionally, Weaver and Olson's (2006: 460) definition of paradigm reveals how research could be affected and guided by a certain paradigm by submitting that, "paradigms are patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through which investigation is accomplished".

Research can take distinct philosophical traditions, it can be positivist, interpretive and critical. Paradigms that are usually identified with qualitative research are interpretivism, critical theory, feminism, postmodernism and phenomenology (Maxwell, 2005).

This study fits into the interpretivist philosophical tradition. Bryman (2004:13), construes interpretivism as contrasting positivism due to its epistemological orientation. Quantitative researchers widely adopt positivism. Positivism advocates for the application of the scientific model to the social world. Interpretivism on the other hand hold that the unit of analysis in social sciences is differs from that of natural sciences. The study of humans and their institutions requires a "research procedure that reflects this distinctiveness" (ibid).

Again, the interpretivism opines that positivism, in its attempt to model the social after the natural sciences, fails to take into cognisance the fact that unlike nature, the existence of social reality happens only insofar as lay members create that reality in meaningful interaction (Fuchs, 1992). The Interpretivist approach is thus anti-positivist. This is because positivism, often described as a 'naturalistic' tradition to research, works on the assumption that humans form a part of nature and can therefore be studied along with objects using the same methodology (factual and statistical data). Positivism essentially aims to provide objective knowledge (King and Horrocks, 2010). The interpretivist approach on the other hand is particularly concerned with the social world. It seeks to provide a detailed version of social settings, more so acknowledging that a social phenomenon experienced by the

same group of people yields different interpretations, understandings and meaning for each individual (*ibid*).

This study is a qualitative study from an interpretive approach. The choice of interpretivism was informed by the ontological orientation of the study which assumes that reality is inter-subjectively constructed through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially. Again, the study is influenced by the epistemological position that assumes that "we cannot separate ourselves from what we know". According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), the researcher and the object of the research are associated and connected in sense that "that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others and the world" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Pollard (2002:37) suggests that interpretive investigators/researchers acknowledge that value of research is tied to the ability to describe and interpret a phenomena in the world. Interpretation is a "search for deep perspectives on particular events and for theoretical insights" (ibid:37).

Interpretivism adopts the position that socio-cultural phenomena materialize from the ways in which actors in a setting create meaning. By immersing and interacting with a study's participant, a researcher comes to understand behaviours and the meanings attributed (Schensul, 2012).

The above position informed the choice of methodology, as most interpretive studies adopt qualitative research approach. The exploratory nature of the qualitative approach further suits this study. A Qualitative research is also said to involve multi methods, due to its focus on the interpretation and the naturalistic approach to the subject matter. It offers a platform for the researcher to study things in their natural setting and attempts to make sense of the phenomena. Qualitative researchers also deploy a wide range of inter-connected methods with the aim to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2).

Essentially qualitative research is "any type of research that produces findings not only arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of qualification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:10)

According to Creswell (1998:16) qualitative research method is an "inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem". This type of research requires the researcher to continuously build a clear picture of the research, do a thorough analyses of content, report the views of respondents while at the same time controlling the study to fit into its natural setting.

Bryman, (2012:36), asserts that qualitative research strategy usually emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. The author continues to say that qualitative research predominantly emphasises an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, it is based on ways in which individuals interpret their social world and embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individual creation.

Again, qualitative research involves direct observation and a less rigid interview process (Unstructured) in a natural field setting where genuine interactions occur between participating observers and the subjects (Dooley, 2002:227).

4.4. Research Design

Research design refers to a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing a research problem. It represents the "blueprint" for the collection, measurement and the analysis of the data. It also forms part of the plan and structure of the investigation so as to respond to the research questions. A research design, as Denzin and Lincoln assert that it "places researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions and bodies of relevant interpretive material including documents and archives" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:14).

According to Bryman (2012:46) a research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data. The choice of a research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process. A case study design was adopted for the purpose of this study.

According to Yin (1984:23) a case study research design is an inquiry that looks into a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. This happens when the lines between the phenomenon and its real life context are not clear and therefore necessitates the use of multiple sources. Case studies are necessary when the research seeks in-depth responses to the 'How?' and 'Why?' questions, and in this is relevant for exploratory, descriptive or explanatory research.

Stake (1994) advances the explanation of a case study by adding that a case can take two forms. A case study can either be intrinsic or instrumental. An intrinsic case study is:

> not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because in all its particularity and ordinariness, [the] case itself is of interest. The purpose is not to come to understand some abstract concept or generic phenomena...The researcher temporarily subordinates other curiosities so that the case may reveal its story (ibid: 237).

Stake clarifies that an instrumental case study "…..is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something" (Stake, 1994:237). In other words an instrumental case seeks to give insight or in-depth knowledge of the subject matter.

Yin (1993), also makes a submission of three types of case study research. These are exploratory, causal and descriptive. The exploratory case study is viewed as the most difficult and most contested. Its purpose is to provide an answer to 'why' and 'how' a sequence of events happened.

On the one hand, Yin (2003) explains that a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and its real life context.

On the other hand Darke, Shanks and Broadbent (1998:280) argue that a case study design is not necessary "where a phenomenon is well understood and mature, where constructs exist already and are well developed, where understandings of how and

why the particular phenomenon occurs is not of interest, and where understandings of the contexts of action and the experiences of individuals in a single setting is not relevant".

While Yin (2003) and Darke et al. provide conditions under which a case study design can be applied. Dobson (1999) contends this by stating that this view fails to acknowledge multiple ways that a case study design can take "It denies the fact that whilst a particular research object or phenomenon may be well understood from within a particular ontological and theoretical perspective, having this knowledge should not deny the importance of alternative perspectives" (*ibid:*261). The author argues that there should not be any limits to a case study research design; scholars should be at liberty to fit in their studies within a case study.

Additionally, it is stated that case studies are normally used to contribute in-depth knowledge to groups, organisations, political and social structures as well as to individuals. Case study approach has over the years been a common research design in political science, sociology and psychology (Yin, 2003).

This study is an interpretive study of the international relations of sub-national governments in South Africa, with a single case study approach of the KwaZulu-Natal province. A case study approach is beneficial in that it allows for an in-depth examination of phenomena or other observations within a real life context for the purpose of investigation.

In this study, a case study approach was adopted to answer how and why subnational governments (with specific reference to KwaZulu-Natal) in South Africa engage in international relations with their counterparts. The 'How' and 'Why' questions that Yin (2003) confirms to be fitting within the scope of a case study design.

The study used a single case study to: investigate the factors that drive the province to engage in paradiplomacy, explore the role played by identities and interests in the shaping of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal, and lastly to explore the nature of KZN's relations with its counterparts. Armato and Caren (2002:97), highlight that single case studies are suitable for explaining the nuances of social phenomena and

addressing specific mechanisms that produce, reproduce, change or are otherwise related to the phenomena. The research questions were addressed descriptively with the use of qualitative data.

4.5. Sampling

4.5.1. Population of the study

According to Burns and Grove (1993:779) research population refers to all suitable constituents of a study. These constituents can be made up of individuals, groups and objects). Polit and Hungler (1999:37) support this definition by referring to a population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects or members that conform to a set of required specifications. In other words, a research population refers to the number of individuals suitable for the study.

For the purpose of this study the researcher targeted persons who provided in-depth information that responded to and served the purpose of the study. In this context, research participants are government officials (local, provincial and national) as well as scholars of paradiplomacy in South Africa.

4.5.2. Sampling method

Sampling refers to the process of choosing a fraction of units, individuals or objects from a larger populace. There are two types of sampling methods in research known as probability sampling and non-probability sampling.

The purpose of sampling in qualitative research is to enable a researcher to select individuals with requisite knowledge that is pertinent to a study. That is, the sample becomes your main source of information. A number of issues are considered when selecting a sample and these range from accessibility of the population, researcher's discretion in determining if certain individuals can provide extensive knowledge amongst others, in turn these factors affect the sample size. In this regard the main purpose of having a sample is to procure thorough information or knowledge about

the subject matter or to learn much more about different features of the subject matter (Kumar, 2011:192).

4.5.2.1. Probability Sampling

This method of sampling is uniquely based on equal opportunity and every possibility factor. Here, every unit, individual, or object has an opportunity of being included in the sample, and it is also selective. The probability sampling method is usually categorized in to four: Simple random sampling; Systematic sampling; stratified random sampling and cluster sampling (Khan, 2008:79).

4.5.2.2. Non-Probability Sampling

According to Khan (2008), any sampling procedure that does not guarantee any non-zero chance for every unit of the population to be part of the sample is non-probability. Non-probability samples do not conform to a particular trend or format in selecting the population. It is most convenient when the researcher is not clear about the number of elements in a population or when the elements cannot be identified on an individual basis. The selection procedure is highly dependent on certain conditions presented by the researcher or dictated by the nature of the study (Kumar, 2011: 206). Non-probability sampling is categorized into: quota sampling, accidental sampling, purposive or judgmental sampling; expert sampling and snowball sampling.

For the purpose of this study, non-probability sampling was used as the most suitable and this was determined by the nature of the study and method of inquiry. Of all the categories, purposive sampling was used in selecting the sample of this study. According to Johnson and Christensen (2012:231), purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method in which the researcher solicits persons with specific characteristics to participate in a research study.

Purposive sampling was used to collect data in this study. This method is appropriate for this study because it gives the researcher the freedom to choose a case/s for a specific purpose the researcher has in mind (Neuman, 1997:206). Creswell (1998) supposes that a case study research is in most instances linked with inquiries of individuals. An important fact to consider however is that 'cases' are unique to people but can be an investigation into an activity, event, program that is tied to time and specific locations (see Stake, 1994).

This method of sampling requires the researcher to select cases which produced diverse responses of the same 'subject matter' in an open-ended method of data collection (Sabornie, 2006). This view is also propounded by Given (2008) when he states that embedded in the process of selecting a participants is the idea that who a person is and where that person is located within a group is essential, as opposed to other methods of research where people are viewed as essentially replaceable. Research participants are not equal and the data gathered from a targeted participant has a chance of being more accurate than that of a participant chosen randomly.

To reiterate, this study is qualitative and interpretive in nature, it seek to unearth the role of identities and interests in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal. That is understanding how KwaZulu-Natal portrays itself to the outside world and how this has affected the interest of the province. Bearing this in mind, it is essential to note that qualitative research is often distinguished by small samples. The reason being that the objective is to gather informative and in-depth data, the quality of the data not the number is what is important. Small sample sizes are often criticized for generalizing the findings of a smaller sample to a big population (Hesse-Biber, 2016). A single case study was chosen to avoid generalization of the information from a wider population. It paved way for an in-depth analysis of the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal, its identities, interests as well as factors driving paradiplomacy in the province.

The participants of this study were selected on the basis of their potential to provide invaluable information and address research questions. These participants are knowledgeable on the topic under study and the researcher built a sample that is specific to the needs of the study.

The office of the premier (which is the main focus area in his study) is the coordinating office of the province. Premier's office provides strategic leadership and coordination; it also oversees service delivery planning and implementation (The Presidency, 2008). The inter-governmental unit, herewith referred to as IGR, is an important directorate in the premier's office that ensures that the province is run smoothly and the province interacts well with other government institutions and international partners. The Unit is made of the Cooperative Governance Office sub-unit, International Relations sub-unit and Provincial Government Protocol sub-Unit.

A sample size of 18 participants consisting of four personnel from the Inter-governmental Unit in the Premiers Office (KZN), two officials from the Intergovernmental Relations and Provincial Protocol Directorate of the National Department of International Relations and Cooperation; two officials from Tourism KZN (which is an entity responsible for the recognition of KwaZulu-Natal internationally, as a preferred destination in South Africa and promote identity of the province from tourism perspective); two officials from Trade & Investment KwaZulu-Natal (it is a South African trade and inward investment promotion agency, established to promote the province of KwaZulu-Natal as an investment destination and to facilitate trade by assisting local companies to access international markets); three experts in the field of international relations specializing in sub-state diplomacy and four international partners who have relations with KwaZulu-Natal province (these partners will be determined by the researcher informed by interviews conducted with and recommendations from Tourism KwaZulu-Natal and Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal) . The selected participants provided responses sufficient to answer research questions.

4.6. Methods of Data Collection

This section outlines the various techniques used to gather data and precisely how the data was analysed, interpreted and presented.

Data was collected from multiple sources, both primary and secondary. These included documentation review (books, journal, articles, newspaper articles, and internet sources), in-depth/semi-structured interviews (18 participants), official documents and reports from provincial government departments, national Department of International Relations and Cooperation. Data collection took place between April 2017 and August 2017.

4.6.1. Interviews

Interviews are useful mechanisms/methods of collecting primary data for various types of research. They are also useful in verifying certain types of assumptions. Specifically, when a researcher seeks to understand the views of research respondents or have an interest in learning how respondents link their perceptions to events or phenomena (Berg & Lune, 2012:115). Interviews provide a deeper understanding and meaning of activities of the research participants. According to Bryman (2001) there are different forms of interviews such as structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews; Patton (2002) also classifies interviews into formal interview, Informal interview and the standardized open-ended interview (*ibid*:341).

In this range, qualitative researchers often use semi-structured and unstructured interviews, these forms of interviews are flexible and do not have rigid structure (Edwards and Holland, 2013). These kinds of in-depth interviews are 'a construction of knowledge' (Kvale, 1996:2).

4.6.2 Semi-Structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews provide a platform for the participant to respond freely and give their own perspective on the subject matter. The flexibility of the interview

serves as an advantage for the interviewer, because the interviewer can probe responses further and trace the real meaning behind the responses of the participant (Edwards and Holland, 2013).

These type of interviews require the interviewer to pose questions and probe further for information. The distinguishing factor between semi-structured and structured interviews is that semi-structured interviews are more limited than unstructured interviews although not too rigid like structured interviews. Structured interviews do not allow the researcher to deviate from the interview schedule. Questions are carefully worded and should be read as they are in the schedule. The researcher can only follow the initial design they laid out (Wilson, 1996).

In conducting semi-structured interviews, the researcher had a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 18 key informants of the study as it was mentioned earlier. Where permission is granted the researcher used a tape recorder and the data is transcribed.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they suited the nature of inquiry for this study. They allowed the researcher to prepare questions before hand and probe for further details and clarifications where necessary.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted during the month of April 2017in the intergovernmental unit in the office of the premier in KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher conducted face to face interviews with four officials in the premier's office. These interviews were done in English, although there are cases were two officials requested to respond to use both Zulu and English to articulate in some areas, and this was permitted. . The research participants were given the research proposal and the ethical clearance certificate from the university after indicating their desire to participate in the study. Since contact with participants was established prior to the interviews, appointments were made and dates agreed upon by the participants, the

researcher was able to conduct interviews smoothly with no cancellations or postponements. The semi-structured interviews gave the participants a chance to respond '…...on their terms than the standardised interview permits' (May, 1998:111). A number of issues were covered in these interviews, the researcher was able to connect with two officials from Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (entity) and two from Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal (entity). Throughout this process, very few participants granted permission to be recorded. Appendix 2 indicates the interview schedule for each of the officials in the premier's office.

Interviewing officials from these two entities was an added advantage as these officials gave the researcher the top four international partners that have had relations with KwaZulu-Natal for at least a period of five years or more. A total of 3 Telephonic interviews were conducted with these international partners, in some instances where it was not possible to conduct a telephonic interview, the researcher conducted two interviews through email.

Face to face interviews were conducted in the month of July 2017 with two officials from the Department of International Relations and Cooperation in the Intergovernmental Relations and Provincial Protocol Directorate. Both these officials did not consent to being recorded, and the researcher took hand written notes.

Finally, the researcher conducted a telephonic interview with a knowledgeable expert in paradiplomacy and foreign policy. The expert is an academic in one of the higher learning institutions in South Africa and his PhD was on paradiplomacy.

4.6.3 Documentation Review

A number of academic texts, journal articles, policy documents, official records of the international relations conducted by the KwaZulu-Natal province, records and official reports from the national Department of International Relations and Cooperation,

official documents from international partners, MOUs and agreements were reviewed.

Reviewing documents is a catalyst to providing a deeper understanding and interpretation of the subject matter (Coffey, 2014). In support of this May (2001:176) argues that "documents read as the sedimentations of social practices of social practice, have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer-term basis; they also constitute particular readings of social events".

The researcher encountered difficulties in obtaining some of the official documents and reports needed for the study from the Intergovernmental unit of the premier's office. However, invaluable information on the status of the province and progress made in a period of a year was drawn from the State of the province address.

4.7. Data Capturing

Semi-structured interviews were tape-recorded. Some officials in KwaZulu-Natal as a matter of preference requested to respond to some questions in Zulu, in this case the interviews were conducted both English and Zulu. At the end of each interview the researcher summarised and reiterated the issues discussed in order to confirm the details and get approval from the respondents before transcribing.

4.8. Data Analysis

Data was analysed qualitatively. Due to the nature of the study being interpretive, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously. According to Gibbs (2007), the process of analysis has the potential to begin while the researcher is still in the field. He emphasizes that as the researcher collects data through interviews, taking field notes and acquiring documents, the process of analysis should begin. Concurrent data collection and analysis is a good practice in qualitative research.

Flick (2014:5), gives a detailed explanation of data analysis as:

> Qualitative data analysis is the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it. Meaning-making can refer to subjective or social meanings. Qualitative data analysis also is applied to discover and describe issues in the field or structures and processes in routines and practices. Often, qualitative data analysis combines approaches of a rough analysis of the material (overviews, condensation, summaries) with approaches of a detailed analysis (elaboration of categories, hermeneutic interpretations or identified structures)

Analysing data requires the researcher to make sense of the primary data obtained. This process yields a deeper understanding of the data, analysing the same data using different methods and finally interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2003: 190). Most importantly the "critical ingredients of qualitative analysis are that analysis must be systematic, sequential, verifiable and continuous, it requires time, it is jeopardised by delay, it seeks to enlighten, it should entertain alternative explanations, it is improved by feedback, and it is a process of comparison" (Krueger and Casey, 2000:128).

Data was analysed using the qualitative content analysis. Content analysis is a process in which data is outlined systematically (Mayring, 2000). There are three main features that are attributed to qualitative content analysis, it is a method that reduces data; it is flexible and systematic. Schreier (2014) highlights that in order to 'reduce data' using content analysis, the researcher has to focus precisely on the data that has a deeper meaning to the research questions of the study.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), content analysis interrogates certain phrases within a wide range of text. Data was coded and categorized. These are ways of analysing data that can be applied to all sorts of data and are not focused on a specific method of data collection. Coding (assign labels to data) is the most prominent way of analysing, if the data is from interviews, focus groups or observations. According to Flick (2007:101) through the coding process a pattern in the raw data is developed as a stepping stone to an in-depth understanding of the issues, the context as well as the data itself (Flick, 2007:101). Mayring (2000)

propounds that placing data into categories is the most important process of analyzing data. In the process of interpreting data, specific elements from the data are built and separated into categories, and these categories are usually re-examined and reviewed as part of the process of data analyses.

The process of coding is made up of main categories and sub-categories. Main categories are usually a somewhat proportion of the material the researcher is most interested in and sub-categories express what is said in the data about the main categories (Schreier, 2014: 175). In analyzing qualitative data, a large chunk of data is collected and only a portion of the data is used in developing coding frame (*ibid*). According to Roulston (2014:304) building coding frames is an ongoing process of reading, reflecting and establishing ideas and breaking codes into themes or categories.

Saldana (2009:3) provides an in-depth description of a code as a "short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data". The author explains that this form of data can be retrieved from multiple sources including but not limited to field notes, journals, official documents, interview transcripts and participant observation. Codes are basically a large abstraction than themes or categories. Categories or themes are made up of a number of codes, therefore in the process of analyzing data codes are built first then combined to make up themes or categories (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012).

Smith (1992:1) explains thematic content analysis as "the scoring of messages for content and style for the purpose of assessing the characteristics or experiences of persons, groups or historical periods". A theme is a phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about or what it means (Saldana, 2009); while Ryan and Bernard (2003) explain a theme as abstract constructs that link not only expression found in texts but also expressions found in images, sounds and objects. These authors provide an explicit description of themes that were built from the data collected.

The process of transcribing interview data, allowed the researcher to identify codes from the data. Some of the themes that were derived from the literature review informed most of the interview guide. The major themes from the interview data were a response to the 'why', 'what' and 'how' questions identified with Case Study research. The coding process was important in building themes that responded to the research questions. The Why, What and How categories from the interview data, built up themes that clarified the identities and interests of KwaZulu-Natal and the various international activities of the province, the outcomes, the drivers and the challenges of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal discussed in Chapter 6.

4.9. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are an important component of any field research. The purpose is to protect the participants from any negative consequences by being part of the research. According to Brown (1993:195) "Control of personal information is viewed as an expression of autonomy and an individual's right to protect his or her social vulnerability and identity". In most instances when the participants are not guaranteed protection they refrain from participating in the study. In this study, the rights of participants were protected through the informed consent form that participant were expected to read, understand and sign it prior to the interview. An informed consent is "the agreement of an individual to participate in a study after being informed of the facts that would be likely to influence his or her willingness to participate" (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:81). All participants were given a soft copy of the research proposal and expectations were clearly articulated by the researcher prior to any commitment to participate in the study.

Participants were made aware that they are not obligated to participate in the study and can therefore pull out at any stage of the interview. Additionally anonymity was guaranteed throughout the process. The researcher presented the ethical clearance certificate from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and this put most of the participants at ease.

As per our agreement with all the participants, their names were not mentioned in the process of reporting. However the participants agreed that the researcher mentions their place of work, e.g. "Interviewee from the Premier's office mentioned that…..".

4.10. Limitations of the Study

Major challenges encountered by the study were due to a dearth of literature on paradiplomacy in the African continent as there only a few cases have been documented. As a result most of the secondary literature on paradiplomacy was derived from literature from outside Africa.

The researcher experienced resistance from the participants in the premier's office despite their commitment to participating in the study. The challenge was that officials were not committed to time, and appointments were postponed numerous times and this affected the period of data collection. Follow-up interviews were impossible with most of the officials despite them setting up the date, time and venue. Due to this, the researcher was unable to receive some documents from the officials (MOU, updated version of the major partnership agreements as well as progress reports).

However, these shortcomings did not negate the purpose of the study. All the research questions where responded to and the objectives realized. The study used quarterly and annual reports to augment the interviews and fil this gap.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter presented a detailed description of the methodology used in the research. It incorporated the research questions, research objectives as well as the activities undertaken to organize and collect data. Although the data collection presented the researcher with a few hiccups, the missing data was augmented where necessary. In generating categories or themes, some of the information presented emerged outside the generated categories, and this information was interpreted outside the categories as the information had a rich meaning that prompted further

research. The results are discussed further in chapter six. The next Chapter outlines the constitutional framework of paradiplomacy in South Africa. It provides insight into the legalities of international relations conducted by sub-national governments in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE: LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF PARADIPLOMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Research: the distance between an idea and its realization" David Sarnoff

5.1. Introduction

Over the years, scholarly advancements have been made in the study of the engagement in international relations by subnational governments. This has become an important phenomenon more so for states that operate on a federal system of government. Barros (2010) posits that the international relations of subnational governments is not only unique to federal governments such as Russian federation and Canada, unitary states such as South Africa have also participated in paradiplomacy. In spite of the progress that has been made in the study and practice of paradiplomacy, there is a certain elusiveness that surrounds the legal framework of paradiplomacy, especially in a unitary state like South Africa. Thus, it is essential to consider the legal framing of paradiplomacy so as to contextualise the legal parameters within which subnational governments engage in paradiplomacy. As it can be asserted, the legal guideline of paradiplomacy is immanent in a country's constitution as it is the constitution that 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 (Barros, 2010).

After establishing the theoretical base from which paradiplomacy will be analysed, it is essential that a legal and institutional framework be presented. South Africa's nine provinces have established themselves as actors in international relations; it is therefore the purpose of this chapter to discuss the flexibility of the constitution in relation to international activities undertaken by sub-national governments. This chapter outlines and analyses the legal framework under which subnational governments in South Africa conduct international relations. The analyses include the legal scope and boundaries of the international agendas of provinces in the country. While there is a scant literature on the nature of the paradiplomatic activities

of Subnational governments in South Africa, this chapter gives a brief description of the engagements of some of these provinces in paradiplomacy. An extensive focus however will be placed on the Western Cape Province's Paradiplomatic activities so as to establish an example of the constitutional laxity with regards to paradiplomacy in South Africa and to further emphasize the developmental dimension of paradiplomacy in the country. Fundamentally, the Western Cape's international relations strategy is one of the first integrated and well-articulated approaches that pertain to the engagement of provincial governments in international relations in South Africa.

5.2 South Africa: Historical Background

South Africa occupies the southern tip of Africa, with its long coastline stretching more than 3 000 km from the desert border with Namibia on the Atlantic coast southwards around the tip of Africa and then north to the border of subtropical Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. Stretching latitudinally from 22°S to 35°S and longitudinally from 17°E to 33°E, South Africa's surface area covers 1 219 602 km^2. The country shares borders with a number of countries in Southern Africa, these countries include Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland, and Lesotho which is landlocked by South African territory in the south-east (South African Year Book 2014/15: 1).

The discovery of minerals in 18th century played a crucial role in shaping the relationships of the different racial groups and the history of South Africa (Butler, 2009). Importantly, the relationship of the white settlers and the local population was that of racial segregation that eventually led to the institutionalization of 'apartheid' in 1948. Although segregation existed for a long time, it was not until 1948 that it became a legal political system that lasted for 45 years. The victory of the African National Congress in the first democratic elections in 1994 presented a new dawn of hope for many. These elections marked the end of apartheid and the beginning of democracy. Post 1994 the massive change in the political landscape required South Africans to reconstruct and rebuild their nation. The Mandela-led government focused on nation building and undoing the injustices of the apartheid regime, this

was indicates in his1994 inaugural speech when he stated that "the moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come; we must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for Nation-building, for the birth of a new world" (Mandela, 1994).

Like most other African countries, South Africa also has its own unique history of colonial conquest. The creation of a Dutch settlement at the Cape in 1652 can be said to be what ushered in South Africa's subsequent colonization. In the 19th century two British colonies were established (Cape and Natal) and two Boer republics. The aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war merged the four of these republics and formed union of South Africa in 1910. This Union was influenced by the federations in Canada (1867) and Australia (1901) and federalism was seen as the feasible option for colonies with communities different in culture and language (Steytler, 2013). South Africa was divided into four 'independent' provinces (Cape, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal) (Beck, 2014).

Map provided by: sahistory.org.za

The end of apartheid in South Africa was commenced by a new Constitution. The constitution has since become the cornerstone of the South African democracy. The new constitution divided the country into nine provinces which are Eastern Cape;

Free State; Gauteng; KwaZulu-Natal; Limpopo; Mpumalanga; Northern Cape; North West and the Western Cape. These nine provinces have since become actors in international relations (Geldenhys, 1998). The regime change in South Africa in 1994 gave birth to a new foreign policy and allowed the country to be actively involved in international relations.

In 2014, Statistics South Africa estimated the population to be 54 million, this figure boasts of multiculturalism. Of all the nine provinces Gauteng province is the highly populated "In 1996 and 2001, KwaZulu-Natal had the largest population size of 8, 6 and 9, 6 million respectively, followed by Gauteng at 7, 6 and 9, 2 million for the two censuses. Since 2007, Gauteng's population has surpassed that of KZN by 0, 8 per cent. Currently, Gauteng is the largest province by population size with 12, 2 million people, followed by KZN at 10, 3 million" (Statistics South Africa, 2012: 2).

5.3 South Africa's State System: Federal or Unitary?

South Africa's democracy kicked off with a new constitution that stipulates the distribution power. Precisely a significant decision was taken to decentralise government. This was done through breaking down four provinces into nine and most significantly establishing three spheres of government. .The purpose of decentralisation was to promote democratic participation, ensure effective delivery of services as well as foster economic development (Jozana, 2000).

The concept of decentralisation is explained as the "devolution of decision–making powers". Different states decentralise these decision-making powers for various reasons. Martinez-Vazquez (2011:2) posits that some countries opt for decentralization because they:

> are searching for a more efficient and leaner public sector. While others are disenchanted with the performance of planning and centralized policies. Others have the desire to achieve democratic ideals; others want to contain or to appease centrifugal forces, ethnic conflicts, and/or separatism, and to diffuse social and political tensions by allowing local cultural and political autonomy

In the South African case, scholars provide conflicting views regarding the principal reason behind decentralization. On the one hand, Van Zyl (2003) argues that the reason for fiscal federalism in South Africa had little to do with efficient delivery of services or effective management of finances. He posits that decentralisation was solely a political decision that was orchestrated for political gains.

With decentralisation, the ruling party would have control over the national sphere of government; while opposition parties would have control over the other two spheres of government in the likelihood they (opposition) secure victory in provincial or local elections. On the other hand, scholars such as Burger (2001) argues that decentralisation in South Africa was as a result of fiscal consideration. Irrespective of the purpose of decentralization in countries, Martinez-Vazquez (2011) propounds that decentralisation by all means affects the economy of states "while governments do not generally decentralize to pursue greater macro stability and economic growth, decentralization may impact upon these" (*ibid*: 1).

Whether South Africa is a federal or a unitary state is an ongoing debate. According to the Constitution of South Africa, there are three spheres of government which are "national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelate". According to Van Zyl (2003), the use of sphere rather than tiers of governments is attributed to the fact that all these levels of government should be equal and there is no hierarchical element. The Constitution clearly states that all these spheres of government are equal, that is to say none is more important than the other.

The Constitution makes a provision for the autonomy of provinces. Burger (2001) posits that the functions of provinces (Schedule 5 of the Constitution) are nowhere related to service delivery. These functions are:

Table1.1. Schedule 5: Functional Areas of Exclusive Provincial Legislative Competence

Abattoirs
Ambulance Services

Archives (other than national archives)
Libraries other than national libraries
Liquor licenses
Museums (other than national museums)
Provincial planning
Provincial cultural matters

Matters of high importance such as health care and education are a function of the national and provincial legislative. This shows that provinces are far less autonomous than the 1996 Constitution stipulates.

Section 44 of Chapter 4 of the South African Constitution of 1996, indicates that the National Assembly has the power to amend the Constitution and to pass legislation with regard to any matter. The power of the National Assemble to amend the constitution extends to the functional areas listed in Schedule 4 of the Constitution, but excluding those listed in Schedule 5. This gives the National sphere of government the authority to determine the involvement of provinces in Schedule 4 functional areas and can even intervene in Schedule 5 functional areas (Burger, 2003).

Table 1.2. Schedule 4: Functional Areas of Concurrent National and Provincial Legislative Competence

Administration of indigenous forests
Agriculture
Airports other than international and national airports
Animal control and diseases
Casinos, racing, gambling and wagering (excluding lotteries and sports pools
Consumer Protection
Cultural Matters

Disaster Management
Education at all levels (excluding tertiary education)
Environment
Health Services
Housing
Indigenous law and customary law (subject to Chapter 12 of the Constitution)
Industrial promotion
Language policy and the regulation of official languages to the extent that the provisions of section 6 of the Constitution expressly confer upon the provincial legislature's legislative competence
Media services directly controlled or provided by the provincial government, subject to section 192
Nature conservation, excluding national parks, national botanical gardens and marine resources
Police to the extent that the provisions of Chapter 11 of the Constitution confer upon the provincial legislatures legislative competence
Pollution Control
Population Development
Property Transfers Fees

These issues have raised concerns in trying to fit South Africa's system in either unitary or federal system. Moeti and Khalo (2007) (see Steytler and Mettler, 2001) posit that "the South African Constitution (1996) makes a provision in Chapter 3 for the co-operative government, but at the same time sub-national government autonomy and authority are limited by sections 100 and 139…..co-operative government implies decentralisation and federalism, whilst sections 100 and 139 imply centralised control and unitary government" (*ibid*: 133). Furthermore, it is clear that the autonomy that the South African Constitution gives to all three spheres of government, is subject to the national priorities.

Ajam and Aron (2007) propound that by dissolving the four provinces and creating nine provinces and three spheres of government, the 1996 Constitution of South Africa restructured a federal system into a unitary system. The submission of these authors is that fiscal relations is the only the major element of decentralisation in South Africa; they refer to this as a "fiscally decentralized system".

Again, Malherbe (2008:19) provides a list of characteristics that support a federal system, these are the constitutionally entrenched distribution of powers between the national and provincial spheres; the power of the judiciary to adjudicate jurisdictional disputes between these spheres; and the right of provinces to enact their own constitutions (with imposed restrains). The Western Cape is the only province with its own constitution to date, KwaZulu-Natal attempted to draft its own constitution but its constitution did not get the green light from the Constitutional court[3]. The provincial constitution is subject to the national constitution and has to be approved by the Constitutional Court. While not taking any side in the federal / unitary debate, Nganje (2013:69) also identifies features of a federal system in the South Africa Constitution, these are:

- Subnational units with Constitutionally protected boundaries, powers, functions and institutions.
- Exclusive and concurrent provincial legislative authority at most functional areas.
- Principle of cooperative government mandating consultation, cooperation, coordination and mutual assistance between all spheres of government.
- National council of provinces which guarantees provincial and local governments access to national policy formulation

Burger (2001) argues that decentralization in South Africa is solely on the fiscal system, Van Zyl (2003:36) contends this claim by asserting that provinces have little

---

[3] According to Murray (2001) KwaZulu-Natal did not meet the following requirements: (i) was not to be 'inconsistent with a provision of the interim Constitution' but it could impose 'legislative and executive structures 'different from those provided for provinces in the interim Constitution and it could provide for traditional monarchs; (ii) had to be passed by a two-thirds majority of the provincial legislature; and (iii) could be of 'no force and effect' unless certified by the Constitutional Court (Murray, 2001: 482)

autonomy even in the fiscal sector, "provincial fiscal autonomy plays second fiddle to macroeconomic"

Southall (1998:17) posits that South Africa is a decentralised unitary rather than a federal system of government. Provinces, despite their apparatus of representation, are primarily agencies of implementation, they have extremely limited policy autonomy, and there is a substantial body of evidence accumulating that the central government is keen to keep them on a tight leash, especially financially. For Moeti and Khalo (2007:133) South Africa is neither a traditional federal state nor a unitary state. Their argument is that the system has features of both systems, that is, "South Africa falls within the more narrowly defined parameters of a unitary state and a federal state".

It is quite evident that the South African Constitution is ambiguous on whether the system is unitary or federal. Chapter 3 of the Constitution states clearly the level of autonomy granted to all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) that is, "in the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelate". This statement confirms that provinces have autonomy. Yet provinces function under the conditions provided by the national parliament and at the same time Section 228 and 230 of the Constitution encourages provinces to raise their own revenue (taxes and loans) rather than depending entirely on funds allocated by the national government. Therefore the description of the system as being neither federal nor unitary proves to be accurate, as it has features of both systems.

The view in Wendt (1994) that identities and interests are malleable is becoming in order to prop and synthesize the arguments expressed in this section. As argued above, the South African constitution is ambiguous as to whether the South African state is federal or unitary. A case can however be made by inferring from the constructivism that in spite of this ambiguity, identities and interest serve as concentric circles from which a state derives its structure and constitutional character. To put in concrete terms, it can be argued that the federal character of the South African state is derived from the post-apartheid identity of the country as a

rainbow nation. This view is further underpinned by the argument that representation is fundamental to federalism (Burgess, 2006). The adoption of an electoral system of proportional representation can also be interpreted as lending support to the argument of the federal nature of the South African state.

To stretch the above argument further will show a reciprocal interplay of interests and identities. As Wendt argues, with regards to organizations (states, subnational entities), corporate identity refers to "their constituent individuals, physical re-sources, and the shared beliefs and institutions in virtue of which individuals function as a "we"" (1994:385). The identity of South Africa as a multi-racial and multicultural nation; the interest of South Africa to a country where these different racial and ethnic groups fully participate in the democratic process can thus be said to provide an impetus for the adoption of a constitution that has both federal and unitary characters.

5.4 South African Foreign Policy

Many scholars have defined foreign policy in different ways and therefore foreign policy as a concept does not bear a universal definition. Some have focused on the various dimensions of foreign policy; while others focused on factors that determine and influence foreign policy and the processes involved. A concept with multiple definitions runs the risk of not having a definition at all. It is worth noting that all foreign policy definitions are characterised by the fact that foreign policy is an activity done by states.

Wallace (1971:11) defines foreign policy as "a stable set of attitude towards the international environment, an implicit or explicit plan about a country's relationship with outside world". Pursiainen (2017) argues that foreign policy is a pattern of attitude and behaviour, which a state adopts to interact with the international community. That is to say foreign policy is understood within the dimensions of the interests that a state seeks to pursue and achieve. Hudson (2008:13) postulates that foreign policy is a strategy or approach chosen by the national government to achieve its goals in its relations with external entities; this also includes decisions not

to pursue anything. Mushtaq and Choudhry (2013) define foreign policy as a sequence of behaviour adopted and practiced by states in their diplomatic relations with their counterparts. They believe that foreign policies are structured according to national interests.

According to Carlsnaes (1986), the concept of foreign policy is better understood as actions which (expressed in the form of explicitly stated directives and performed by government representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities) are manifestly directed towards objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which … lie beyond their sphere of territorial legitimacy (Carlsnaes,1986: 112). Petric (2013) provides a simpler version of foreign policy as an activity of the state with which it fulfils its aims and interest within the international arena. There is a general agreement amongst all these definitions that foreign policies are bound by interest of states. The theory of constructivism makes a profound contribution by arguing that the foreign relations of states are determined by social interactions, and states enter into these social interactions based on their identities. These identities are presented in the tone of a country's foreign policy and the foreign policy of a country is further used to pursue their interests (Hurd, 2008). Accordingly, the identities and interests of states are strengthened by their interaction with other states. Giving credence to this is Wendt (1994) when he states that identities and interest of actors are endogenous to social interactions. In addition to this is the fact that the foreign policy of states reflect both the social and corporate identity, which are a reflection of domestic and international environment.

Each of the above cited definitions of foreign policy describes a state as a major player in foreign policy. In South Africa for instance, Nganje (2013:53) propounds that South Africa's Constitution grants the national government supreme authority over the country's foreign policy and international relations. There is a suggestion in the above views that at the heart of foreign policy is a view or a desire to pursue the interest of a state. Another important factor in foreign policy in Matshili's (2013) view is that the domestic and global setting in which a state finds itself further shapes its foreign policy trajectory. This view also affirms that there is an overlap between foreign policy and domestic policy.

Accordingly, South Africa's foreign policy post-apartheid is shaped by a commitment to promote:

- human rights;
- democracy;
- justice and international law in the conduct of relations between nations;
- international peace and internationally agreed upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts;
- the African Agenda in world affairs; and
- economic development through regional and international co-operation in an interdependent world (DIRCO, 2011: 7).

It is important to note that, South Africa's foreign policy commitments are drawn from the multiple interests and identities of the country. The above listed commitments are coined by social identities and interests, as well as corporate identity and interest. Social identity is explained by Wendt (1994) as systematic, endogenous to and determined by the social interactions of states. Social identity and interest of South Africa is realized as the country interacts with other states in pursuit of commitments 3, 4 and 6 as listed above. Corporate identity is also reflected in these commitments, which is an attribute that is unique and intrinsic to a state such as historical background in this case being the promotion of democracy and human rights[4]. As Bayrakli (2012) explains that the "experiences and traumas of a society during the course of history are likely to exert an influence on a country's identity and its foreign policy in the long run". Included in foreign policies are the interests and identities of a country, both the corporate and social identities as explained by the theory of constructivism.

---

[4] South Africa's history is marred by atrocities and an apartheid system led by a violation of human rights and lack of democracy. This characteristic has shaped interest and identity of a country seeking to be recognised/identified as a cornerstone of human rights and democracy.

Additionally, Chapter 14 (Section 231(1) of the South African constitution, stipulates that the negotiation and the signing of all agreements is the prerogative of the National Executive. Basically, the constitution vests the powers of foreign affairs and international relations on the National Executive (DIRCO, 2011:7). In order to accomplish its foreign policy objectives, the constitution further gives the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) the duty of formulating, coordinating, implementing and managing South Africa's foreign policy and international relations programmes (DIRCO, 2011: 7).

The overall prerogative of DIRCO's is to bring into realisation the country's foreign policy objective. The mandate is to realise South Africa's foreign policy objectives (DIRCO, 2011: 6). Specifically, DIRCO's primary obligation is to provide assistance to the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation and this mandate is achieved by: Ministerial responsibilities. The Department conducts its mandate by:

- coordinating and aligning South Africa's international relations abroad;
- monitoring developments in the international environment;
- communicating government's policy positions;
- developing and advising government on policy options and creating mechanisms and avenues for achieving objectives;
- protecting the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- contributing to the creation of an enabling international environment for SA business;
- sourcing developmental assistance; and
- assisting South African citizens abroad (DIRCO, 2011: 6).

Other directives/priorities of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation also include:

- Enhancing the African agenda and promoting sustainable development with a focus on a deepened contribution to regional and continental security and

stability; a stronger contribution in peace missions and post conflict reconstruction and development; technical and development cooperation; as well as a strengthening of bilateral relations.

- Strengthening the political and economic Integration of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) through focusing on consolidation of the SADC Free Trade Area (FTA), the development of a proposal for establishing a Customs Union and a review of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP).

- Strengthening South-South relations by working with developing countries to create political, economic and social convergence to mitigate poverty, under-development and marginalisation. Key focus areas are engagements with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Group of 77 and China; implementing and monitoring India/Brazil/South Africa (IBSA) agreements and Action Plans; revitalising the New Asia Strategic Partnership (NAASP); finding lasting solutions to regional and global conflict situations and increasing relations with BRIC countries to further the ideals of South-South cooperation.

- Strengthening relations with strategic formations of the North by garnering support from developed countries. The focus areas include pursuing developmental and investment-orientated approaches to engagements with the OECD, G8 and EU (DIRCO, 2012:24-25).

While the national government, in several instances in this study has been described as the sole or major player in the creation and direction South Africa's foreign policy, Nganje (2013:53) admits that due to a system of concurrent competence and the notion of cooperative governance that is articulated in chapter three of the constitution "subnational governments (SNGs) are not only provided with incentives to conduct international relations, but are also empowered to make input into aspects of the foreign policy-making process through the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). Although provinces have virtually shied away from influencing national foreign policy, since the transition in 1994 all provincial governments have been actively involved in relatively autonomous international activities".

The view above is important for this study, particularly because while several arguments and discourses have been expended on the nature and direction of South Africa's foreign policy, the role of subnational governments in engaging in such still remains limited. The above supposition implies that a state's foreign policy is affected by the domestic and international setting, but further implies that the role of SNGs in the country's foreign policy requires attention.

Giving credence to the above is the suggestion that while SNGs are often neglected, when it comes to the country's foreign policy, their interests are however presented and represented by the National Council of Provinces (Matshili, 2013). Nganje (2013) argues that such a system rests the onus of foreign policy solely on the central government and is influenced by the distribution of power amongst all levels of government as specified in the Country's constitution.

South Africa's constitution is quasi-federal in nature. The nature of power sharing and the constitutional competence allotted to SNGs implies that they can participate in international relations, Nganje (2013) affirms that the constitution in itself "empowers the NCOP to ratify certain kinds of international agreements" (Nganje, 2012:54).

5.5 Decentralisation and Paradiplomacy: A Causal Relationship

The leitmotif for decentralization is instructive in understanding the growth of paradiplomacy in South Africa. In Chapter Two of this study, a lot of effort was dedicated to understanding the link between decentralization and the growth of paradiplomacy. A central claim that is averred here is that through decentralization, regional actors grew to play more important role in the global scene (Magone, 2008). Nganje (2014:2) describes the role of decentralization in promoting paradiplomacy as a "development-oriented cooperation among actors at the sub-state level". An implicit nuance that Nganje's (2015) position asserts is that a growing understanding of the role a broad spectrum of actors play in the promotion of development cannot be ignored or excluded.

A logical and linear connection between decentralization and paradiplomacy can thus be established. Nganje's (2015) supposition is particularly felicitous here as he suggests that the advent of a decentralized form of cooperation "can be traced to the intersection of two distinct but interrelated processes: efforts to improve the delivery and impact of official development assistance (ODA) on the one hand, and the evolution of the international relations of local governments on the other" (*ibid*, 3). Nganje (2014) thus views the nexus between decentralization and paradiplomacy as an interrelated one.

In Milani and Ribeiro's (2011) approach, the link between decentralization and paradiplomacy is situated in the globalization discourse. These authors deployment of the term globalization politics is used to accentuate that the role of the nation state in the conduct of international affairs is no longer an exclusive affair. Their argument suggests that decentralization is not merely a form of power devolution but more of a necessity. This view is couched in the idea that "globalization opens unprecedented breaches in power equations" amongst states, sub state actors.

Basically, the growth of paradiplomacy is more of a response to globalization politics. This view correlates with the idea that with a growth in globalization provides an impetus and a need for the increasing role of subnational governments in engaging in international relations. As Kuznetsov (2015:1) also avers that a mutual interlink of 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".

Again, the developmental aim of decentralization cannot be underemphasised. While different conceptualizations or descriptions of decentralization place their emphasis on different aspects of decentralization. A view supported by Schneider (2006) who purports that "although the literature on decentralisation is rich and varied it is, at the same time, confused, and provides a home to contradictory hypotheses; as a result, we know very little definitively". In spite of the possible contradictory hypotheses that

may arise from the different conceptualizations of decentralization, there is a nuanced agreement in each of these understandings of decentralization however that the central aim of decentralization is to promote the efficiency of government service provisions.

Drawing from the above accordingly, a practical definition of decentralisation that is suitable for the purposes of this study is found in the United Nations description:

> Decentralization is commonly regarded as a process through which powers, functions, responsibilities and resources are transferred from central to local government and/or other decentralized entities. In practical terms, decentralisation is a process of striking a balance between the claims of the periphery and the demands of the centre. Decentralization, when appropriately structured, provides an arrangement through which critical issues (such as those of national unity and indivisibility, how to safeguard national interests and ensure coordinated and even development, equity in the distribution of resources and local autonomy) can be recognized (United Nations 2009).

An argument that can be derived from the UN's definition of decentralization is that while decentralization refers to a form of power devolution, it nonetheless allows subnational entities some room to manoeuvre and have some level of independence in the ways in which they seek to promote their separate development. This view is affirmed by Kincaid (1990:52) who submits that:

> 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.

Inherent in the above view is that since decentralization allows for sub-regional entities to look for and engage in their separate development, it is linked to paradiplomacy as paradiplomacy creates a platform for these subnational entities to be able to engage in international affairs with the sole aim and end of promoting the

wellbeing of their constituents. Fundamentally, decentralization, be it administrative or fiscal, provides an incentive for sub regional governments to become key players in the international arena. It is of import to affirm that this engagement does not intend to impugn or interfere with a state's sovereignty. It is an activity that rather seeks to promote the interests of regions that would otherwise have been overlooked by a central government.

5.6 Competence of Sub-National Governments in Paradiplomacy in South Africa

In the previous section, it was established that decentralization which is a form of power devolution from central governments to sub national units provides an impetus for paradiplomacy. Let us take into cognisance Falleti's (2005) view which conceptualizes decentralization as a "set of policies that transfer the administration and delivery of social services such as education, health, social welfare, or housing to sub-national governments". It can be extrapolated that the above cited conceptualization categorically limits the competence of subnational entities to the provision of basic services. As a consequence, subnational entities are allowed to engage in paradiplomacy as long as it falls within the purview of promoting and enhancing their capabilities for service delivery.

The above position essentially bars subnational entities from engaging in issues like military or defence treaties. In South Africa, it is supposed that provinces enjoy a level of autonomy with regards to legislating on a variety of issues that fall within the purview of their constitutional powers. This autonomy serves as an enabler and a competence for them to engage in paradiplomacy with cities in neighbouring states. Consequently, provinces have "taken advantage of this permission to aggressively pursue international economic relations almost independently of supervision by national government" (Zondi, 2012:52).

Matshili (2013) similarly describes the competence of subnational governments in engaging in paradiplomacy as spurred by an economic rationale. Her position suggests that a need for development serves as an incentive for subnational

governments to engage in paradiplomacy. This view suggests that any other form of engagement in paradiplomacy that does not seek to promote the development of a particular subnational region falls outside the competence and the constitutional purview of the said region. A case in point is the Constitution of South Africa Chapter 3 (Section 41(1)) which emphatically states that all spheres of government must "not assume any power or function except those conferred on them in terms of the constitution and also exercise their powers and perform their functions in a manner that does not encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere" (South Africa, 1996).

In South Africa, the constitution does not provide any clear legal parameters for subnational government to engage in paradiplomacy other than to promote development and enhance service delivery. As Matshili (2013:34) affirms that with the introduction of the 1996 constitution, provincial governments were given a range of powers that allowed them to act with a certain degree of autonomy. In spite of these however, Matshili cautions that such powers cannot be equated with that of a federal system like the United States of America.

At different points in the course of this chapter, it has come to the fore that there is a constitutional ambiguity that surrounds the extent and limit of provincial governments with regards to their engagement in international relations. Matshili (2013:42-43) lends her voice to this argument as she suggest that there are aspects of the constitution that can be interpreted as actively barring subnational governments in engaging in international relations[5]. This notwithstanding:

> provinces continue to forge international relations and foreign policy. Schedule 4 of the Constitution does not allocate exclusive or concurrent powers on foreign policy and international relations to SNGs. The question then remains: How do provinces get around this and seemingly breach the separation of power? Could it be elasticity of constitutional provision, implied roles or jingoism on the part of provinces? (Matshili,2013:42)

---

[5] See particularly Chapter 3 (Section 41(1)) of the South African Constitution.

One approach that can be used to understand the constitutional grey areas in terms of what competence the constitution bestows on subnational governments in engaging in international relations is this; take for instance the fact that in Schedule 5 of the constitution, which outlines the exclusive legislative powers of provinces. Matshili's (2013:43) view is particularly of pertinence here as she further records that the constitution:

> does not include sectoral matters such as environmental protection, nature conservation, traffic regulation, crime prevention, movement of people, generation of energy, tourism, pest control, border control and trade and industry which may not only affect the specific province but also neighbouring countries, regions and ultimately other parts of the world. Concurrent functions such as tourism, pest control and border control have significant implications for international relations. Provinces are thus being reformers in the sense that they cannot watch a situation in tourism or pest and border control getting out of hand in their province and wait for national government to take action. In the case of Limpopo, the province has not limited its innovation to situation control but it has also connected with other states in order to attract FDI and market the province internationally. Provinces are being innovative and are in fact helping the national government by carrying out some of its functions even though they do not have a clearly stated mandate in this regard.

Again, another argument found in Nganje (2013:5) suggests that an alternate way to navigate such confusion that the "constitutional elasticity" provides in terms of the constitutional competence of SNGs is for provinces to argue in line with "the federal logic of shared responsibility". The line of argument here is that while the constitution places a limitation on them per say, they have a role in international relations based on their domestic competence and the fact that such issues are particularly of direct interest to them. Zondi (2012) also concurs that while the constitution does not allow provinces the space to engage in international relations, an assumption that can be made however is that any residual powers or functions not mentioned still remains the competence of the national government (Matshili, 2013). Still, provincial governments "have made their autonomy in this area *de facto*" (Zondi, 2012: 52).

5.7 The Western Cape Province: A Model for Paradiplomacy in South Africa

The Western Cape is situated on the south western tip of the African continent and is one of the nine provinces of South Africa. The province is also home to South Africa's oldest city, Cape Town. The Western Cape's natural beauty, complemented by its hospitality, cultural diversity, excellent wine and colourful cuisine, makes the province one of the world's greatest tourist attractions. At the beginning of 2018, the province is led by the Democratic Alliance's Helen Zille as the premier.

The biggest driver of economic growth and job creation in the Western Cape Province is the services sector. The Western Cape has managed to maintain its significant comparative trade advantage in the agri-processing value chain and several services sectors. Agri-processing and tourism are suitable sectors to support inclusive growth, as both are very labour intensive with rising productivity and allow for the creation of sustained jobs for all skill levels in both urban and rural areas. The development of the gas sector could allow for a transformation of the energy mix in the Western Cape to include more sustainable, affordable and environmentally friendly solutions.

The clothing sector is benefiting from increased demand from local retailers and there are tentative signs of a turnaround in the industry. The construction sector is one of the key sectors to benefit from sustained growth in other sectors as it results in an increased need for infrastructure development. The primary languages in the Western Cape are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. The population forms 11.3% of the South African population.[6]

The Western Cape Province among other reasons serves as a very exemplary province in the conduct of paradiplomacy in South Africa. Firstly, it is the largest non-ANC led province, and this reason specially emplaces as a model that emphasis the centrality of the South African system of governance. Secondly, a document released in 2013 which conveys the province's international relations strategy is

---

[6] Western Cape Government www.westerncape.gov.za/your_gov/70
(Accessed: 07/12/2016)

arguably one of the first attempts to provide an integrated framework for paradiplomacy in the country. Basically, the province's strategy argues that:

> an agreed strategic approach, articulated in an IR strategy, along with a clear and co-ordinated communication plan, will ensure optimal outcomes in international engagements and agreements. This strategy seeks to harness ownership of the development agenda for the WCG and its partners while aligning donor funding to provincial policies and priorities. The strategy also aims to harmonise donor and South African government financial and policy processes to ensure efficiency and effectiveness. The economic diplomacy approach advocated by the national Department of International Relations and Cooperation is central to this strategy (WCG, 2013:10).

Accordingly, it is stated that the key objectives of the strategy includes a focus on increasing trade, tourism and investment while concurrently promoting "knowledge sharing through our social sectors to achieve our vision of globally positioning the Western Cape in the BRICS, Africa and the rest of the world" (WCG, 2013:11).

The Western Cape's international relations strategy is driven by an understanding of both the negative and positive aspects of globalisation. Inherent in this construction is the reality that both the negative and positive forces of globalisation have driven the province to seek for its socio economic development by placing an emphasis on the province's competence in creating and enabling environment for economic growth. This enabling environment is regarded as the province's economic, social and cultural diversity. While the strategy accedes that engagement in international relations still remains a prerogative of the central government, this notwithstanding, the strategy further accentuates provinces and necessary players in the conduct of international relations for developmental purposes. As it is recorded that:

> The Constitution of South Africa is clear in its stipulation that international relations is a national competence. This view is strengthened by sections 84 and 231 of the Constitution, which mandate the President to receive and appoint, among others, diplomatic and consular representatives; as well as concluding international treaties and agreements. However, and without detracting from the national government's competence, provinces have an important role to play in international relations, which is incidental to exercising a number of their constitutionally assigned powers. Although provincial governments have a limited constitutional role in international relations and national government determines foreign policy, all provinces and local governments have some international relations role to play. Provincial governments

normally have international relations components to manage international agreements between themselves and other regional governments (WCG, 2013:14).

While the above citation makes a persuasive case to argue that while the constitution limits provincial governments' engagements in international relations to a certain extent, the reality however is that most provinces engage in international relations solely for developmental purposes. The argument thus is that with such a developmental outlook in a province's engagement in international relations, there is no conflict with the constitution. This argument can also be hinged on the trail of the Western Cape Province's international relations engagements. It is recorded that:

> Over the years, the Western Cape Government has concluded more than twenty international agreements on various matters, including those to do with climate change, energy, health, education, etc. The WCG also participates in the Regional Leaders Forum, which occurs every two years. The Forum aims to exchange experiences between its seven members (Upper Austria, Shandong Province, Bavaria, Quebec, Sao Paulo, Western Cape and Georgia). The Regional Leaders Summit aims to promote cooperative multi-dimensional exchanges to improve overall competitiveness of each partner in their respective countries as well as in the global economy (WCG, 2013:14).

The map below further highlights the developmental outlook of the Western Cape's province's international relations engagements. The province's focus includes partnering with other countries in the education, tourism, trade and technology sector etc.

Possible Opportunities: The BRIC Countries

- Brazil
- Russia
- China
- India

Legend:
- education
- tourism
- trade
- green economy
- climate change
- agricultural research
- broadband - ICT
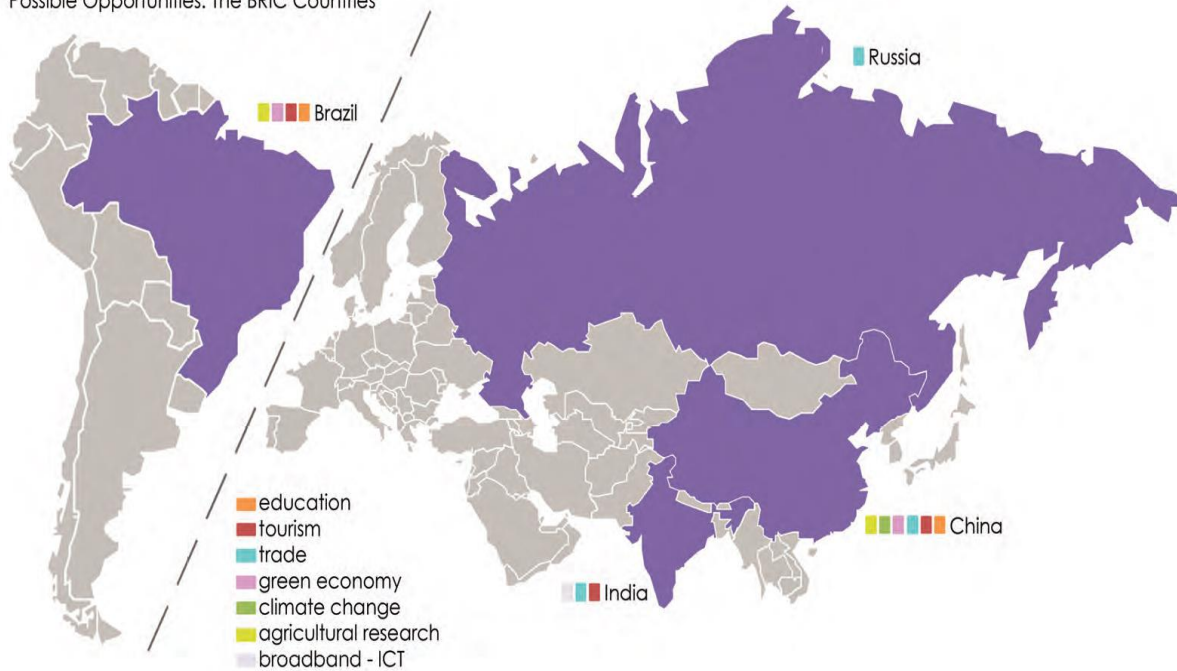
Other than the primacy of the constitution, its alignment with the country's foreign policy objectives; other policy and legislative guideline that underpins the province's engagements in international relations includes:

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs):   This policy document places another weighty emphasis on the role of globalisation as a driving force for paradiplomacy.   South Africa is among the 189 countries that have made a commitment to the MDGs aim of reducing global poverty. This commitment is couched in the countries IR strategy as it aims to achieve the MDGs goals "through identifying key regions for global interaction on goals related to eradicating hunger and poverty, ensuring environmental sustainability and developing global partnerships for development" (WCG, 2013:13).

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD):

South Africa under the presidency of Thabo Mbeki was quite instrumental in formation of NEPAD. The aim of NEPAD was to promote Africa's development through the paradigm of economic development. "NEPAD is recognised worldwide, including by the United Nations, as Africa's development plan. The NEPAD process has come to be accepted by most African countries and also by Africa' development

partners. The IR strategy subscribes to the policy prescripts of the NEPAD particularly as the strategy takes a predominant economic look at international relations in the province" (WCG, 2013:13). Again, the economic objectives of NEPAD as adopted by the IR strategy of the Western Cape province further underscores the developmental aim of paradiplomacy in the province and in the country as a whole.

The National Development Plan (NDP)

The NDP forms an integral part of the country's long term developmental vision and plan. This dossier articulates what it considers as the key challenges facing the country and by extension all its provinces. The dossier thus seeks to create a new vision and plan for South Africa's socio economic development to be attained by the year 2030.

> NDP emphasised the need to transform the nature and performance of the economy simultaneously to achieve sustained GDP growth, greater environmental resilience and increased inclusion to be reflected in lower rates of unemployment and inequality. The NDP outlines that government policy should seek to improve South Africa's functional integration in the region, the continent and in developing countries, particularly with key states such as Brazil, India and China. The IR strategy encourages forging closer relationships between the WCG, BRICS and Africa. Despite free trade areas, customs unions and common markets in Africa, only about 10 per cent of African trade occurs within the continent. This reality presents an opportunity for South Africa and the Western Cape to benefit economically. Importantly, the NDP highlights the necessity of distinguishing between political ambitions, notions of solidarity and domestic realities when conducting international relations (WCG, 2013:15-16).

Other policy initiatives that guide the WCG's engagement in international relations include: The Fourteen National Outcomes of Government; Provincial Strategic Objectives; OneCape 2040. In each of these policy initiatives, economic development and the promotion of the welfare of the citizens is central. One is thus allowed to freedom to argue that while there are constitutional ambiguities with regards to the extent and limits of the powers or competence of SNGs to engage in international relations, the Western Cape Province's strategy provides a quintessential model for the practice of paradiplomacy in a unitary state like South Africa[7]. The fluidity of the constitution has not place a limitation on the province's

---

[7] The point highlighted here is that in spite of the party difference between the WCP DA-Led government and the ANC-led central government, the province's international relations engagement toes the line of the

search for innovative ways to promote its development. And its acceptance of the role of engaging in international relations for developmental purposes under the purview of the constitution and other policy initiatives of the country is an attestation to this fact.

5.8 Conclusion

An important and a reoccurring theme in this chapter is the supposition that while the constitution of South Africa makes the engagement in international relations a sole competence of the central government, the role of provincial government in this regards however is subtle but pertinent. The chapter began with a brief history of South Africa; it then proceeded to understand the structure of the South African state. While the South African constitution makes the country a unitary state, different clauses in the constitution however makes the country a unitary state with federal characteristics. This argument is stretched further in the chapter through its examination of the country's decentralization policy which aims to promote the country's socio-economic development through the devolution of power to other spheres of government. Decentralisation was extensively explored as providing an impetus for paradiplomacy in South Africa. A central theme in this chapter is that the engagement of SNGs in international relations is guided by the primary purpose of promoting socio-economic development. As a consequence, the ambiguity of the constitution with regards to the competence of SNGs in engaging in international relations does not serve as a limitation; it rather serves as a contour that can be positively explored by provincial governments. It is also of import to point out that so far, there has been no recorded conflict between the central government and any SNG with regards to the said SNG's international relations engagement (with the exception of the case cited in the footnote above). The next chapter by tracing the evolution of paradiplomacy in the office of the premier of KZN from 1996-2016, effectually explores in depth the practice of paradiplomacy in the province.

---

country's foreign policy. This is particularly important given the recent case of Tshwane's mayor's visit to Taiwan which was done under the guise of paradiplomacy but contradicted South Africa's One China Policy. It goes without saying that the visit came under heavy criticism.

CHAPTER SIX: PARADIPLOMACY IN THE KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE
"Subnational Presence on the International Scene has become Fact of Life in an Interdependent World" Ivo Duchacek (1984)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the process in which subnational governments and specifically the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government engage in international relations. It examines the development of paradiplomacy in the office of the Premier between 1996 and 2016 in the province. The chapter is guided by research questions two and three which are:

- What are the interests and identities of KwaZulu-Natal province in international relations;
- What are the various international relations activities undertaken by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government with its counterparts?

6.2. The province of KwaZulu-Natal

KwaZulu-Natal is one of the provinces that remained unchanged and retained the Homeland name. The province merged the then KwaZulu Homeland with Natal to form KwaZulu-Natal. The homelands in Apartheid South Africa were a tactic by the National Party to enforce separate development. The homeland of KwaZulu was granted self-governance under apartheid with the intention of it being a home for the Zulu-speaking South Africans.

The province of KwaZulu-Natal is made up of 54 municipalities. It has one metropolitan municipality, 10 District municipalities and 43 local municipalities (SALGA, 2017).

Map of KwaZulu-Natal Showing Municipalities (www.sa-venues.com)

The Structure of the provincial government in KwaZulu-Natal consists of the high office of the premier and the Members of the Executive Council (MEC).These MECs head the following provincial government departments:

- Department of Agricultural and Rural Development
- Department of Arts and Culture
- Department of Community Safety and Liaison
- Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
- Department of Education
- Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs
- Department of Health
- Department of Human Settlements
- Department of Public Works
- Department of Social Development

- Department of Sports and Recreation
- Department of Transport

The allocation of powers and functions to the MECs is done by the premier. Conventionally, MECs are assigned portfolios in specific areas of responsibility. However the conduct of paradiplomacy is located within a unit in the office of the Premier. Considering that the Premier and MECs are individually and collectively accountable to the Provincial Legislature, and therefore must regularly report to the legislature on the performance of their responsibilities, report on the activities of the provincial government with outside partners remains the responsibility of the Premier.

According to the South African Constitution, the premier of the province has the authority over the province. The premier together with the MEC's implement national and provincial legislation (South African Constitution: Chapter 6; section 127 (a-f)).

Fundamentally, the office of the premier provides overall leadership for the entire province and serves as the main coordinating office of all provincial government departments to ensure that they are run smoothly. It coordinates political processes as well as end-results of such processes for the benefit of the province.

6.2.1. Intergovernmental Relations in KwaZulu-Natal

Fox and Meyer (1995) describe intergovernmental relations as a complex interdependent relationship between government institutions, where the three spheres of government in South Africa coordinate, report, liaise and communicate formally and informally with the sole purpose of achieving mutual goal set by the state.

The post-1994 government recognised the challenge of creating a system of government that will promote co-operation and intergovernmental relations as outlined in Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act

108 of 1996). This is because a major challenge and recurring theme in the practice of intergovernmental relations is that the Constitution introduces a natural `tension' between the relative autonomy of a particular sphere of government on the one hand, and the pursuit of a coherent government for South Africa through inter-governmental relations and collaboration on the other (Malan, 2005)

The Constitution envisages a state that supports interaction and co-operation among the three spheres of government on a continuous basis and therefore provides a set of principles to direct the manner and quality of those interactions. According to Tapscott (2002: 6), these principles in Chapter 3 cannot be separated from the Bill of Rights contained in Chapter 2 of the Constitution[8]. The latter refers to the basic rights of individuals and `the social sections on housing, healthcare, food, water, social security, education and many others which find application to all laws, administrative decisions taken and acts performed during the period in which the Constitution is in force'. These issues inform the subjects of debate in formal and informal intergovernmental institutions (ibid, 2005, 226-227).

Intergovernmental relations are therefore "a mechanism for multi and bilateral, formal and informal, multi-sectoral and sectoral, legislative, executive and administrative interaction entailing joint decision-making, consultation,co-ordination, implementation and advice between spheres of government at vertical as well as horizontal levels and touching on every governmental activity" (Mentzel and Fick, 1996:101).

Malan (2005) further argues that the distinctiveness of the various governments in South Africa refers to the legislative and executive autonomy of each sphere. Interdependence of the spheres of government, as stipulated in the Constitution, emphasises the co-relationship between national, provincial and local government and may include aspects such as the duty of the spheres to empower one another as well as monitoring or intervention in the activities of a dependent sphere. The

---

[8] Chapter 2 of the Constitution of South Africa outlines the Bill of Rights (page 5); Chapter 3 outlines the Principles of Co-operative Governance and Intergovernmental Relations (page 21).

interrelatedness of spheres of government refers to the responsibility of each sphere to co-operate with each another and to avoid litigation against one another.

Consequently, in the process of engaging foreign entities by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government, the Premier ensures that, the province does not act ultra vires in relation to the central government nor jeopardise the activities of other provinces acting within the same sphere.

6.3. Paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal

At the onset of inclusive democracy in 1994, the province of KwaZulu-Natal was one of the provinces not under the control of the African National Congress (ANC)[9]. This fact is quite important especially when viewed from the constructivist perspective because the relationship between the Inkatha Freedom Party (provincial government) and the ANC (national government) was one fraught with a lot of conflict. This conflict drove the IFP to seek for recognition as a sovereign entity. At the onset, the IFP was formed in 1975 as a "Zulu cultural organisation" (Lane, 1994). This effectually means that the party had already assumed a corporate identity and due to the resultant conflict with the ruling party, its clamour for autonomy can be viewed as efforts to promote is corporate interests, which Wendt suggests provides motivation for an actor to engage in any form of action or interaction. The practicality of the preceding supposition is that under the IFP, the province of KwaZulu-Natal had just one relationship with a German province. More than just the fact that in 1994 provincial governments' international relations capacity was still in its early stages of development and provinces were not expected to engage in IR due to a lack of capacity. The IFP's IR trajectory bore signs of a province that wanted to use its unique corporate identity to foster its interest of autonomy.

Overtime, the power of the IFP waned, but the corporate identity of KwaZulu-Natal as a Zulu nation grew more pronounced. Albeit with a different interest at the core of that. The province's multiple corporate identities is pronounced in how it presents its

---

[9] The African National Congress is one of the biggest and oldest political party in South Africa. In 1994 it came into power as the ruling party in South Africa, however, in relation to provincial elections the ANC lost to the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) in KwaZulu-Natal province.

ethnic composition of a huge ethnic Indian population and geographical location of proximity to the east through the Indian Ocean to position itself internationally especially within the context of a rising India and China and harness its rich Zulu culture for economic benefits through external interactions. However, a limiting factor was that post-1994 South Africa was more concerned with restoring itself, altering and mending relations with other countries internationally considering the pariah status of South Africa during the apartheid era.

According to an interviewee[10], the Mandela-led government was "restorative" and offered little opportunity for provinces to establish themselves as actors in international relations. Indeed some interviewees argued that throughout the presidency of Nelson Mandela, the general critiques of his administration converged around the strategic ambiguities and uncertain approaches underpinning South Africa's foreign policy. Le Pere and van Nieuwkerk (2006) confirm this when they assert that there was a palpable tension between prioritizing its perceived commercial, trade and political interests and its (Mandela-led government) role as a moral crusader in the promotion of global human rights and democracy.

However, Mandela's successor, Thabo Mbeki upon taking up the mantle of leadership, quickly realized that five years down the road from apartheid, the inescapable priority for South Africa was domestic reconstruction and economic growth allied to internal social and political stability. Some respondents asserted that President Mbeki also believed that, South Africa's international profile over the next five years had to generate tangible material pay-offs. This assertion is supported by Spence (2001:9) when he argues that a state's foreign policy should produce a climate both at home and abroad in which its people can feel at ease with themselves and their country's role in world affairs.

Consequently, President Mbeki's approach opened the door for sub-state actors such as provincial governments to actively pursue the benefits of paradiplomacy.

---

[10] Interviewee from the University of Johannesburg

According to Wpengine (2012) paradiplomacy by sub-state actors is significant in three ways: (1) self-legitimization and expansion of its international exposure and roles; (2) integrating and coordinating foreign policy initiatives and working more horizontally across sectors; and (3) building upon initiatives which come from their civil societies and of recognizing their contribution to the sub-states' international relations and image.

In that regard, the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government and other provinces embraced this opportunity to harness the benefits of external interactions. Several factors motivated the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government to engage in paradiplomacy. There are numerous interests and identities in paradiplomacy, just like states, sub-national governments have social identities and corporate identities that influence their interests. The following are the factors (interest) that drive the province to engage in paradiplomacy, while strengthening its identities internally and internationally. They include the importance of; (1) Provincial contribution to the economy of South Africa; (2) Preservation of the cultural identity of the province and Promoting South African foreign policy agenda; (3) The requirements of "me-tooism"; (4) The Promotion of South Africa's Foreign Policy Objectives

6.3.1. Provincial Contribution to the National Economy

The South African Constitution (1996) stipulates explicitly that provinces are responsible for their own development and their pursuit of economic development should positively contribute to the overall economy of the country. This Constitutional provision influences the identities and interests of sub-national governments within the country. It persuades sub-national governments to construct identities and interests that would ensure physical security. It drives provinces to prioritise the provision of services. As Wendt (1992:398) explains, "identities are the basis of interests. Actors do not have a 'portfolio' of interests that they carry around independent of social context; instead, they define their interests in the process of

defining situations". Because identities are influenced by domestic and international factors, the constitutional provision as a norm shaped the identities and therefore directed the interests of the provinces to seek physical security.

In a bid to realize this objective (contribute to the economy) some interviewees in the provincial government indicated that the adoption of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) by most provinces is aimed at giving a direction on how business development as well as residential development should take place. Provinces are also required to develop a Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS) that explains the overall framework and plan for economic development and accelerated provision of services in the province. These are all aimed at streamlining development objectives in provinces so as to specifically improve the provincial economy in particular and the country's economy in general. Paradiplomacy has therefore found its way as one of the mechanisms for developing the provincial economy.

According to a respondent, since 2011, the province wanted to place itself as the preferred investment destination in the country, the SADC region and Africa. It targeted the growth Asian market and sought to play a role in South to South relations (this is contained in the Provincial Development Strategy, 2016). Figure 1.5 indicates the vision and the goal of the province in attracting investments to improve the economy of the province.

Figure 1.5. KZN in the South/Southern African and Global Context
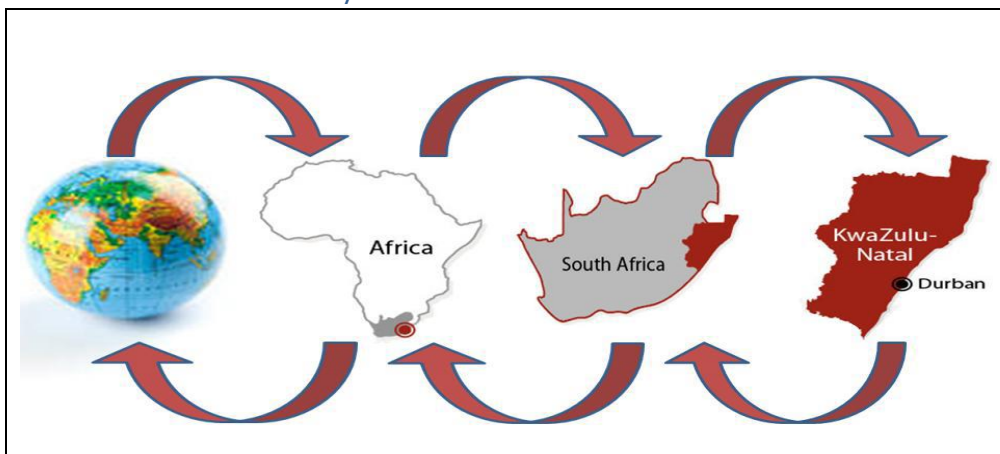
By KZN PGDS

The move to attract investments from Asian countries was also in support of South Africa's foreign relations with the then newly formed BRICS. According to the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (2011:25):

> South Africa has recently entered the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) agreement, and therefore seeks to strengthen its relationship with other BRICSA nations. Additionally, there is expected to be a global shift towards investment into Africa in the next decade, and the Province must ensure that the correct fundamentals are in place to take advantage of this and other global economic shifts.

In order to achieve this, the province focused on the manufacturing sector to promote local businesses. The province sought to explore any opportunity for small businesses in the province to export goods to other African countries "leading sectors in the local economy, such as the automotive, aluminium smelting and sugar manufacturing industries are highly integrated into the global economy, and need to stay globally competitive" (*ibid,*2011:26*).

The goal of the province is to become an active participant in the growing economic block in order to achieve its development goals. External relations/paradiplomacy play an important role in realising this goal.

6.3.2. Preservation of the Cultural Identity of the Province

KwaZulu-Natal is known to be a Zulu nation, which boasts of its heritage and Zulu culture. This competitive advantage is an intrinsic feature of the province characteristic to the corporate identity (as explained by Wendt, 1994). Most sub-national governments that seek to preserve their culture and heritage use the international platform to pursue their interest. For instance, Catalonia which is a sub-national government in Spain, uses paradiplomacy as a catalyst to preserving culture and their way of life internationally. Catalans have over the years faced numerous challenges with the national government in trying to gain recognition and preserve their culture and heritage and have resorted to paradiplomacy and used it as a tool for promoting cultural and historical activity.

Lecours (2008) has observed that the French speaking province of Quebec focuses its cooperation efforts on French-speaking countries of the world while the Spanish speaking province of Catalonia and the Basque Country prioritize Latin America. In the same vein the Belgian Flanders targets former Dutch colonies such as Indonesia and Surinam" (*ibid*, 2008:5). It is easy for these regions to establish relations with other regions with which they share common cultural features with, in this way they protect their culture and language from being diluted.

The Basque nation dispersed in Spain and France in Europe has over the years intensified its external relations. They used paradiplomacy as a strategy to gain recognition and preserve their culture and language and targeted Basque communities in other regions such as Madrid, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela. The Basque Language Academy was a fruitful outcome and has opened an avenue for the exchange of students from the regions listed above. The Basque government in 2006, stated that:

> The goal of the Basque foreign affairs plan is to create a foreign policy, based on our own unique character that promotes the name of Euskadi around the world. We want to develop a comprehensive Basque foreign policy in which all institutions and areas of competence are included so that the Basque Country can gain international recognition instead of just being a place some people have heard of"[11]

In essence, paradiplomacy is an untapped potential in the African continent. Paradiplomacy can be used as a strategy in the same manner as in the Basque communities to foster peace and preserve cultures and language. A case in point is the Great Lakes region in Africa, known to have communities that share culture, language and common historical ancestry (Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, Burundi and eastern DRC). Kenya and Uganda also have communities with similar features such as the Teso and the Sebei communities.

In the same vein, KwaZulu-Natal province, although it is the only Zulu nation in the world, capitalises on its unique culture and language to gain international recognition and develop relations with other regions with a similar cultural stronghold. This interest and corporate identity of the province stems from the urge to gain

---

[11]This was enacted from the strategy that was approved by the Basque Cabinet of Ministers and published in book format "Country on the Move", 2006, Issue 72

international recognition as well as internal recognition. This point is well-articulated by Geldenhuys (1998) when he argues that although South African provinces may not be comparable with Quebec and Basque, KwaZulu-Natal and perhaps the Western Cape may be more inclined than other provinces to internationalise their ethnic composition. In the same vein the huge Indian community in KwaZulu-Natal could well benefit from strong cultural links with the booming economies of India.

6.3.3. The Operationalizing of the Concept of "Me-tooism"

Me-tooism is defined as "adopting policies, methods and products that are similar or identical to those of a peer, rival or competitor"[12]. According to Geldenhuys (1998:24), provinces in South Africa are likely motivated and driven by envy to compete and emulate their local counterparts in paradiplomacy and this has the potential of becoming "a status symbol for provinces".

A case in point, the Gauteng province and the Western Cape Province have the highest international activity when compared with other provinces. These provinces have the most globally integrated economies in the country. The Gauteng province for instance, uses the fact that it is the economic hub of the country and has connecting routes to most countries in Southern Africa (rail and road transportation).

During a visit by the Malawian Delegation in the Gauteng province, in February 2016, the Head of Treasury Department in Gauteng said:

"Our country is one of the top export destinations of Malawi and Gauteng is the economic hub of South Africa. Our economic vision is guided by the strategic framework called, the Gauteng City Region's Transformation, Modernisation and Re-industrialisation plan. We have adopted the international relations to contribute towards Africa's industrial revolution and the core of the international relations strategy is anchored on Southern Africa, which is the main focus of the Gauteng City Region's gateway role"

---

[12]Definition provided by the online Oxford Dictionary (accessed: 16 March 2017)

The province's gross domestic product by region increased from R500-billion in 2004 and is now estimated at more than R800 billion. Gauteng has signed at least 25 Memorandum of Understanding (MOUs) with international counterparts and sister-cities (GPG, 2016). This indicates that the province is far advanced and its external relations have accelerated economic growth, and has socio-economic advantages.

An interview with an official from the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government, confirmed that 'me-tooism' drives other provinces in South Africa to engage in international relations. The official affirmed that "we as the province of KwaZulu-Natal have a target and our goal is to beat Gauteng and Western Cape provinces in international relations (activities) by 2018, this will prove that rural provinces such as KwaZulu-Natal have also adopted international relations as a new approach for provincial economic growth".[13]

6.3.4 Promoting South Africa's Foreign Policy Agenda

KwaZulu-Natal has to perform its role in promoting the national foreign policy agenda. All the international relations that are conducted by the province are overseen by the National Department of International Relations and Cooperation to ensure correlation between the provincial and national mandate. The evidence of the efforts of DIRCO is present in the province's interests in the South to South relations which is in tune with the national agenda. Additionally, as an active member of the BRICS, the national government encourages provincial governments to pursue relationships with other BRICS member states. As a result of the preceding submission, it can be firmly posited that the national government paves way for provinces to be actively involved in paradiplomacy.

6.4. International Relations: National Agenda and the Provincial Agenda

Provinces in South Africa are encouraged to sign international agreements under the mandate of Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO). Post 1994, South Africa under the leadership of Nelson Mandela was restorative and in a

---

[13] Interview with a government official conducted in June 2017

process of re-establishing South Africa as an international actor. Since 1948, the status of South Africa's international affairs was holding by a thread. The country was among the most isolated countries in the world. The new administration under the leadership of President Nelson Mandela[14] was faced with daunting task of restoring South Africa as a global actor. Very little international activity was seen in provinces, precisely because nationally, the country was introducing itself to the international community and emphasis was put on nation building and healing the wounds of the past within the country.

6.4.1 Paradiplomacy under Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma

According to Youla (2009) After 1994, South African foreign policymakers faced the challenge of reintegrating a country, isolated for many years as a result of the previous government's apartheid policies, into the international system. In the process, the country was transforming its foreign identity from a pariah state to a respected international player. The Mandela era, which lasted between 1994 and 1999, sought to re-integrate the country into the global space and its foreign policy built upon the belief that human rights should be at the centre of the country's international relations. Some respondents argued that, the restorative nature of the Mandela administration had little impact on paradiplomacy in the country. Although it did not entirely neglect it, paradiplomacy was not a priority, and therefore emphasis was placed on restoring the country's global standing.

Despite the prominence of nation building and the promotion of human rights as the cornerstone of the country's foreign policy, provinces sought to engage in the global space albeit at a moderate pace. Paradiplomacy was significantly slow in the KwaZulu-Natal. According to some respondents at the Office of the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, the very first initiative by the province was in 1996 with Germany. The agreement was the Baden-Wurttemberg agreement headed by the then Premier

---

[14] Nelson Mandela was the first president of a democratic South Africa. He held this position from 1994 to 1999.

Ben Ngubane[15]. The fact that most provinces had just been established, under the new administration meant that they had less or no experience in paradiplomacy and this contributed to the stagnant involvement of KwaZulu-Natal in international relations.

Geldenhys (1998) confirms this when he stated that the shift of provinces from the autonomy they had in the apartheid era, coupled with the fact that provinces have an obligation to fulfil their constitutional duties, contributed to the inactive involvement of provinces in paradiplomacy. Failure of provinces to deliver on their constitutional duties/obligations is an invitation for an intervention by the national executive[16], therefore provinces were preoccupied with fulfilling these obligations.

Under the Mandela Administration, KwaZulu-Natal was under the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)[17], this saw the province being less interested in pursuing the single foreign policy interest of the ANC-led government. Provincial paradiplomacy takes cue from the national government; the fact that KwaZulu-Natal was an IFP-led province caused a dysfunction with the foreign policy priorities of the national government. The single interest of the country might not be a true reflection of the provincial interest more so for provinces that are not under the ANC Rule. The ANC government had no dominance over the political landscape of KwaZulu-Natal.

Based on an interview conducted on 5 April, 2017, the respondent revealed that the IFP, as the opposition sought to gain internal support and strengthen its base in the province and within the country (internally). They focused on obtaining significant political mileage. Therefore, engaging in international relations was not regarded as being a priority and IFP did not have the capacity to implement/include paradiplomacy as part of its strategy for development.

This state of affairs within the context of paradiplomacy continued until the elections in 2004 which brought the ANC-led government and the arrival of Sbu Ndebele as

---

[15] See Appendix 1 for the list of all the premiers in KwaZulu-Natal since the democratisation of the country in 1994
[16] Section 100, of the Constitution, 1996.
[17] IFP is a political party in South Africa, which was founded in 1975 by a former member of the ANC Youth League. It has been under the leadership of Mangosothu Buthelezi

premier. Mbeki's more internationalist approach to foreign policy encouraged the premier of KZN and others to prioritise paradiplomacy as tool for attracting investments into the province.

The provincial government's approach to international relations entailed international visits as a catalyst to placing the province in the global map. This lends credence to what Landsberg (2011) terms "Mbeki's foreign policy driven approach to governance". In the course of that "South Africa not only punched above its proverbial weight but had a strategic presence in the world and was taken seriously by most states, from North and South alike" (Landsberg, 2011: 1).

Landsberg (2011) further argues that President Thabo Mbeki's tenure is most memorable for its pragmatic approach to foreign policy and advancing socio-economic factors and development in international relations. The national approach to foreign policy was extended to provinces resulting in increased interest of provinces in international relations. This also extended to KwaZulu-Natal, which was now under the rule of the African National Congress. The province pursued and promoted the foreign policy agenda of the national government.

Again, Mbeki foreign policy agenda was more afro-centric by placing emphasis on the African continent while at the same time engaging South Africa actively in the global sphere/arena. On the contrary during Zuma's tenure South Africa's foreign policy tended to leverage old ANC ideological partners such as Russia, China and the leftist government in Brazil as well as the economically viable India within the context of emerging global economies. Consequently, president Zuma pursued active South-to-South relations by adhering to the BRICS[18] agreement-association of five major emerging national economies-with the objective of stronger economic and financial ties including the eventual setting-up of a development bank to challenge the dominance of the Bretton Woods Institutions[19].

---

[18]BRICS is a collective for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It is a bloc of the world's emerging economies. South Africa became a member in 2010.

[19] Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These institutions were set up in 1944 in Bretton Woods in the US. They were founded by 43 countries with the objectives to rebuild the collapsed economies in the post-war era and promote international economic cooperation.

According to Anthony, Tembe and Gull (2015:5) "the attractiveness of South Africa as an ideal entry point to the rest of the continent, as well as the need to include an African representative within the BRICS body, led to lobbying by China for the inclusion of the former". The foreign policy agenda of the Zuma-led administration is a reflection of the emphasis of the above in the execution of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal. Of the 14 principal international agreements pursued by the provincial office of the premier, more than nine of these agreements are with Asian countries.

There is a close relationship between the national and the provincial sphere in the context of international relations. Bearing in mind that the Constitution does not explicitly state how and to what extent provinces should be involved in international relations, the national sphere of government involves provinces in many of its international relations activities. A case in point, the national Minister of Health has on many occasions requested the MEC for Health in KwaZulu-Natal to accompany him to Cuba and other countries for signing MOUs. The Minister signs in his capacity (National) and the MEC signs in his capacity as an MEC for the province. This occurs in instances where the implementation process necessitates the involvement of provinces. In other words by virtue of the relationship between the spheres of government, provinces are bound to participate in the international activities of the national government for implementation purposes.

6.4.2. Role of the International Relations Unit in KwaZulu-Natal

The Unit which drives paradiplomacy in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government is situated within the office of the Premier. This office coordinates the MOUs, International visits of the Premier and the MECs and the welcoming/receiving delegates, amongst other things. This is done under the strict supervision of the Intergovernmental Office in the premier's office.

A presentation done by a respondent indicated that the principal cooperative international agreements undertaken by the office of the premier are 14 and an

additional three which are in the pipeline[20]. According to the IGR office, government departments in the province "serve as stakeholders to these agreements in respect of the work-streams they present, the relevant departments are responsible for servicing these arrangements whilst the Office of the Premier provides guidance and advise as well as play a monitoring and evaluation role" (IGR KZN, 2017).

6.4.2.1. Principal Cooperative Agreements of the Office of the Premier

- **2006; Fujian Province, China**

This agreement is still active and the areas of Cooperation are Agricultural Projects: JUNCAO Mushroom & Dryland Rice; Economic Cooperation, Arts and Culture, Tourism, Sport, Information Technology**.** Based on the technology exchanges obtained from Fujian University, a Mushroom Base & Training Centre was launched in Cedara in July 2010. The mushroom project is active in various rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal, with the largest project being in the KwaDindi area. The potential for the Dryland Rice project is still untapped due to the lack of relevant expertise as well as budget constraints.

- **2008 Shanghai Agreement, China**

The project was active until 2010 and was renewed in 2014. The areas of cooperation are Education, Sport, Tourism, Economic Development as well as Arts and Culture.

Progress of this cooperation includes exchanges in Maritime and Education, which have been fruitful and beneficial to the province of KwaZulu-Natal. A scholarship was granted to a KwaZulu-Natal student (Xolani Khumalo) to pursue Business studies in the Shanghai International Studies University. The Durban Port Authorities signed an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) with the Shanghai Port Authorities in 2011, which then presented more opportunities for scholarships.

---

[20] The respondent gave an insight on the role of the IGR office in KwaZulu-Natal; this was augmented by a power Point presentation, which was compiled for the purpose of this study. Dated: 05 March 2017

- **2010 Guangxi Province, China**

This is an active project with Economy and Trade, tourism, Agriculture, Education, Arts and Culture and Maritime as areas of cooperation.

The Guangxi counterparts offered two scholarships for two KwaZulu-Natal students in collaboration with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education. The department was responsible for identifying suitable candidates to be awarded these scholarships.

- **2007 Jiangsu, China**

The Jiangsu agreement is dormant. This is because since it was ratified in 2007, there was only one follow up meeting that was held for the purpose of activating relations. No other reciprocal visits or exchanges have been made thus far. The areas of cooperation were Economic exchanges and Cooperation, Culture, Human Resource Training, Environmental Protection, Sport and Tourism.

- **2005 Jakarta, Indonesia**

This agreement is dormant, since its inception in 2005 and no effort has ever been taken to kick-start the Jakarta and KZN agreement of cooperation. The areas of cooperation were Trade and Industry, Tourism Promotion and Management, City Planning and Infrastructure, Sport, Cultural & Arts Activities, Promotion of Provincial Council's Cooperation.

- **2005 Punjab, India**

This is an active cooperation and the areas of cooperation include Economic Development specifically in the SMMEs (Small, Medium and Micro-Sized Enterprises) sector, Arts and Culture Exchanges and Agriculture.

Due to the political change in the Province of Punjab no action has been undertaken in terms of implementing the Cooperation Arrangement. However it is recommended that KZN pursues relations with India as South Africa and India share a unique bond through a shared history and tradition. It is also well known that the Region of Punjab is the 'bread basket' of India and produces 80% the food supply for India. KZN can benefit from transfer of skill and expertise regarding rural development and small scale farming.

Areas of Cooperation with India to be pursued include:

Establish a strong relationship in terms of investment in areas such as HIV/Aids, socio-economic cooperatives especially on rural women development, poverty alleviation programmes, and

Medical production and distribution projects in KwaZulu-Natal

Agriculture – crop production and dairy farming: identify two companies willing to partner with KZN farmers on dairy farming. KZN government will commission a pilot project in dairy farming which will form part of corporative farming;

Business Chambers in India - briefing in the establishment of small-medium business sectors in India and how it can be adapted in KZN. This meeting will assist the Province of KZN in establishing the small business sector and will assist in defining governments role and partnership with the small business sector

ITC hub partnership with Indian businesses; and Alternative Medicine for gout, high blood pressure.

- **2000 Walloon Region, Belgium**

The Walloon Region agreement is an active one and has Technology transfers for cross breeding of the Belgian Blue Cattle, Capacity Building programmes with FET Colleges and Capacity building in Supply Chain Management skill programme, as the specific areas of cooperation.

This Cooperation Arrangement has generated R135 million into the province and is regarded as one of the most effective Cooperation Arrangements that should be prioritized, renewed and actively pursued.

- **2003 Reunion Island**

The Reunion Island cooperation with the province of KwaZulu-Natal became active in 2003 and reactivated in 2007. This project is currently active. The areas of cooperation are Cultural Exchange, Science & Technology, Agriculture, Education, Trade and Investment.

The Department of Agricultural and Environmental Affairs and the Department of Arts and Culture have spearheaded this Cooperation. The cooperation areas of trade and investment are the most actively pursued. This is because the Reunion region is the only European Union state in the southern hemisphere and has the potential to be used as a gateway to trade with other European countries.

Reunion Island has also emphasized their enthusiasm to further cooperation in areas such as education and technological exchange. The Province has plans to look into the likelihood of renewing this Cooperation Arrangement in the long-term.

- **1996 Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany**

The Baden-Wurttemberg agreement signed and activated in 1996. This cooperation later expired and reactivated in 2006 and still is active. Education, Social Development, Arts & Culture, Sport, Tourism, Economic Development and Food Security Programme are the main areas of cooperation.

Discussions have been underway to update this cooperation with new areas of cooperation identified as more effective. The Baden-Wurttemberg government is currently seeking to explore different areas, which would be good for investment in KwaZulu-Natal. Identifying new areas of investment forms part of the 'one garden one home' flagship programme and food security.

- **2002 SA-Flemish Partnership**

The South African National Government initiated this active partnership. The province of KwaZulu-Natal receives approximately R60 million over a period of 5 years for the Food Security Programme, Human Settlement and rural capacity building from this.

There are five programmes that were implemented successfully as part of this Arrangement. All projects were assigned to relevant government departments and completed by these departments. It is recommended that relations between the Province and the Region of Flanders be pursued outside of the National Government Agreement.

- **2005 Queensland, Australia**

The Queensland cooperation with KwaZulu-Natal was established in 2005 and Renewed in 2010. It is an active cooperation and the areas of cooperation are Trade and Investment, Education and Training, Agricultural Technology: SMME training, small scale farmers,Natural Disaster Management: training and exchange, Infrastructure Development, Low Cost Housing skills and exchange programmes, Climate Change Programmes: Green Tech and Waste Management, Border Tourism andCultural Exchange.

Both parties in this cooperation have made reasonable progress.

- **2012 Maputo, Mozambique**

This cooperation is active. The areas of cooperation include the following:

Tourism, Economic Development and Trade Investment Promotion – Tourism development, joint marketing tourism initiatives, tourism business linkages, SMME development, encouraging partnerships between the business fraternity
Agriculture and Environmental Affairs – Technology transfer programmes, livestock disease control, food security, livestock and crop improvement, natural disaster management, trans-frontier relations, wildlife conservation, coastal and waste management
Transport, Communication and Logistics – Knowledge sharing and exchanges, investigation of infrastructure needs, create access and greater efficiencies

Arts and Culture – People to people relations, participation in Arts and Cultural events and improving interventions in anti-music piracy

Education – Access to quality learning, knowledge sharing, participation in exchange programmes

Safety and Security – Improvement of cooperation between South African Police Services (SAPS) and Mozambique Police relating to cross border crimes and transfrontier Park safety and security

Health – Sharing best practice in combating HIV and AIDs, TB management, care support and treatment, malaria control and port health services

In relation to the progress made thus far, the Provinces of Maputo and KwaZulu-Natal have a fruitful relationship since the signing of this MOU in 2012. The Agreement also tables that the Premier and Director-General and their counterparts should meet once a year to discuss the progress of the cooperation.

- **2010 Benguela, Angola**

This agreement is still active and the major areas of cooperation are Cooperative Governance and Urban Development, Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries, Economic Development, Transport, Logistics and Infrastructure Development as well as Sport, Arts and Crafts.

Progress made thus far is that different interactions have taken place, such as: Business Interactions, Water and Sanitation Exchange programmes, technical visit by KwaZulu-Natal Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs. There has been cooperation between ports. The Toyota plant in Durban has thus far donated 18 vehicles to the Angola Government with Benguela Province being one of the beneficiaries.

- **2013 Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo**

It is an active agreement with Trade and Investment, Agriculture, Civil Protection, Arts & Culture and Revenue Management as the major areas of cooperation.

The Governor of Kinshasa HE Mr. André Kimbuta and his delegation were hosted by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government from 4-7 August 2013.

During deliberations with the Premier, HE Mr. André Kimbuta indicated a keen interest to establish a formal cooperation arrangement between KwaZulu-Natal and Kinshasa. A technical follow-up was undertaken in October 2013 in order to interrogate the areas of cooperation, which assisted in drafting the concrete action plan[21].

The above-mentioned 14 principal cooperation agreements are not the only relations the province has externally, the eThekwini Metro Municipality has over 30 other relations externally, provincial government departments as well as Tourism KZN and Trade and Investment KZN also have external relations. An assessment of the provincial agreements, indicates the interest of the province. The province is more interested in development hence seeking to attract investments; these agreements are with countries that have the potential of investing in the province. Added to that is the fact that most of these agreements are with countries in the South, solidifying the national and the provincial interest of promoting South-to-South relations.

6.4.3. Challenges faced by KwaZulu-Natal in conducting International Relations

6.4.3.1. Constitutional Challenges

The South African Constitution (1996) does not specifically spell out a foreign policy role for provincial governments, it is clear that it does forbid certain limited activities which are beneficial to the province at large and the country as a whole. This assertion is confirmed by the Director of Intergovernmental Relations in the office of the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal when he said in an interview for this study that:

"*Although the Constitution has no direct section indicating what the provinces are out to do in terms of international relations, there is a section on mandates, where provinces are urged to engage in any other matter that will promote provincial interest and development. This section on provincial mandates is interpreted as granting*

---

[21] This information was compiled and made available by a key respondent in the Intergovernmental relations unit in KwaZulu-Natal. These are the major agreements that are directly linked and initiated by the office of the premier.

permission to engage in international relations. This is so because international relations are solely for the development of the province. It is also important to note that in the constitution there is nothing that hinders the province from engaging in international relations"

According to Section 231 of the South African Constitution (1996), foreign policy matters are a prerogative of the National Executive. This section puts bluntly the following:

- The negotiating and signing of all international agreements is the responsibility of the national executive.
- An international agreement binds the Republic only after it has been approved by resolution in both the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces, unless it is an agreement referred to in subsection (3).
- An international agreement of a technical, administrative or executive nature, or an agreement which does not require either ratification or accession, entered into by the national executive, binds the Republic without approval by the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces, but must be tabled in the Assembly and the Council within a reasonable time.
- Any international agreement becomes law in the Republic when it is enacted into law by national legislation; but a self-executing provision of an agreement that has been approved by Parliament is law in the Republic unless it is inconsistent with the Constitution or an Act of Parliament.
- The Republic is bound by international agreements, which were binding on the Republic when this Constitution took effect.[22]

The first two points clearly indicate that provinces in South Africa do not have a direct role or responsibility in foreign policy matters in the country. When provinces have an interest in initiating relations with a particular actor, they cannot go ahead if that interest is not approved by the National Executive. It is only through the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) that they can participate in this process, as a collective.

---

[22] South Africa Constitution, 1996. Chapter 14 'General Provisions', section 231:120

As discussed in Chapter Five, the Constitution does not prevent provinces from participating in International Relations but it still does not provide a clear guideline on what is the jurisdiction of provinces in this regard. Therefore, the interest of the provinces should be in tune with that of the country.

A classic example is the case in which the Mayor of Tshwane paid an investment related visit to the capital of Taiwan in flagrant violation of South Africa's one China policy. Such paradiplomatic activities in most part are driven by the internal political dynamics – considering that the mayor stems from the main opposition party – could sometimes result in serious diplomatic spats thereby exposing the fluidity of paradiplomatic activities by provinces. "The mayor has elected to take time out of his personal leave to honour an invitation from the mayor of Taipei to explore possible investment opportunities"[23].It is clear that although provinces can and do undertake paradiplomacy, the national department of international relations remains the gatekeeper of the country's external relations. This stands to affirm Geldenhys (1998) argument that provinces and in this instance municipalities that lack political empathy by virtue of being under the leadership of an opposition party, from the national government often opt to pursue their own international interest. The interest presented by the national government is often not a reflection of the interest of provinces and municipalities run by opposition parties.

6.4.3.2 Recipient versus Donor

The province of KwaZulu-Natal has faced a handful of challenges relating to active participation in international relations. The province is classified mainly as a recipient and therefore seeks to receive investments, funding, tourists and business amongst others. Hence, the province pursues relations with the world's fast growing economies and the developed world. Of the 14 principal cooperative agreements, the province has, only three are with African countries.

---

[23] Extracted from an article in The Citizen Newspaper, dated 28 December, 2016, titled "Msimanga's Taiwan trip causes a diplomatic Stir' by Virginia Keppler

A respondent in the International Relations unit indicated in an interview that they have on many occasions lost funding and investments because of the changes in policies or administration in other countries or regions. In a study conducted by Setzer (2013) on environmental paradiplomacy in Sao Paulo, the author expressed similar concerns of dependence as a limitation. The interviewee in Setzer's study said that *"Another limitation is that these foreign investments can create a dependence of the state on foreign resources, and certain policies and projects risk being interrupted if the donor stops financing it….For instance, it is unclear what will happen if the British Government stops supporting CETESB to develop São Paulo's Green House Gas Inventory".* This is the same sentiment shared by a respondent in the KZN provincial government.

According to Keohane and Nye (1977:8) in a globalized world, dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence is simply defined as mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocity among countries or among actors in different countries. The province of KwaZulu-Natal although not in a position to invest or fund projects in other regions, acknowledges that they are entirely dependent on their counterparts and therefore the relationship is dependent rather than interdependent. The province does not have a mandate to invest or fund anything beyond the South African border. They are also prohibited by the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999 to take up the role of an investor. International relations undertaken by sub- national governments are solely for the purpose of development, hence they are classified as recipients.

In an instance where both parties contribute to the partnership, the cooperative agreements is done with the recognition and consideration of both parties involved especially with regards to a change in policies. The reason for the involvement of both parties is because the agreement is beneficial to both and they will both be affected by any change.

6.4.3.3. Multiple Stakeholders

Another challenge that is prevalent in the province is that there are multiple stakeholders involved in paradiplomacy, and this blurs the line in determining specific roles played by each stakeholder. Stakeholders involved in paradiplomacy in the province are the office of the premier, government departments and parastatals such as the Municipalities, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal and Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal. The challenge lies with servicing relations that are established. On different occasions, investors have been faced with the challenge of determining suitable projects to fund and business and areas to invest in. In order to address this challenge, the province in 2016 decided to strengthen the coordination aspect of agreements, just so the province can effectively take advantage of the opportunities presented to them.

A Cabinet Sub-committee that focuses on international relations only was formed. This sub-committee is headed by the MEC for Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs. This Sub-committee considered government department that play an essential role in paradiplomacy, such as Treasury, Cogta (Cooperative governance and traditional affairs), Agriculture (most of the agreements signed are characterised by an agricultural focus), Arts, and Culture. Since 2016, the provincial sub-committee developed an international relations strategy, meant to galvanise the province, including all stakeholders, in a similar direction. It is meant to ensure that there is efficient coordination, similar interest and funding goes to the intended stakeholder.

6.5 Parastatals involved in Paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, Trade, and Investment KwaZulu-Natal are the two parastatals established for advancing paradiplomacy in the province. They form part of the international relations stakeholders in the province. This section discusses these parastatals in detail.

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal

Tourism Kwa-Zulu-Natal, herewith referred to as (TKZN), is an entity that reports directly to the Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs in the Province. It is tasked with promoting the province of KwaZulu-Natal as the most preferred tourist destination. It has the responsibility of ensuring the ongoing development, promotion and marketing of tourism into and within the province. About 10% of the provincial GDP is derived from the tourism sector.

Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal

The promotion of trade and investment at the provincial level depends on factors which are not necessarily within the jurisdiction of the province. Trade and investment depend on factors such as political stability of the country, the macro-economic indicators such as monetary, fiscal and investment policies as well as infrastructure. Within the provincial sphere most provinces engage in activities which promote the province as the preferred investment destination by providing the requisite infrastructure within the context of the broader national investment environment.

Against this backdrop KwaZulu-Natal's paradiplomatic activities reflect a province which has placed branding and marketing the province as a preferred investment destination at the top of its priority. It has done this by identifying and packaging investment opportunities in KwaZulu-Natal; linking opportunities to the developmental needs of the KwaZulu-Natal community and ensuring easy access to investment and export trade opportunities.

Interviews conducted with officials in the office of the Premier and corroborated by secondary data reveal the establishment of a 'One Stop Shop" for both traders and Investors have gone a long way in prioritizing the sourcing of BRIC countries and creating an export market. The purpose is to speed up investments by making investors and traders to setup shop in the province. To achieve this the

Intergovernmental Unit at the Premier's office supports trade and investment in the province through the following:

refer delegations (clients) interested in having political meetings with the premier to the Intergovernmental Unit conduct all the Economic Diplomacy training for the DiRCO and provide a report on the agreements that are facilitated at a provincial level by the intergovernmental unit[24]

This parastatal functions within the provincial framework; the province provides a guideline on who and what to target. The Department of International Relations and Cooperation has a directorate that overlooks the relations of the province and that of the Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal. This is to ensure that the relations pursued are not in conflict with the foreign policy trajectory.

6.6. Identities and Interests in Paradiplomatic relations of KwaZulu-Natal

According to Alexander Wendt "identities are not given but are developed and transformed or sustained in interaction" (Wendt, 1996: 48). Identities are constructed**,** maintained, changed and are multiple. Actors decide on the shape of their identities because identities are need-driven "identities are formed on the basis of their interests" (Wendt, 1996:48).The analysis of this section is guided by Wendt's constructivist approach to international relations.

Identities plays a pivotal role in the foreign policy of states in world politics, and sub-national governments are not an exception. The competition that exists between sub-national governments, more so of the same state, calls for these governments to capitalise on their unique features in order to attract international activities. These features form part of the multiple identities of sub-national governments. Sub-national governments of that share a central government usually have similar

---

[24] Donne Kruger, the Manager of Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal (Gauteng Office), provided this information. Interview: 21 February 2017

characteristics, constitutions, territorial boundaries, amongst others, but they need to have a distinctive attribute/quality that separates them from the rest.

A case in point, the nine provinces are within the same borders, have the same constitution, common provincial structures but they have different unique features that they use to their advantage in paradiplomacy. This is often described as the provinces competitive advantage. For instance, the Northern Cape Province has the potential to attract investments into the solar energy sector, due to very high temperatures (Sunlight) that can be converted to electricity, in Upington, considered to be one of South Africa's deserts. In 2016, this province began the solar thermal power plant operation in Khi Solar One plant, the first solar power project in Africa. This eccentric feature on its own, separates the Northern Cape Province from the other provinces, and translates into an identity that can be used to drive the interest of the province. That interest being to ensure that citizens have access to affordable electricity, which is a provincial development goal.

The Khi Solar One central tower Plant

Image by: Abengoa

Alexandrov (2003) argues that identities and interests are interdependent, none precedes the other. In the South African context, sub-national governments prioritise the national interest and the provincial interest is secondary. The foreign policy trajectory provides an international relations mandate. For instance, during the Mbeki era the foreign policy trajectory was on Africa, promotion of NEPAD and SADC, therefore provinces prioritised these initiatives by the national government. The current Foreign policy trajectory leans towards South-to-South relations this includes BRICS; hence KwaZulu-Natal's primary interest is the promotion of South-to-South relations. Sub-national governments are directed by national government on what interest they should pursue. It becomes the responsibility of sub-national governments to figure out how to benefit from these but national interest takes precedence.

KwaZulu-Natal as a sub-national government does not by any means seek to imitate state-to-state relations; hence it remains detached from issues concerning security and foreign policies. It is worth noting that the identities of subnational governments is mostly characterised by intrinsic features (mountains, beaches, business environment and opportunities, culture and norms, resources), these features become competitive advantage for each subnational government. Constructivists explain these identities as a corporate, because they are inborn and stable. In a globalised world, where competition is inevitable, the identities (competitive advantage) allows sub-national governments to gain enough confidence to pursue interests. Identities and interests in paradiplomacy thus have a symmetrical relationship. Meaning, the self-confidence KZN has to pursue interests is derived from the competitive advantage (identity) it has over other provinces; and on the other hand, the identities of the province is maintained and safeguarded by the interests it pursues.

6.6.1. Tourism

The province of KwaZulu-Natal, the only Zulu Kingdom in the world, uses its identity to compete in a globalised and highly competitive environment. As mentioned earlier, identities are need driven, KwaZulu-Natal established two entities that are tasked

with promoting paradiplomacy in the province. These entities have different mandates and the manner in which they portray the province to the outside world varies. The following discussion highlights the activities, objectives and the identities used to achieve the goals of the two entities (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal and Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal).

The identity of the province as the only Zulu-Kingdom in the world positions the province in the global space. This is a unique feature that no other province in the country has. The province has used 'Zulu-Kingdom' to attract tourists from all over the world. Within the country, it is one of the most preferred holiday destination. The 'Zulu Kingdom' is a corporate identity because it is derived from the provinces history and geography.

Figure 1.6: KwaZulu-Natal Logo/Identity

The province makes use of this logo to emphasise the unique attribute of it being a Zulu-Kingdom with a rich cultural heritage. The province is easily identified as a Zulu-Kingdom in South Africa and it adopted the same approach internationally. The goal is for KwaZulu-Natal to be identified as such and at the same time preserve its culture (Zulu) by displaying it to the world. The intergovernmental unit has confirmed that the province is mostly identified or recognised externally as a Zulu Kingdom. Wendt (1999) argues that the identity of an actor is not limited to how the actor portrays itself, the manner in which other actors identify you is also important.

The tourism sector in KwaZulu-Natal attracts tourism through four main areas of its corporate identity; these include the coastal holiday areas with their magnificent beaches, sunshine, boating, surfing and fishing; the wildlife game parks in the north; the Drakensberg Mountains and the historical battlefields. Two World heritage sites have been declared recently: the Greater Lucia Wetlands Park, and Ukhahlamba/Drakensberg Mountain Reserve (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2017).Of all these four components, the most attractive being the cultural tourism, the pride of the Zulu-Nation. The use of the 'Zulu-Kingdom has wooed tourist from all over the world, who identify the province as such.

Cultural tourism in KwaZulu-Natal has been successful and much credit is given to the local indigenous knowledge. This is how the province is seen internationally. A report by CNN covered the diversity of KwaZulu-Natal and its heritage; the headline read "A journey through South Africa's Stunning Zulu Kingdom"[25]. This is a confirmation that that the identity of the province as a Zulu-Kingdom has been an exceptional advantage to the province. In this regard, KwaZulu-Natal has been successful as it is identified externally as the Zulu-Kingdom with rich cultural background and language. The province has an impetus to gain international recognition and support, while highlighting its cultural identity as a unique value to be identified with; the use of the 'Zulu Kingdom' does so by projecting the provincial image internationally.

While hosting the Tourism Indaba[26] in Durban, 16-18 May 2017, the premier of KwaZulu-Natal alluded that the "*the Kingdom of the Zulu is not to be seen but you have to feel it*". This was to encouraging attendees to choose the Zulu Kingdom as their preferred holiday destination.

The province has done exceedingly well in the tourism sector, it has embarked on numerous initiatives to develop domestic and regional tourism:

---

[25] "A Journey through South Africa's Stunning Zulu Kingdom" is a CNN documentary (report) by George Webster (19 April May 2012)
edition.cnn.com/2012/04/19/travel/zulu-kingdom-travel-guide/index.html

[26] Tourism Indaba is the largest tourism marketing events in the African Continent. It displays the multiple tourism products in Southern Africa and attracts international buyers. It is to be hosted by KwaZulu-Natal for the next five years as of 2017.

Launched the East-3-Route which is a tourism route linking South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland. Seychelles is the latest entrant to this initiative

South African Express has launched a direct route between Durban and various SADC countries in order to increase tourism opportunities. The four times weekly route between Durban and Lusaka was launched in July 2012. The three times weekly route between Durban and Harare was launched in October 2012. The performance of both routes has yielded satisfactory load factors well above 60%.

Launched a Tourism Buddies programme which is aimed at providing care skills to frontline workers in restaurants, garages, and hotels. This was later adopted as a national programme.

Developed a master plan to guide the marketing, planning and development of the tourism sector in KwaZulu-Natal. This will ensure a coordinated approach in implementing interventions from both private and public sectors.

The KZN Airport strategy was formulated to attract more airlines into the province and strengthen existing relationships with current airlines amongst other things.

In order to reinforce promotional initiatives about the province, the provincial government has developed a provincial marketing strategy to penetrate the domestic and regional markets as well as enhancing international markets.

Revisits and new visits to the province key tourist attraction areas hinges on the constant maintenance and preservation of these sites. Strategies and initiatives to preserve these areas and upgrade infrastructure in key tourism areas are on track.

The Durban-KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Convention Bureau was developed to give the province a competitive edge when it comes to attracting MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and events) business. Since its inception, the Durban KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Convention Bureau has attracted more than 30 conferences whose economic impact is more than R1 billion.

Hosted and collaborated in hosting a number of high profile events such as the KwaZulu-Natal Top Gear Festival, the uGu Jazz Festival, uMgababa Festival, Hilton Arts Festival, Travel Agency Federation of India (TAFI) Annual Convention, Ecco Tours Academy and the Tourism Indaba. These events have resulted in the improvement of Durban such that its ICCA (International Congress and Convention Association) ranking moved from 231 in 2009 to 157 in 2011 and 150 in 2012; and KwaZulu-Natal secured for the second year in a row the Best Business Event Destination in Africa Award from the internationally acclaimed Business Travel Magazine.

Recently the route for direct flights between Durban and Harare was launched as part of promoting regional integration in this sector.[27]

The tourism sector in the province has done exceptionally well, in terms of promoting KwaZulu-Natal as a *premier* tourist destination in South Africa. The mandate of some of the national interactions have been a sequel of provincial mandates. For instance, there are embassies and ambassadors (national) and in Durban, there are numerous consulates that are being serviced as part of the provincial mandate. This approach has enhanced tourism as well as investments. Sergunin and Joenniemi (2014) explain being a host to foreign consular offices as a catalyst to establishing and sustaining international relations with counterparts. This advantage spills over to assist the citizens of the host in travelling arrangements. Direct flights from King Shaka International Airport to Ethiopia, London, Dubai, amongst others has served the province well. Since this inception, there has been a considerable improvement in the provincial tourism sector.

Although considerable progress has been made to enhance tourism in the province, according to Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, there still is a big room for improvement because the province still falls behind Western Cape and Gauteng province. It is

---

[27] KZN Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs
www.kznedtea.gov.za/index.php/component/content/article/2-uncategorised/138-unlocking-tourism-opportunities
Accessed: 24 May 2017

worth acknowledging that a contest exists between provinces in South Africa, they all are in search of development opportunities since they cannot depend entirely on the budget allocation. This means that provinces have to put on their best strategies, use their unique features in order gain to development opportunities, and engage effectively with their counter parts in other parts of the world. Essentially, thus identities are a key to effective paradiplomacy, the manner in which provinces market themselves and portray themselves to the outside world is a major factor for attracting tourism, trade and investments.

6.6.2. Trade and Investments

In order to attract Trade and Investment in the province, TIKZN uses the following unique features to position the province in the global space.

Proximity of ports-Durban (65% of imports and exports concentrated in the Durban Port); Richards Bay (Bulk Commodities, coal and wood chips)

Trade-General Cargo (palletized); Containerised cargo

According to an interviewee from Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal, the way the province sells its image "*is an effective marketing strategy that works for us. We show case sectors that have the potential for investments, based on who we targeting" We are usually recognised/identified as a having business etiquette, this is due to our principles and the manner in which we go about our business"*[28]

As an investment strategy, TIKZNis steered by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, which outlines the following as provincial investment priorities:

- Industrial development zones (Dube Trade Port., Richards Bay Industrial Development Zone)
- Special economic zones per district
- Maritime (Aquaculture and shipbuilding)
- Competitive advantages (Ports, strong manufacturing sector etc)
- Major mechanisms include sector based events, business updates, social media, national pavilions, strategic partner programmes e.g. Brand South Africa , international partnerships with embassy programmes e.g. Swiss Import Promotion Programme, business development in strategic markets, visitation handling , business retention programmes, trade development and promotion. Funding programmes highlighted (Technical Assistance Fund, BBBEE Financial Assistance Fund), airlift strategy participation etc.[29]

To reiterate economic development is of utmost importance to sub-national governments. The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy clearly indicates that provinces should seek development in every way possible and find other

---

[28] Interview with a respondent from Trade and Investment KZN (21 February 2017)
[29] Information transcribed from an interview with the Manager of Trade and Investment KZN Ms. Donne Kruger.
21/02/2017

avenues to generate funds. This is the primary interest of KwaZulu-Natal. According to McMillan (2012), there is the argument that in the United States of America, most subnational governments are involved in international relations for the purpose of economic returns. In pursuing their interest, they target foreign direct investments and find innovative ways to promote state exports.[30]

In interviews conducted for this study, the international relations stakeholders[31] in the province confirm that economic development and effective delivery of services form part of the interest the province is pursuing. That is to say, financial gains and opportunities drive sub-national governments to establish international partnerships. This interests exists in symmetry with the identities of the province. On the one hand, the identities of KwaZulu-Natal allows the province to succeed in pursuing its interests and shapes the interest of the province; while on the other hand, the interests of KwaZulu-Natal paves way for the province to develop strong identities that can be used to pursue provincial interests.

Given that Constructivists suggest that international actors can have multiple identities, KZN has displayed its identities in different ways. For tourism, the Zulu-Kingdom identity has worked wonders for the province. Most tourists visit the province interested in not only the tourist features but are also interested in exploring the Zulu culture. In addition to the Zulu-Kingdom, the two UNESCO world heritage sites (St. Lucia and Drakensberg) exceedingly promote tourism. To enhance exports, the province has to market their products effectively; exports contribute extensively to the provincial economy.

Although the Zulu-Kingdom is the primary identity of province, in relation to trade and investments the province cannot rely entirely on the use of the Zulu-Kingdom to attract investments. Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal has used certain features attract investors.

---

[30] McMillan (2012) did a study evaluating the foreign activities of 66 governors' of 25 US states. The study looked at these activities over a ten-year period from 1995-2005 and concluded that economic returns were the sole purpose of foreign activities.

[31] The international relations stakeholders in the province include Intergovernmental Unit (premier's office), Municipalities (COGTA), Government departments and Parastatals (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal and Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal)

The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy and Plan[32], stipulates that the interest of the province is to become the "Gateway to Africa and the World". To do so it has to stregnthen ties with the African continent as well as the world. This interest is reciprocates the identity of the province seeking to be viewed as a 'gateway to Africa and the world'. As discussed ealier,the province has been pro-active in ensuring that this interest and identity is realised. The recent initiative of direct flights from King Shaka International Airport to Dubai, Ethiopia, London and Harare, amongst others are an affirmation of such an identity. "*In the long run, the province intends to have more direct flights to defferent parts of the world and be open to hosting more consulates to be serviced by the province"* (Interviewee, June 2017).

Giving credit to paradiplomacy for the progress made, Mr Ngubane, the Chief Director Kwa-Zulu Provincial Government's Intergovernmental Unit has this to say: "*Gateway to Africa and the World*". The office gives credit to paradiplomacy for the progress made in this regard "*we devulge that the success we have made thus far in attracting tourism,trade and investment is through the partnerships we have reated over the year s with our counter parts. KwaZulu-Natal cannot be a "Gateway to Africa and the World" without any pardiplomatic relations we have with other countries, neither can we be recognised as a Zulu-Kingdom (this identity has played an incredible role in securing funding the preservation of our culture and language)[33]*.

As a straergy to showcase the province as the best investment destination in South Africa, the premier visited China and upon his return had delegates from China plegding to invest R89 billion into the coal industry. The Console Smelter Park will have a privately owned Coal fired power station which will be developed in three phases of 300MW each.The Chinese delegates joined the Premier and the Leader of Government Business MEC S. Zikalala in a celebratoty session to mark the first

---

[32] Provincial Growth and Development Strategy and Plan: 2012 to 2030, it is meant to "secure buy-In and ownership through a structured consultation process with all development partners. In this way it was hoped to mobilise and synchronise strategic plans and investment priorities in all spheres of government, state owned entities, business, higher education institutions, labour, civil society and all other social partners". This plan was finalised in April 2012.
[33] Interview with Mr. Ngubane (the Chief Director of Intergovernmental Unit in KwaZulu-Natal) 05 April 2017

phase of the construction of a CS Smelter Park in Ladysmith, KZN in December 2016 (The Citizen Newspaper, December 2016).This project is expected to create 8000 jobs in KwaZulu-Natal. Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal declared that this investment affirms the effectiveness of BRICS cooperation. Affirming the role of identities in securing KZN's interests, an interviewee from Trade and Investment KZN claimed that "*KZN is one among the 9 provinces in South Africa who may have secured an investment of this kind. Indeed our identity and unique attribues different from that of other provinces prove to be a success. Our province should be the first port of entry for tourists, invetstors and trade partners a true gateway to Africa and the world*"[34].

In May 2017, the province had a bilateral meeting with delegates from theInternational Monetary Fund. These delegates showed interest in assisting the province to successfully pursue its interest of being 'Gateway to Africa and the World". Welcoming the IMF team to KZN, the premier of the province said: "*We welcome the IMF team to KZN. This visit, which comes shortly after hosting successfully, the World Economic Forum on Africa, gives us the opportunity todemonstrate to the IMF why we were voted as the best government department in the whole country towards the end of last year as reported by the Mail & Guardian newspaper citing the 100 Top Companies Index.*"[35] Highlighting KZN's attractiveness as an investment destination, the premier said: "*Our message to the international investor community and financial institutions is that the KZN government is committed to ensuring prudent financial management. We are fully aware that a clean bill of health not only attracts investors, but it also improves the public image of government and the province.*"[36]

---

[34] Interview by Trade and Investment KZN
02 February 2017
[35]A statement made by the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal Mr. W. Mchunu
Image was provided by the KZN office of the Premier
Accessed 01 June 2017

[36] *Ibid*

The bilateral meeting between the IMF team and KZN technical team, meant to address ways in which the IMF can support iniitiatives and projects to promote KZN as a "Gateway to Africa and the World".

The identity of the province as a "Gateway for Africa and the World" has indeed bore fruit even in the advent of challenging economic climate in the country. In April 2017, the province managed to secure an investment worth R4.5 million into the Richards Bay Industrial Development Zone (RBIDZ)

According to the office of the premier, the MEC for Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs, Mr. Sihle Zikalala chaired a strategic partners signing ceremony, attended by members of the diplomatic corps representing New Zealand, Zimbabwe and Germany. According to KZN's Economic Development spokeperson "the partnership involving RBIDZ, Nyanza Light Metals and a New-Zealand based

company, Avertana Ltd heralds a new era and paves the way for the construction of titanium beneficiation plant".[37]

This investment is a huge success bearing in mind that the country was downgraded to a junk status[38] in April 2017.

6.7. The Outcomes of Paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal

It is a rather daunting task to assess the outcome of paradiplomatic activities in the province. A central response to this is that the engagement in international relations in the province is influenced at a higher level by the national government. However,

---

[37] Report compiled by the spokesperson of the premier Mr. Ndabezinhle Sibiya and Mr. Bongani Shisa Tembe

KZN Economic Development Spokesperson

The image was provided by the KZN office of the premier

Accessed 02 June 2017

www.kznonline.gov.za

[38] Junk Status means that a country is at a defaulting risk because it cannot pay back what it has borrowed, and this situation is not suitable for investors.

it is important not to overlook the hurdles that have impacted paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of these hurdles extend to other provinces in the country.

A distinctive challenge that was discussed extensively in Chapter 5, is the traditional outlook of foreign policy/international relations as a national prerogative. This is derived from the fact that foreign policies are mainly concerned with issues of national security. In 1996 when the South African Constitution was adopted, this view was still prevalent; hence, to date provinces are faced with structural challenges embedded in South Africa's constitution. Effectively the challenge posed by the constitutional framework in South Africa has an impact on the results/outcome of paradiplomacy in the province.

Additionally, the intense monitoring of international relations by the national government tends to limit provincial paradiplomacy. Provinces do not have the privilege to decide who they engage with since the national foreign policy provides that directive. As a way to ensure that all provinces comply, a specific directorate in DIRCO was established to coordinate international relations of every province; this includes approving international visits of provincial delegates. This approach by the national government is meant to ensure that the provinces do not contradict the national agenda. Emphasising this further is Happaerts, Van den Brande & Bruyninckx (2011), when they state that activities that subnational governments get involved in, internationally, are limited by constitutional frameworks put in place by central governments. Kincid (1993) also corroborates the preceding view by arguing that *'the law and language of international relations presuppose that nation-states are the legally competent actors in foreign* affairs'. While other countries such as Belgium and France have modified their law to include legislations on paradiplomacy yet South Africa's stand point on paradiplomacy remains unchanged because for South Africa the "*in foreign policy issues, the national government has to have a single national standpoint and agenda*"[39]

Instruments of paradiplomacy in the province of KwaZulu-Natal are MOUs. These types of agreements are not legally binding; this translates to lack of commitment to

---

[39] Interview with a key respondent-Official

the partnership by the parties' concerned. Most of these agreements indicate areas of specialisation but are quite general in terms of the action plan. For instance in the agreement KwaZulu-Natal has with Benguela, (Angola), the areas of interest include Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries, Transport, Logistics, among others. This agreement does not specify what is set out to be done in these areas of interest, what role will be played by each of the parties. The progress made thus far is limited to the donation of vehicles from Toyota in KwaZulu-Natal to Benguela and technical visits. This translates to lack of commitment and in most cases stagnation. Because the MOUs are not legally binding, governments can pull out from agreements anytime. Being at the receiving end of foreign investments also creates high levels of uncertainty. Lastly, since premiers decide upon provincial agendas, the survival of agreements is affected by the change of provincial governments and the change of premiers[40]. Thus officials in an incoming premier's office may feel that they *"cannot be held accountable for not carrying through previous agreements"*[41]

Paradiplomacy in South Africa does not have a significant impact or influence on the national government in terms of policies or agreements or national capacity, because the relations undertaken by provinces are informal and can be easily abandoned and not legally binding. Perhaps a special dispensation would be given in cases where a province is implementing an agreement that was initiated by the national government.

In the process of assessing the outcome of paradiplomacy, it is important to consider the factors discussed above and commend the province for the progress made thus far. This section presents the explicit results and benefits the province has gained since its active participation in paradiplomacy.

6.7.1. Economic Development

---

[40] This is evident in the varying levels of international activity in provinces; some premiers are more active than others. Paradiplomacy picked up reasonably in 2004 when Premier Sbu Ndebele came in and so far the province has engaged in paradiplomacy more actively when it was under the leadership of Premier Senzo Mchunu (August 2013- May 2016)
Interview conducted with a government official-April 2017
[41] Respondent in an interview-Government official

Since economic contribution is mentioned as one of the driving forces for paradiplomacy, it is important to point out that the province has gained economic returns from paradiplomacy. A handful of interviews conducted with officials in the province attest/concede that economic benefits are what motivates the province to engage in international relations with their counterparts. The province uses its identities as a lever to ensure international recognition and its features to attract investments, tourists and effective trade market.

Trade

Trade performance gained enormous momentum in KwaZulu-Natal. In the second quarter of 2016, the province recorded a surplus of R3.4 billion, in the third quarter it was R3.1 billion and the last quarter of 2016 it was recorded at R3billion[42]. This amounts to an annual trade surplus of R9.2 billion, this occurs in the mist of the struggle in other provinces such as Western Cape and Gauteng which recorded trade deficits in 2016. Based on the interview conducted, this improvement affirms the good work done by the provincial parastatal Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal. The exports and imports in the province corroborates South Africa's foreign policy agenda, which is the promotion of South-to-South relations and close relationship with BRIC countries. The trade was valued at R111.0 billion in 2014, improved to R116.9 billion in 2015 and R125 billion in 2016. Asia surfaced as the most preferred source market and largest destination for KZN's exported and imported goods, Europe and Africa come second and third to Asia. Bearing that Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal has to compete with more than 250 agencies throughout the world, it has done exceptionally well since its inception "*I therefore commend TIKZN for its commitment to creating an environment in the province conducive to business development and attractive to both local and international investors and traders"[43]*

6.7.2. International Recognition

---

[42] Ezomnotho: The KZN Quarterly Economic and Statistical Overview (March 2017) by KZN Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs.
[43] MEC for Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs in 2014

The province of KwaZulu-Natal through tourism, trade and investments has placed itself in the global map. By virtue of hosting the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference (COP17) in 2011, the province stimulated new interests to be seen as a model for 'greener' and 'clean'[44] economy in Africa. The event is seen as a confirmation that Durban (KwaZulu-Natal) has an outstanding status internationally and within the continent and an avenue to foster new partnerships. For instance, KwaZulu-Natal was approached at this conference to be part of 'The Climate Group'. This was a stepping-stone towards becoming a climate change model for the African continent; KZN and Western Cape are the only sub-national governments in Africa to be part of 'The Climate Group'[45]. Hosting this conference strengthened KZN's status globally.

Based on the researcher's communication with some of KwaZulu-Natal's counterparts, the province has done exceptionally well since 1994. They view the province as the most reliable and effective trading partner "*the friendly culture of the province makes it easy for us to identity projects we want to invest in……….most importantly the diverse nature (largest concentration of Indians) of the province tells us that the province is open to all and is indeed a gateway for us to enter not only the province but the African continent*". When asked about the identity of the province, the respondents indicated they have myriad reasons for their preference, but what is outstanding is the culture and norms that influence the conduct of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal.

---

[44] Green economy is regarded as a "system of economic activities related to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services that result in improved human well-being over the long term, while not exposing future generations to significant environmental risks or ecological scarcities" (Department of Environmental Affairs)
www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/greeneconomy/about

[45] The Climate Group is an international non-profit organisation with offices in Beijing, London, New Delhi and New York. This group is to promote understanding of climate change issues and promote auctioning climate change impact management plans at that level of government. It also provides a platform whereby healthy discussion and debates on various aspects of Climate Change Management by various sub-national governments (KZN department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs)
www.environment.gov.za/site/default/files/docs/kzn_nccrp_progress_report.pdf

The respondents purport that:

> *"the use of Zulu Kingdom as part of the provincial identity sets the province apart from the other eight. It draws our attention as potential investors and trade partners. Although we do not specifically invest in the Zulu culture, we are drawn to the province by its identity to ultimately unleash the potential areas of investment. The Zulu culture is our first attraction to the province, more so because we are a people who uphold our own culture and we seek to preserve our customs and tradition in every way possible. Culture, tradition and customs are very important attributes to us and our people, we therefore relate easily with communities that uphold cultural heritage elsewhere in the world"[46]*

The respondents confirm that in a highly competitive global environment, it is important to have an identity that sets you aside from other competitors. That competitive advantage determines the paradiplomacy. KwaZulu-Natal opted to use the Zulu Kingdom as their identity alongside their resources as their competitive advantage; this has proven to be a success because the province is identified internationally as the Zulu-Kingdom; an attribute that other provinces such as Western Cape, Gauteng, North West and the Eastern Cape do not have. In this regard, KZN proves to have a solid identity because the manner in which they portray themselves to the outside world is similar to how they are viewed "They are a Zulu Kingdom and through this identity have created a favourable environment for tourism, trade and investments". This is how the province will realise its vision and interest for sustainable development with an internationally acclaimed image.

Serginin and Joenniemi (2014) prop the preceding view by highlighting that the success of paradiplomacy as a development strategy in Russia's Arctic Sub-national governments, is as a result of the public relations campaigns the region is actively involved in. The Russian Arctic region engages in public relations campaigns to strengthen its identity/image as '*creative and innovative*' region as opposed to a '*remote and depressed*' region. Russia's Arctic subnational governments are aware of the competition for foreign investments with the Northern region; hence they opted to create a solid international image that can attract investors "*they arrange exhibitions, hold so-called cooperation festivals, take part in international fairs….."*

---

[46] Interview- Respondent

(Sergunin and Joenneimi, 2014:8). All these initiatives are a strategy to solidify the identity of the region as 'creative and innovative'.

6.8. Conclusion

This chapter addressed research questions two and three respectively. It also presented a detailed analysis of the primary data collected from the interviews with research participants. Factors influencing paradiplomacy in the province were discussed as well as various international activities the province is involved in. This chapter included a contextual analysis of the theoretical framework through it application and expression the identities and interests that the province portrays in its engagement in international relations.

Importantly, the chapter also expressed and affirmed several arguments that the study seeks to advance. For instance, in its interview of some key players in the provincial government, the chapter was able to show that the ambiguity that surrounds the engagement of the province in paradiplomacy was also a concern for the provincial officials. In spite of this however, the province can be said to have developed some important international presence in the field of agriculture, tourism, education, technology and skills development.

The above further attest to another important argument in the study that the engagements of provinces in paradiplomatic activities are solely driven for the purpose of development and improving their service delivery capabilities. That is to say that paradiplomatic activities in the KwaZulu-Natal advance the development strategy of the province. The specific areas of cooperation to reiterate are development-oriented and address development challenges the province is faced with.

Due to a paucity of data, the chapter was unable to give concrete statistics as to the impacts of the different cooperative agreements that the province has. This notwithstanding, the chapter demonstrated that paradiplomacy evolved positively in the province since 1996, and the province has benefited enormously from it. The

different and ongoing partnership projects that the province has are an affirmation of this.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

Central to this chapter is the aim of delineating the study's findings, a sum of the study's major arguments and some recommendations based on the study's analysis. The chapter begins with an expression of its key findings by making a synopsis of results based on the three major questions that guided the study. The reason for adopting such a route is underscored by the fact that the research questions succinctly encapsulate the study's aims and objectives. Additionally, by expressing the study's findings through a review of its major questions, the chapter will concurrently provide a summary of the different chapters of the study. The study's recommendation and a conclusion will bring the chapter to a close.

7.2 The Legal and Policy Frameworks of Paradiplomacy in South Africa

What is the legal framework under which subnational governments in South Africa and specifically the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government engages in relations with other actors outside South Africa?

The study experienced a peculiar challenge with regards to the ambiguity of the constitutional parameters under which provincial governments in South Africa are supposed to engage in external relations *ergo* paradiplomacy. In spite of this however, the study was able to firmly establish that *de jure*, the South African Constitution of 1996 clearly stipulates that an engagement in international relations is a prerogative of the central government[47]. In the same vein however, there are sections of the South African 1996 constitution that are indicative of a lot of areas where the national and the provincial governments share competencies concurrently. Arguably, these sections of the constitution can even be interpreted as explicitly suggesting a sharing of power.

---

[47] Chapter 14 of the South African Constitution (231) *"The negotiating and signing of all international agreements is the responsibility of the national executive"*

For instance in chapter 2, where this study's' analysis of literature was done, decentralization as an impetus for paradiplomacy was an important discourse that came to the fore. Decentralization as a system of governance suggests a structure of government in which powers are distributed between the different spheres of government. More to the point, decentralization is an integral aspect of the South African 1996 constitution. Van Zyl (2003) concurs that the rationale behind decentralization in South Africa is underscored by the constitutional stipulation that all spheres of government should share power in a concurrent, equal and interrelated manner. That is to say, "in the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelate". Burger (2011) goes a step further to suggest that the schedule 5 of the constitution makes a provision for provinces to be autonomous to some degree.

Again, in chapter 5 there was an attempt to establish if the South African state operates on a Unitary or a Federal system of government. This was pertinent because as suggested above, the constitution can be interpreted as indicating a system that almost places the provincial governments and the central government at par with regards to power. However, another section of the constitution stipulates the authority of the central government over sub-national entities. In Section 44 of Chapter 4 of the South African Constitution of 1996, it is specified that the National Assembly has the power to amend the Constitution and to pass legislation. This stipulation pertains to any matter and this includes the functional areas listed in Schedule 4 of the Constitution, and excluding those listed in Schedule 5. Essentially, the National sphere of government has the constitutional authority to determine the involvement of provinces in Schedule 4 functional areas and can even intervene in Schedule 5 functional areas.

Put in another way, the central government determines what competency or power a province can exert. Essentially, while the constitution would stipulate that engagements in international relations are a prerogative of the central government, provincial governments are allowed to engage in international relations to a certain degree.

In accordance to the above, the study's finding shows that *de jure*, provinces can engage in international relations, insofar as they do not infringe on the central government's constitutional competence and as long as they are in line with the country's foreign policy. As an official from the office the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal affirms during an interview that:

> *Although the Constitution has no direct section indicating what the provinces are out to do in terms of international relations, there is a section on mandates, where provinces are urged to engage in any other matter that will promote provincial interest and development. This section on provincial mandates is interpreted as granting permission to engage in international relations. This is so because international relations are solely for the development of the province. It is also important to note that in the constitution there is nothing that hinders the province from engaging in international relations*

Furthermore, in both chapters 2 and 5, the centrality of South Africa's policy as an underpinning rationale or as a guide for the engagement of subnational entities in paradiplomacy was established. This was a particularly important point as the study was able to find that while the South African constitution gives the country a quasi-federal dimension, the engagements of subnational entities in paradiplomacy has not deviated from the country's overall foreign policy trajectory. With regards to the constitutional ambiguity that generally surrounds the practice of paradiplomacy in most countries, Tavares (2016:63) submission aligns with the view that this study also holds. According to Tavares, "when constitutional texts present no clear instructions on how to proceed, some states have adopted local legislation to overcome any legal vacuum, some subnational governments rely simply on practice and experience, guided by common sense and normative boundaries".

Through its assessment of the different foreign relations of provinces in the country, the study found that all engagements in international relations are solely with countries that South Africa already has an existing relationship with. A case in point is the Western Cape Province which this study argues has one of the most developed models of paradiplomacy in the country. In spite of the province being the only province not headed by the ANC, the centrality of South Africa's foreign policy still takes precedence even above and beyond party differences.

Therefore, due to a constitutional ambiguity, and the centrality of South Africa's government; provincial engagements in international relations has been in the form of twining partnerships and agreements which are usually bilateral trade and development agreements aimed at promoting the development of the province and concurrently improving its service delivery competence. As chapter 6 of this study exhibited from its interviews of KwaZulu-Natal's provincial government officials and its examination of documents, all the province's international affairs takes the form of corporative agreements and the province has about 44 or those active or inactive.

The above further affirms the important finding that the study made is that while a constitutional ambiguity exists with regards to the way or the extent to which SNGs are supposed to engage in international relations, de facto, sub regional entities still actively pursue international relations insofar as it is for development purposes. A similar affirmation runs through an array of literature on paradiplomacy. In Tavares (2016:63), in particular, it is recorded that:

> regardless of the internal mandate a subnational government may carry to operate internationally – either explicit or absent – some common characteristics are discernible. First, no subnational government holds any exclusive prerogative connected to defense or hardcore external affairs. These competences are either restricted to the sovereign state (e.g. Brazil or the United States) or split between the national and subnational governments. Second, the foreign competencies of subnational governments are generally a spill over of their internal competence (i.e., local government carry out their competencies both within and outside their boundaries). Foreign affairs are therefore not an autonomous competence per se but an instrument or means to implement public policies

The view expressed by Tavares above attests to the idea that runs through the study that the engagement of subnational entities in international relations does not seek to impugn or interfere with the central government's competence. These engagements, to say again, are engagements that seek to promote the interests of regions that would otherwise have been overlooked by a central government.

7.2 The interests and Identities of the KwaZulu-Natal Province in Paradiplomacy

What are the interests and identities of KwaZulu-Natal province in international relations activities?

The centrality of the South African national government in shaping the interests of the provincial government was firmly established in this regard. The reoccurring leitmotif of paradiplomacy as a tool for development was another important finding in this study. Post 1994, the country's interest was articulated as that of promoting the socio-economic development of the country with the aim of translating this into a better life for all its citizens. While the study accedes that the interests of the country continues to evolve with the different presidents and the foreign policy outlooks, there is an affirmation of an overarching interest of promoting development in the country. That is to say, every engagement in international relations by the country is done with an overt and conscious intention to better the lot of the country.

This interest is further captured by the different policy documents (GEAR, RDP, NDP) that aim to aid in South Africa's development. Interest is thus pronounced in the contrasting ways in which subnational entities pursue their development. As the study found that while the South African constitution can be described as being elastic with respect to the competence it allots to sub regional entities in the pursuit of international relations, there is the nuanced supposition that these engagements in international relations are to enable these different subnational entities to build and enhance their service delivery capabilities. This argument of paradiplomacy as essentially a tool aimed at promoting the welfare of citizens is propped by the supposition in Tavares (2016:41) that subnational engagement in international relations is "generally not an end in itself but a means to strengthen local competences and local programmes (such as on healthcare, education, or public safety) by having an arm outside. Paradiplomacy is therefore Janus-face – facing inward and outward at the same time"

As Nganje (2013) would also affirm, South Africa's foreign policy trajectory post-apartheid (which gives shape to the paradiplomatic activities of subnational entities)

is an expression of the country's economic and developmental interests. A similar affirmation is found in the statement by the Directorate of International Affairs and Cooperation that the country's foreign policy is shaped by a commitment to promote the country's economic development through regional and international co-operation in an interdependent world (DIRCO, 2010: 7).

In chapter six of this study, it was particularly found that the interest of the province is derived from both the national government and from the province's corporate identity. In South Africa, provinces pursue their own interests but they also receive the directive from the national government. The chapter/data confirmed that identities of KwaZulu-Natal plays an essential role in securing international partnerships. With its strong identity, the province has been a good competitor amongst the other eight provinces in South Africa. The identity is an essential component used to pursue interest; Griffiths, O'Callaghan and Roach (2008) alluded that the interest of an actor be it material or immaterial is derived from identities and the manner in which an actor portrays itself to others.

Both the identities and interests of KwaZulu-Natal exist are interdependent and the province is recognized as an international actor amongst its counterparts. The active involvement of KwaZulu-Natal in paradiplomacy can be credited to its identity as a Zulu Nation. The province capitalized on its identity to ensure that it stands out among its competitors. Through the interaction of KwaZulu-Natal with other sub-national governments, the identity of the province strengthened. The interest of the province complements the identity. The interplay between identities and interests is further substantiated by the view found in Tavares (2016) that regions with a distinct cultural and linguistic identity have been known to use this in seeking resources ergo to achieve their interest.

7.3 The Paradiplomatic Activities of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government

What are the various international relations activities undertaken by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government with its counterparts?

The various international activities of the province falling within the scope of this study began in 1996 with the Baden-Württemberg (Germany) agreement. This agreement is still active to date. The activities involve signing international agreements with subnational governments across borders (Africa and abroad). International visits and meetings have been conveyed, receiving international delegates in the province, joining transnational networks for subnational governments such as the 'The Climate Group', hosting international events such as COP 17 (Conference of parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change). The province is also a host of more than 10 consulates (Spain, US, Nigeria, Mozambique, Lesotho, Portugal, Germany etc.). Analyses of the activities of KwaZulu-Natal found that the province targets Western countries and countries in the South. This is so because they seek investments and the targeted countries have the potential to invest in the province.

Kuznetsov (2015) discusses six channels that subnational governments can adopt to enhance paradiplomacy. In his description of the channels, he submits that they are most suitable activities to measure the active involvement of subnational governments in paradiplomacy. [48]These channels are:

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

In accordance to the above channels, KwaZulu-Natal conforms to most of these as paradiplomatic activities. The province established a provincial committee responsible for strengthening paradiplomacy and ensuring that there is synergy across all stakeholders (departments, municipalities and the office of the premier).

---

[48] Kuznetsov used these channels to determine the participation of Alberta in international relations. He found that all these channels are applicable and are used by Alberta in paradiplomacy.

Although the province does not have permanent offices in other countries or provinces, they however are a host to a substantial number of consulates. Hosting international delegations and making international visits are a common practice in the province[49]. KwaZulu-Natal is an active participant in international exhibitions and forums. The acclaimed International forum on Elite Sports was hosted for the first time in the African continent. It was held in August 2017 in the City of Durban.[50]

These channels sum up the international activities KwaZulu-Natal is involved in and play a crucial role in enhancing provincial paradiplomacy. Additionally, Tavares further suggests that in the pursuit of their interests, subnational entities have a menu of options through which they are allowed to pursue these interests. Take for instance the use of Cooperation Agreement (AKA Memorandum of Agreement or Cooperative Agreement). According to Tavares (2016:64) a Cooperation Agreement:

> is a biding document outlining the cooperative terms of two entities to work in partnership on certain listed projects. Both the agreed responsibilities of the partners and the benefits of each party will be listed. As a part of the agreement, there is usually a list of binding terms that makes the partnership a cohesive unit and often there is an obligation of funds attached to certain terms in the agreement

Most of the province's paradiplomatic activities takes the form of such cooperative agreements.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter through its review of the three major questions of the research started with an intention to delineate the major findings of the study. From the review of the first question, the findings show that there is a certain ambiguity that surrounds the constitutional stipulation of how subnational entities are supposed to engage in international relations. Engagements in international relations by provinces in South Africa have nonetheless taken place under the purview of the country's constitution and in line with the country's overall foreign policy trajectory. This section thus firmly affirms that the developmental rationale behind paradiplomacy has enabled

---

[49] Official in the premiers office confirmed that even when there was little international activity, welcoming or hosting delegations has been a common practice. Since 1996, there is a record of international visits undertaken by officials in KwaZulu-Natal for various reasons.

[50] This is one amongst a myriad events hosted in the province. See Chapter Six, page:

provinces to engage in paradiplomatic activities without infringing on the power of the central government which has the constitutional and sole prerogative of the country's engagement in foreign relations. Similarly, in its review of the second research question, the study also found that the interests and identities of KwaZulu-Natal as a province in its engagement in international relations are derived from the national interests and identities. So, while the province of KwaZulu-Natal might portray its unique Zulu identity, its interests do not run counter to and it still remains aligned to the country's overall foreign policy interests. The review of the last question was an expression of the different international partnerships that the province has.

7.5 General Conclusion

This study was set up to highlight the importance of paradiplomacy in the South African context. It gave credence to the fact that sub-national governments in South Africa are actively involved in international relations. The study focused on KwaZulu-Natal as a case study to evaluate the drivers and processes of paradiplomacy. The choice of a single case study was to get insight into the processes of paradiplomacy and how factors like identities and interests (factors unique to each province) contribute to the growth of paradiplomacy.

The pertinence of interests and identities in the way paradiplomacy is conducted is particularly pronounced in the constructivist theoretical framework adopted by the study. Essentially, the theoretical framework called attention to the role played by identities and interests in paradiplomacy, and this was applied to the case of KwaZulu-Natal. The study also gave an in-depth analysis of the Constitutional framework in relation to paradiplomatic activities in South Africa.

This study consists of seven chapters, all of which respond to the main aim of this study, which is to explore the role of identities and interests in paradiplomacy in South Africa. Chapter One outlined three research questions. In-depth analysis of findings and responses to the research questions were discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.

As a catalyst to understanding/validating research questions, chapter two extensively reviewed literature on international relations undertaken by subnational governments in different parts of the world. It included the various contexts of paradiplomacy in relation to the type of government being federal or unitary. Major arguments of the chapter were that much emphasis is placed on how globalization is considered an important factor that gives the impetus for the evolution and growth of paradiplomacy. The chapter called attention to the fact that many scholars placed paradiplomacy in neo-liberal and historical institutionalism frameworks. This gap paved a way for the subsequent chapter to analyse paradiplomacy using constructivism as a theoretical base; the purpose thereof being to emphasize the role played by identities and interests in international relations. Chapter Four presented a detailed research methodology adopted for the study, it gave an in-depth description of the methods used to collect data, and analyse it.

Since 1994, subnational governments in South Africa have entered the highly competitive global market as actors. Although South Africa has features of both a federal and unitary state, paradiplomacy is solely for development purposes and this reflect a unitary state approach. Paradiplomacy is most federal states is used a strategy in search of statehood/sovereignty.

Over the last 23 years of democracy, provinces have increasingly engaged in international relations across the world. Despite the monolithic nature of the South African Constitution, sub-national governments have managed to maneuver around the legalities of paradiplomacy in South Africa. Although they are not permitted to engage in international relations, provinces are also not prohibited from engaging in such activities. Sub-national governments are required/encouraged to seek other avenues to grow their provincial economies, and paradiplomacy has been the most effective and preferred strategy for development. Through paradiplomacy, provinces have been able to promote provincial exports, assist local businesses to grow internationally, and attract investments. The study found that in KwaZulu-Natal, the provincial leader determines the level of participation in paradiplomacy. There are some premiers that have been less effective, others not interested in furthering or carrying out the relations established by their predecessor. This finding gives

credence to Kuznetsov's submission 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" (Kuznetsov, 2015:107).

It is worth noting that paradiplomacy started relatively late in South Africa (compared to other parts of the world), yet the progress made and the pace through which provinces are moving is commendable, Nganje (2013) calls it South Africa's "developmental paradiplomacy".

Through an extensive review of literature, it is explicit that paradiplomacy yields different outcomes in different areas. In some instances, national policies are often adjusted to accommodate paradiplomacy. In South Africa, national policies have not been influenced by paradiplomacy neither have they been adjusted to accommodate paradiplomacy instead the national government has intensified the monitoring process, through the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO). Instead the foreign policy in South Africa influences paradiplomacy. A special directorate within the Department of International Relations and Cooperation is tasked with coordinating the international relations of every province. These adjustments are intrinsic to the process of paradiplomacy, the watchdog position taken by the national government on paradiplomacy is to ensure synergy between the country's foreign policy and paradiplomacy, and they have to be in accord. To date, only one diplomatic blunder has been experienced in the Gauteng province with the Tshwane mayor in 2016.

The study provided an in-depth analysis of the involvement of sub-national governments in international relations. Three research questions are responded to, first: What is the legal framework under which subnational governments in South Africa and specifically the Kwazulu-Natal provincial government engages in relations with other actors outside South Africa? The second question: What are the interests and identities of KwaZulu-Natal province in international relations activities? Lastly: What are the various international relations activities undertaken by the Kwazulu-Natal Provincial government with its counterparts?

One of the major arguments of this study is that identities and interests are essential components of paradiplomacy. This argument was augmented by the use of Alexander Wendt's constructivist approach to international relations. Wendt argues that the identities of actors in international relations shapes the existence of relations. This means that the identity of an actor can alter its relations with other actors. Responding to the first research question, Chapter 6 demonstrated that the identities and interests of KwaZulu-Natal are reciprocal and interdependent. These two factors have a symmetric relationship. Furthermore, qualitative data (derived from interviews) revealed that KwaZulu-Natal has a strong identity as a Zulu-Kingdom, and has used its identity to pursue its interest internationally, and through interaction the province generated multiple identities. The identities of the province distinguishes the province from the other eight in South Africa. Through Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal and Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, the province is well recognized and increasingly involved in paradiplomacy.

The difference between sub-national governments in a federal state and a unitary state is that, they pursue international relations for different reasons. Sub-national governments in federal states seek legitimacy and sovereignty. As Soldatos (1990) highlighted that international relations undertaken by sub-national governments in federal states cannot be avoided and will stay on for many years. He argues that paradiplomacy "will continue to pose problems for federal governments' foreign policy in terms of harmonization and global coherence" (Soldatos, 1990:51). Conflict between the federal government and subnational governments is inevitable where sovereignty is in question, for instance, the Tatarstan sub-national government has over the years sought to be recognized as a sovereign state independent of the Russian federation. This federal unit pursues relations with sovereign states (state-to-state relations) and has in many occasions distanced itself from the utterances and decisions taken by the Russian President Vladimir Putin (Sharafutdinova, 2003). Another instance, Catalonia has recently declared independence from Spain. Catalans have over the years sought to preserve their culture and heritage through paradiplomacy, due to their dissatisfaction with Spanish government in preserving

their institutions, culture and heritage. Paradiplomacy has been the driving force behind their search for independence.

In the case of a unitary state such as South Africa, sub-national governments deduce paradiplomacy as a development strategy. The findings of the study confirm that the international activities in the province involve signing partnership agreements through MOUs, strengthening the identity of the province internationally, and in some cases KwaZulu-Natal cooperates with international organisations such as The Climate Group, this helps to consolidate the identity of the province.

The findings of this study also uncovered that, even in cases where subnational governments are not seeking statehood, their activities are driven by their identities. In other words, identities are not only symbolic to subnational governments in federal states such as Russia, even in unitary states paradiplomacy is informed by the construction of identities. South Africa has nine provinces, which all seeks alternative ways for provincial development, as a result of the limited resources in the world, they depend entirely on their identities to be recognized as preferred investment and tourist destination.

Using the framework of KwaZulu-Natal, most of the investments secured by the province and the evolving tourism is as a result of the strong identities the province has. External partners confirmed that the identity of KwaZulu-Natal stands out and makes it the most preferred province compared to the other provinces in South Africa. Paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal is denoted through trade, economic cooperation, tourism and educational and cultural programmes/projects. The transcription of data from interviews confirmed that in KwaZulu-Natal, the surmise of financial benefits and recognition is what pushes the province to pursue international partnerships. Although not all international partnerships have had financial benefits for the province, the province has gained international recognition.

Additionally, the identities and interests of subnational governments do not supplant/supersede the national identity and interest, instead paradiplomacy is just an avenue for provinces to enter the global market and connect with their

counterparts in the international system. Neither does it undermine the sovereignty of the country.

7.6 Further Research

Based on this study, it is clear that paradiplomacy in South Africa is fast evolving and further research needs to be done to cover all aspects of paradiplomacy in South Africa. It is rather important that research be conducted focusing on specific provinces because a case study of KwaZulu-Natal yielded case-specific findings that cannot be easily applied to other provinces. Although provinces might engage in paradiplomacy for developmental purposes, the approach and mechanisms are different. The theoretical approach adopted in this study has the potential of being used in other cases, in exploring the identities and interests of other provinces. More so provinces with little international activities such as the North West and Northern Cape can be pursued in an effort to explore their paradiplomatic strategies. Comparative studies using constructivism as a theoretical base can be conducted to evaluate the strength/role of subnational identities and interests in federal states and in unitary states.

Furthermore, studies can be conducted focusing on how paradiplomacy is affected when the province or a city is under the leadership of an opposition party. For instance, Paradiplomacy in the City of Tshwane metro Municipality was affected due to the Democratic Alliance leadership in that municipality. In some cases paradiplomacy stalls when the provincial government is under the leadership of an opposition party, this might be due to the fact that the provincial leadership chooses not to pursue the agenda of the national government. Such studies need to be done to clarify these issues in South Africa.

7.7 Recommendations

As a recommendation to provincial governments, the study suggests that there be a strong leadership committee for the advancement of paradiplomacy in provinces. KwaZulu-Natal established this committee and held its first conference in November 2017. Other provinces can adopt this to ensure that paradiplomacy is accelerated

even when there is a change in leadership. This recommendation is substantiated by the fact that this study cited the Province of Western Cape as a model for paradiplomacy in the country. This view is also shared by Tavares (2016) who describes the Western Cape as arguably the subnational government that holds the best track record with regards to paradiplomacy not only in the country but on the continent. According to Tavares (2016:224), "in 1995, right after the first democratic elections of 1994 in South Africa, the Western Cape established its first body to deal with international relation – the Directorate of International Relations in the Premier's Department – with the goal of promoting the province in the international arena"

The argument takes a different trajectory in Nganje (2013) as he recommends that the provinces cooperate and have international relations forums to ensure synergy and exchange of ideas that might accelerate paradiplomacy. These forums would allow provinces to share knowledge, lessons learnt and best practices (Nganje, 2013: 250). Tavares (2016) lends his voice to the need for some form of corporation and coordination by reporting that the abundance of evidence of subnational entities engaging in paradiplomatic activities shows that there exists some form of capacity among these subnational governments that guides their engagement in international relations. He however cautions that a lot of these subnational entities "still have fragile paradiplomacy structures" (:229). The fact that paradiplomacy is relatively a new phenomenon in South Africa , "subnational diplomacy bodies compete, from a non-advantageous perspective, with more traditional departments over resources and political oxygen and thus often lack the financial and personnel resources to properly implement major initiatives" (ibid).

As a consequence, a recommendation that can thus be derived is that more resources and better policies need to be put in place to ensure that paradiplomacy in South Africa should continue to reach its developmental end optimally. The first step in achieving this, in agreement with Tavares, is the need for more capacity building. In the sense that subnational personnel involved in paradiplomacy need more training. According to Tavares (2016:230), "paradiplomats are still poorly trained, have no specific career track, and only a few universities and policy making research institutes provide any major training on the topic". Such a situation not only

mean a lack of capacity, it also points to a lack of knowhow in some cases by subnational personnel and this can further lead to a conflation and confusion of mandate. By providing training and capacity building to paradiplomats, paradiplomacy would not only achieve its optimal benefits, it would also lead to the avoidance of a near catastrophic incidence like the visit of the Johannesburg Mayor to Taiwan.

As second step in making paradiplomacy more efficient is the recommendation that the national government should set clear guideline for paradiplomacy in South Africa. While amending the constitution to this effect should be considered on the long term; as is, the national government should set policies and guidelines that state clear parameters under which subnational governments can engage in international relations. Figure 1.0 below will be used to express practical criteria that a policy on paradiplomacy may look like. Additionally or alternatively, clauses or amendments can be made to the Constitution that should be explicit on how paradiplomacy should be conducted and this will ensure that provincial international activities are recognized by the constitution. The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) should be vocal and more active in ensuring that the national government caters for the interests of provinces.

Figure 1.7 What a Policy of Paradiplomacy Should Contain

White Paper on Paradiplomacy

- Should align with overall governmental priorities
- should include expected gains to the government and other impacts
- clearly state what resources will be used to pursue the project (includes financial resources, human resources and political will)
- there should be a legal component to this document. In the sense that the document should contain juridical basis that allows subnational entities to engage in international relations
- The capacity of the different personnel or subnational institutions that can engage in paradiplomacy should be clearly defined and a way to measure performance should be included
- The external performance legacy of the partnering subnational entity should be able to be assessed (what is the performance track record and motivation for the foreign partners that will be involved?)

Adapted from Tavares (2016:119)

More to that, sub-national governments have proven to be more effective than national governments in areas such as environmental issues, education, health care etc. providing a clear cut legal parameters for paradiplomacy in South Africa and allowing sub-national government to have certain responsibilities in that regard can be very effective. This argument is particularly in alignment with a central theme that runs through an array of studies on paradiplomacy that suggest that the demands of development in most case gives subnational entities a thrust to engage in international relations so as to better the lot of their constituents. For instance, the Tavares views paradiplomacy as promoting the impacts of decentralization in the sense that more subnational entities are affording the opportunity to pursue avenues that will provide more resources for their service deliver competence. A legislation that seeks to promote this will in a manner of speaking strengthen the practice of paradiplomacy and concomitantly aid in building the capacity of subnational entities in international relations.

Take for instance the Environmental paradiplomacy practiced in Sao Paulo. The efficiency and effectiveness of the practice of environmental paradiplomacy in Sao Paulo has been such that that it has influenced the national government to adjust policies on environmental issues. Legalizing paradiplomacy in South Africa could also create a line of communication between the central and provincial governments on issues that might otherwise be overlooked or not a priority for the central government. Essentially, the positive attributes that can be derived from the legalization or the development of a policy guideline for paradiplomacy in South African cannot be overemphasized

Finally, with regards to the constitutional ambiguity that has surrounded the engagement of provinces in international relations, this study would suggest that a clear policy document which stipulates the competence of subnational entities with regards to their engagement in international relations need to be produce. This is of particular pertinence so as to prevent the situation like that of the Tshwane Mayor's visit to Taiwan; an incident that goes counter to the country's "One China" policy. This study also encountered a dearth of literature on the topic of paradiplomacy. It essentially recommends that there should be an engagement in more academic

discourse on the issue of paradiplomacy and its practice in Africa and particularly in South Africa.

REFERENCES

Adem, S., 2002, *Anarchy, Order and Power in World Politics*, Ashgate, Hampshire

Ajam, T. & Aron J., 2007, 'Fiscal Renaissance in a Democratic South Africa'. *Journal of African Economies,* Vol.16, No.5, Pp 745-781

Alagappa, M, 1998, *Rethinking security: a critical review and appraisal of the debate*, in Alagappa, Muthiah. (ed.), *Asian Security Practice: material and ideational influences*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), Pp 27- 65

Alexander C., 2013, 'Sub-state Public Diplomacy in Africa: The case of the Scottish Government with Malawi', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy,* Vol. 10, No.1, 70-86

Alexandrov, M., 2003, 'The Concept of State Identity in International Relations: A theoretical analysis' *Journal of international Development and Cooperation,* Vol.10, No.1, Pp 33-46

Anthony, R., Tembe P., and Gull O., 2015, *South Africa's Changing Foreign Policy in a Multi-polar World: the influence of China and other emerging powers*, Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University

Askerov, A., 2015, *Historical Dictionary of the Chechen Conflict*, Rowman and Littlefield Publication, UK

Barros, M., 2010, 'Emancipatory Management: The Contradiction Between Practice and Discourse' Journal of Management Inquiry,Vol.19, No.2,Pp 166-184

Barston, R. P., 1988, *Modern Diplomacy.* London: Longman Inc.

Bayrakli E., 2012 'Turkish Foreign Policy in Transition:The Emergence of Kantian Culture in Turkish Foreign Policy (A holistic Constructivist Approach)' PhD Thesis, University of Wien.

Beck, R.B., 2014, *The History of South Africa*, 2nd Edition, Greenwood publication, California.

Bogdam, R. & Taylor, S., 1975, *Introduction to Qualitative Research,* John Wiley & Sons Publishers, New York

Brown K., 1993, 'Descriptive and Normative Ethics:Class, context and Confidentiality for Mothers with HIV' *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol. 36, No.3, Pp 195-302

Bull, H., 1977, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in the World Politics*, Columbia University Press

Burchill, S., 2005, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Burger, J., 2001, 'Closing the gap: service delivery by regional government in South Africa', *Politeia*, Vol.20, No.3

Burns, N. & Grove S.K., 1993, *The Practice of Nursing Research Conduct, Critique and Utilization,* 2nd ed. W.B Saunders Publishers, Philadelphia

Bursens, P. and Deforche, J., 2010, 'Going beyond paradiplomacy? Adding historical institutionalism to account for regional foreign policy competences', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 5 (1–2), Pp151–171.

Carlsnaes, W., 1986. 'Ideology and Foreign Policy: Problems of Comparative Conceptualisation', Basil Blackwell Publishers, Oxford

Cornago, N., 2010, 'On the normalization of sub-state diplomacy'. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 5, Pp 11–36.

Darke, P., Shanks, G., & Broadbent, M., 1998, 'Successfully Completing Case Study Research: combining rigour, relevance and pragmatism' Information Studies Journal, Vol.8, No.4, Pp 273-290

Denzin, N., (1988) *The research act.* Reviewed edition. New York, McGraw-Hill

Dessler, D., 1989, 'What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate', *International Organization* 43 (Summer 1989), Pp 441-70

Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2011, 'Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu', White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy

Dobson, P. J., 1999, (1–3 December), *Approaches to theory use in interpretive case studies – a critical realist perspective. Paper presented at the Australasian Conference on Information System*, Wellington, New Zealand

Duchacek, I., 1990, *Perforated sovereignties: towards a typology of new actors in international relations*, In: Michelmann, H.J and Soldatos, P. (eds). *Federalism and international relations: the role of subnational units*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1–33.

Engine W.P., 2012, 'The Future of Sub-State Public Diplomacy' Perspectives, *Innovations in Public Diplomacy,* Vol.2

http://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-a-003930372

Falleti, T., 2005, 'A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective' *American Political Science Review*, Vol.99, No.3, Pp 327-346.

Fashagba. J., & McMahon, E., 2015, *Conclusion:Subnational Legislatures and Governance in Africa,* In Fashagba J, LeVan C. and McMahon E ed. *African State Governance: Subnational Politics and National Power*, Palgrave McMillian, UK

Fearon,J., 1999, *What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?,* Stanford University http://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/what-is-identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf
Accessed: 07 July 2016

Finnemore, M. & Sikkink, K., 1998, 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change', *International Organization,* No.2.Vol.4. Pp 887-917

Flick, U., 2014, *Mapping the Field* in Flick U. (ed), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, SAGE Publication

Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias D., 1996, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences, London*, Martin's Press, Inc.

Geldenhuys, D., 1998, 'The Foreign Relations of South Africa's Provinces'. *SAIIA Reports,* Number 12, Pp 1-60

Genest, H., 2008, 'An Examination of the Limits Posed by State-Centrism on the Explanatory Power of Neoliberal Institutionalist Approaches to International Regimes: The Case of Substates and Regimes', *The BSIS Journal of International Studies*, Vol 5 (2008)

Given, L. M., (Ed.) ,2008, 'The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods. Sage: Thousand Oaks', CA, Vol.2, pp.697-698. Available [online] < http://passthrough.fw-notify.net/download/635654/http://www.stiba-malang.com/uploadbank/pustaka/RM/QUALITATIVE%20METHOD%20SAGE%20ENCY.pdf > accessed: 19 November 2016.

Grieco, J.M., 1988, 'Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: a realist critique of the newest Liberal Institutionalism' *International Organization*, Vol.42, No.3, Pp 485-507

Griffiths M.,O'Callaghan T. & Roach S., 2008, *International Relations: The Key Concepts*, *2ⁿᵈ ed.* Routledge Publication, New York

Grydehøj, A., 2014, *Goals, Capabilities, and Instruments of Paradiplomacy by Subnational Jurisdictions*, In Grydehøj, A. *et al.* (eds.), *Local Actions in a Global Context: Paradiplomacy by Subnational Jurisdictions* (pp. 10-20). Brussels: Centre Maurits Coppieters.

Guba E.G.& Lincoln, Y.S., 1994. 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research' In NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds.) 'Handbook of Qualitative Research'. Pp 105-117.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K., and Namey E., 2012, *Applied Thematic Analysis*, SAGE Publication

Happaerts S., Van den Brande K., & Bruyninckx H., 2011, 'Subnational governments in transnational networks for sustainable development', *International Environmental Agreements: Politics Law and Economics*, Volume 11, No. 4, Pp 321-339.

Holsti,K. J., *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International* Theory (London, 1985).

Hudson, V.M., 2008, *The History and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis* in Smith S., Hadfield A. & Dunne T. (ed) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford University Press, UK

Jackson, P., Nexon, D., Sterling-Folker, J., Mattern, J., Lebow R. & Barkin S.J., 2004, 'Bridging the Gap: Toward a Realist-Constructivist Dialogue', *International Studies Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jun., 2004), Pp 337-352

Johns, C.M. & Thorn, A., 2015, 'Subnational diplomacy in the Great Lakes region: toward explaining variation between water quality and quantity regimes'. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 2015,Pp 1-18.

Jozana, X., 2000, *Opening remark* at *the Provincial Government in South Africa*. Conference held in Mthatha on 16-18 May 2000.

Kang, D.C., 2007, *China Rising: Peace, Power and Order in East Asia*, Columbia: Columbia University Press.

Keating, M., 1999*, Regions and international affairs: motives, opportunities and strategies*, in F. Aldecoa and M. Keating (eds), *Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments.* London: Frank Cass.

Keohane, R., 1984, *After Hegemony*, Princeton University Press

Kincaid J., 1993, *Constituent Diplomacy and the Nation-State: Conflict and Co-operation* in Michelmann H. and Soldatos P (eds): *Federalism and International Relations:the Role of Subnational Units*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), Pp 54-75

King, G. Keohane, R.O. & Verba, S., 1994, *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton: University Press.

Khan, J. A., 2008, *Research Methodology*, A P H Publishing Corporation, New Delhi

Krueger, R.A., & Casey M.A., 2000, *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Researchers*, 3rd Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE

Kuznetsov, A., 2015, *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Governments in International Affairs.* New York: Routledge.

Lacassagne, A., 2012, 'Cultures of Anarchy as Figurations: Reflections on Wendt, Elias and the English School', Human Figurations, Vol.1, Issue 2 http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0001.207.

Lachapelle, G., 2000, *Identity, integration and the rise of identity economy. The Quebec case in comparison with Scotland, Wales and Catalonia*, in G. Lachapelle and J. Trent (eds). *Globalization, Governance and Identity, The Emergence of New Partnership.* Montreal: Les presses de l'Universite de Montreal. Lachapelle, G. & Paquin S., 2005, *why do sub-states and regions practice international relations*? in Lachapelle G. and Paquin S.(eds). *Mastering Globalization: New Sub-states' Governance and Strategies*, Routledge publication, London. Pp 77-89

Landsberg, C., 2011 'South Africa's Foreign Policy Under Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma' *Inroads Journal*, Issue 29

Lecours, A., 2008, 'Political Issues of Paradiplomacy: Lessons from the Developed World' Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' www.clingendael.org/site/default/files/pdfs/20081217_cdsp_diplomacy_paper_para diplomacy_pdf

Lee, Y., 2004, 'Elaborating Two Issues Regarding Constitutionalism: Science and Structure, *The Korean Journal of International Relations,* Vol. 44, No. 5

Le Pere G. & van Nieuwkerk A., 2006, *South Africa and crafting foreign policy in a complex global order: change and continuity*, in McGowan P. Cornelissen S. and Nel P. (eds), Power, *Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press, 3rd Edition, Pp 283-300.

Li, R., 2009, *A rising China and Security in East Asia: Identity construction and security discourse*, Routledge Publication, London

Magone J., 2006, 'The Legislative Elections of 20 Februay 2005: An Absolute majority for the Socialist Party' European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 45, No.7-8, Pp 1247-1253

Malan L., 2005, 'Intergovernmental Relations and Co-operative Government in South Africa: The ten-year Review' *Politeia,* Vol. 24, No.2

Malherbe, R., 2008, *The constitutional distribution of powers* In B. de Villiers (ed.) *Review of Provinces and Local Governments in South Africa: Constitutional Foundations and Practice*, Konrad Adenhauer Stiftung Occasional Papers. Johannesburg. November, Pp 19-28.

Martinez-Vazquez J., 2011, *The Impact of Fiscal Decentralization: Issues in Theory and Challenges in Practice*, Asian Development Bank

Masters L., 2012, 'Opening the 'black box': South African foreign policy making' *South African Foreign Policy Review*, Vol. 1, Pp 20-41

Matshili V.E., 2013, 'Sub-national Governments and Foreign Policy: the Case of the Limpopo province in South Africa' A Masters Dissertation submitted to the University of South Africa

Maxwell, J. A., *Qualitative Research Design: An interactive approach*, SAGE publications

Mayring, P., 2000, 'Qualitative content analysis. Forum: Qualitative Social Research*,* 1(2). [Online] Available from http://www.qualitative research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/02-00mayring-e.htm [Accessed 2016-12-02].

McLeod D., 2008, *India and Pakistan: Friends, Rivals or Enemies*, Ashgate Publication,UK

McMillan, S. L., 2012 "The involvement of state governments in US foreign relations". New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mearsheimer, J., 2007. *Structural realism*. In: T. Dunne, M. Kurki and S. Smith, eds. *International relations theory: Discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press, 71–88.

Mentzel, C., and Fick J., 1996, 'Transformation Perspectives on Policy Management: Dynamics of Intergovernmental Relations with specific reference to the Eastern Cape' *Africanus* Vol.26, No (2).

Milani C.& Ribeiro M., 'International Relations and the Paradiplomacy of Brazilian Cities: Carfting the Concept of Local International Management' Brazilian Administration Review, Vol.8, No.1, Pp 21-36

Milner, H., 1991, 'The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique' Review *of International Studies,* Vol.17, No.1, Pp 67-85

Moeti,K.L.B. & Khalo T., 2007, 'Restructuring the provincial Sphere of Government in South Africa: Exploring Options for Sustainable Reform for Improved Service Delivery' *Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. 42, No.5

Moreno, L., 2016, 'Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Governments in International Politics', *Regional & Federal Studies*,Vol. 26, No:2, Pp 287-288.

Murray, C., 2001 'Provincial Constitutions in South Africa: The (non)Example of the Western Cape' (2001) Neue Folge Band 49 *Jahrbuch des offentlichen Rechts* 481 – 512.

Mushtaq, S.,& Choudhry, I.A., 2013, 'Conceptualization of Foreign Policy: An analytical analysis', *Berkeley Journal of Social Science*, Vol.3, Spring,2013

Nau, H. R., 2012, *Perspectives on international relations: power, institutions, ideas*. Washington, DC: CQ Press

Nganje F., 2013, 'Paradiplomacy: A Comparative Analysis of the International Relations of South Africa's Gauteng, North West and Western Cape provinces' A PhD Thesis submitted at the University of Johannesburg.

Nganje F., 2014, 'Paradiplomacy and Democratisation of Foreign Policy in South Africa' South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol.21, No.1 Pp 89-107

Oye, K.,1986, *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey

Onuf, N., 1989, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia

Palan, R., 2000, 'A world of their making: an evaluation of the constructivist critique in International Relations'*, Review of International Studies.*Vol, 26, No. 4, 2000, Pp. 575-598

Paquin, S. Lachapelle, G., 2005, *Why do Sub-states and Regions practice International Relations?*, In Loughlin, J. (ed), *Mastering Globalization: New Sub-State's Governance and Strategy,* Pp. 77-89. Oxon: Routledge

Petric, E., 2013, *Foreign Policy: From Conception to Diplomatic Practice*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden

Pfister, R., 2000, *South Africa's recent Foreign Policy towards Africa: issues and literature*, Center for International Studies, Zurich

Pigman, G., 2010, *Contemporary Diplomacy: Representation and Communication in a Globalized World.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Polit, D., & Hungler B., 1999, *Nursing Research: Principles and Methods* 6th ed. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins Publication

Pollard A.,2002, 'Readings for Reflective Teaching' Continuum Publishers, New York

Porter, M., 1990, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations,* New York: Free Press

Price, R. & Reus-Smit, C, 1998, 'Dangerous Liaison? Critical International Theory and Constructivism', *European Journal of International Relations,* Vol.4, No.3. Pp 259-294

Price, R., & Reus-Smit, C., 1998, 'Dangerous liaisons? Critical international theory and Constructivism', *European Journal of International Relations* 4(3): 259–294.

Pursiainen C., 2017, *Russian Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory*, Routledge Publication

Reus-Smit, C., 2013, *Constructivism* in Burchill S. and Linklater A. (eds.) '*Theories of International Relations*', Palgrave Macmillan publication.

Reynolds, P. A., 1994, *An Introduction to International Relations.* London: Longman Inc.

Roach, S., 2010, *Critical Theory of International Relations: Complementary, Justice, and Governance*, Routledge publication, New York

Ryan, G. and Bernard, R., 2003, 'Techniques to Identify Themes', *Field Methods,* Vol.15, No.1,Pp 85-109

Sabornie, E.J., 2006, *Qualitative Research Application with Youth with High-Incidence Disabilities* in Scruggs T.E. and Mastropieri M.A (ed) *Applications of Research Methodology*, JAI Press (Elsevier), UK

Schneider, A., 2006, 'Who Gets What from Whom? The Impact of Decentralisation on Tax Capacity and Social Spending' *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 44, No.3, Pp 344-369.

Schreier, M., 2014, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, in Flick U. (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*", SAGE Publication

Schwartz, S., 2001, 'The Evolution of Eriksonian and Neo-Eriksonian Identity Theory and Research: A Review and Integration' Identity*: An International Journal of Theory and Research,* Vol.1, No (1), Pp 7–58

Searle J., 1995, *The Construction of Social Reality*, cited in Brown C. and Ainley K. 2005, *Understanding International Relations*, 3rd ed. Palgrave, New York

Sergunin A.,& Joenniemi, P, 2014, 'Paradiplomacy as a Sustainable Development Strategy: The Case of Russia's Arctic Subnational Actors', *Eurasia Border Review*, Vol.5, No.2,

Snidal, D., 1991, (a) 'Relative Gains and the pattern on International Cooperation' *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.85, No.3, Pp 701-726

Snidal, D., 1991, (b) 'International Cooperation among Relative Gains Maximizers' *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Pp. 387-402

Snyder, R. Bruck, H.W. and Sapin, B., 1962, *Foreign Policy Decision Making: An approach to the study of International Politics*, *The Free Press*, New York, Pp 60-74

Soldatos, P., 1990, *An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign-policy Actors*, in Michelmann H. and Soldatos P. (eds), *Federalism and International Relatlons: The Role of Subnational Units*, Clarendon Press, Walker

Southall, R., 1998, 'A Deepening of Democracy? Establishing Provincial Government in South Africa' *Africa Insight,* Vol. 28, No. 1/2, Pp 5-18

Spence J., 2001, *South Africa's Foreign Policy Concerns* in J. Broderick, G. Burdford, and G. Freer, *South Africa's Foreign Policy Dilemmas of a New Democracy*, Palgrave Publishers

Steytler, N., 2013., *South Africa: The reluctant hybrid federal state*, in Loughlin J, Kincaid J and Swenden W. Ed , *Routledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism*, Routledge Publication

Tapscott, C., 2002. 'Paper delivered at the North West Intergovernmental Relations Conference on the Challenges of IGR in South Africa'. January 2002.

The Citizen Newspaper, 'KZN Government Unveils R85bn Smelter Park Investment Plan', 06 December 2016

The Presidency, July 2008, 'The Role of Premiers' Offices in Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation: A Good Practice Guide', Published by THE PRESIDENCY, Pretoria

Ulusoy, H., 2003, *Revisiting Security Communities after the Cold War: The Constructivist Perspective,* Center for Strategic Research, Turkey

UnitedNations.,2009

www.unpan.org:80/Directories/UNPublicAdministrationGlossary

[Accessed 24 March 2017]

Van der Waldt G., 2007, *Municipal Management: An Orientation* in Gerrit van der Waldt (ed) *Municipal Management: Serving the People*, Juta&Co. publication, Cape Town

Van Vuuren, D.J., 1983, *The Unitary State*, In *Political alternatives for Southern Africa Principles and Perspectives*". Van Vuuren D.J. and Kriek D.J. (eds). Pretoria: Butterworths Pp 141.

Van Zyl, A., 2003, 'The fiscal autonomy of provinces in the 1996' *Constitution and in practice,* Vol.22. No.1

Venter, A. & Landsberg, C., 2006, *Government and Politics in the new South Africa* (3rd Ed). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Wallace H.S., 1971 'The Impact of the European Communities on National Policy-Making' *Government and Opposition Journal*, Vol.6, No.4, Pp 520-538

Weber, C., 2001, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction.* London: Routledge.

Wendt, A., 1994. 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State' The American Political Science Review, Vol.88, No.2, Pp 384-396

Willig, C., 2014, *Interpretation and Analysis* in Flick U., (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, SAGE Publication

Wilsom, M.,1996, *Asking Questions* in Sapsford, R.,& Jupp, V., (ed) *Data Collection and Analysis*, SAGE Publication

Wolff, S., 2007, 'Para-diplomacy: Scope, Opportunities and Challenges', *The Bologna Center Journal of International Affairs,* No.10, Pp 141 – 150.

Youla C., 2009, *The Foreign Policies of Mandela and Mbeki: A Clear Case of Idealism vs Realism,* MA Thesis, University

Zondi, S., 2012, 'The International Relations of South African Provinces and Municipalities: An Appraisal of a Federated Diplomacy', *South African Foreign Policy Review*, Vol. 1, Pp 42-64

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

24 October 2016

Ms Nolubabalo Magam (214546887)
School of Social Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Magam,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1779/016D
Project title: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: The role of interests and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal Province

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 20 October 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of **3 years** from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr Khlondlo Mtshali
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvair Naidu
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

APPENDIX B: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: OFFICE OF THE PREMIER

premier
Office Of The Premier
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Private Bag X9037, PIETERMARITZBURG, 3200	**DIRECTORATE**
4th Floor, Office 422, Moses Mabhida Building, 330 Langalibalele Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201	Intergovernmental Relations
Tel: +27 (0) 33 341 3041	Ms A Naidoo

Chairperson: Humanities & Social Research Ethics Committee
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Westville Campus

Dear Madam / Sir,

Subject: Permission Granted for Ms Nolubabalo Magam to collect data for a study entitled: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: identity formation and the interest of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal in International Relations

1. The above matter bears reference.

2. This letter serves to support the above mentioned study.

3. Ms Magam has approached the Office of the Premier requesting permission to conduct interviews with government officials in the International Relations Unit in KwaZulu-Natal.

4. In essence, as the center of Governance for the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, the Office of the Premier plays a coordinating and oversight role with respect to all Provincial Departments.

5. Therefore, permission is granted to Ms Magam to collect data relating to Paradiplomacy in South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

Ms Aumeshree Naidoo
Deputy Director: International Relations
Date: 08/06/2016

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Informed Consent Document

Dear Participant,

My name is…Nolubabalo Magam. (*214546887*). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus. The title of my research is: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: the role of interests and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal province. The aim of the study is to explore the dynamics of paradiplomacy in KwaZulu-Natal and the role of identities and interests in paradiplomacy. I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

•   The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.

•   Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.

•   Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.

•   The interview will take about (*how long?*).

•   The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

•   If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg.
Email: M a g a m n @ u k z n . a c . z a ;
Cell: 0760644696
My supervisor is Dr K. Mtshali who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Pietermaritzburg Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
Contact details: email Mtshalik@ukzn.ac.za…..
Phone number: ………………………….
The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za,Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I………………………………………………………………………… *(full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   DATE

……………………………………………………………………………………

TOPIC: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: the role of interests and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal

Interview Schedule 1: Officials in the International Relations Unit

1. What drives KwaZulu-Natal to engage in international relations

2. What is the mandate of the IGR office in the province?

3. Who are the major external partners that the province interact with and why?

4. What Instruments are used to formalize initiatives/relations? (i.e. MOUs, partnerships, terms of cooperation).

NB: (can the MOUs signed be attached as evidence between 2006 and 2016)

5. What is the nature of these MOUs? i.e. (Economic, political, cultural)

6. What has been the most symbolic activities undertaken by the province (international relations activities)

7. How are the agreements (MOUs) been implemented?

8. How does your office coordinate government departments and local municipalities involved in international relations in the province?

9. How do you ensure that initiatives undertaken by government departments and local municipalities are within the legal framework provided by the constitution?

IDENTITY OF THE PROVINCE

10. What is the unique identity of KwaZulu-Natal internally and to its external partners? (how does the province portray itself to the outside world)

11. In order to attract external partners to the province, how do you sell the province to the outside world?

12. How does your identity influence your interest in international relations?

13. To what extent have international relations benefited the province?

14. How are the outcomes of these international initiatives measured?

15. What impact do these relations have on the national government, if any?

16. Moving forward, are there any measures put in place to enhance international relations in KwaZulu-Natal?

TOPIC: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: the role of interests and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal

Interview Schedule: External Partners

1. What are your experiences as an external partner to the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government?

2. Are there any specific challenges encountered in your relations with the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial government?

3. How do you measure the outcome of your relations with KwaZulu-Natal?

4. What do you think can be done in bringing about an optimal mutual benefit in your relations with Sub-national governments in South Africa?

5. Why have you chosen to have relations with KwaZulu-Natal of all the 9 nine provinces in South Africa?

6. What is unique about the province of KZN?

Officials in the Intergovernmental Relations and Provincial Protocol Directorate (DiRCo)

1. What is the purpose of your office?
2. What support does the office give to provinces in South Africa?
3. What measures (if any) are put in place to monitor the international relations undertaken by provinces?
4. How does your office measure the outcome of these relations in provinces?
5. What is the legal framework/protocol under which provinces can engage in international relations?
6. How do you then ensure that provinces operate under this protocol?
7. Do international relations conducted by provinces affect/influence/have an impact on the national foreign policy?
8. What are the challenges encountered by your office in this regard?
9. Do these international initiatives by provinces fall within the national policy and legislation?

TOPIC: Paradiplomacy in South Africa: the role of interests and identity in the international relations of KwaZulu-Natal

Trade and Investment

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal

1. As an entity, what are the basic functions of your office?
2. How do you relate with the Intergovernmental unit in the premiers office?
3. What kind of support is your office receiving from the KZN provincial government?
4. What are specific guidelines or a framework that directs and informs your external relations?
5. How do you ensure that the external relations you engage in are in line with the South African foreign policy?
6. What Instruments are used to formalize initiatives/relations (i.e. MOUs, partnerships, terms of cooperation, agreements?
7. KwaZulu-Natal is one among 9 provinces in South Africa, what mechanisms do you use to promote KZN as an investment destination?
8. As an entity, what interests are you pursuing for the province? (i.e. what is the province trying to achieve)
9. What is the unique identity that separates the province from the other 9 provinces?
10. In order to attract trade and investment into the province, how do you sell yourself to the outside world?
11. Who are the major trading partners and investors in KwaZulu-Natal?
12. Over the years, how have these relations benefited the province?
13. Moving forward, are there any measures put in place to enhance trade and investments in KwaZulu-Natal?