

CONSTITUTION, EUROPE, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND CULTURE COMMITTEE

30th Meeting, 2023, Session 6

Thursday 9 November 2023

National Outcomes

1. The Scottish Government is undertaking a review of its [National Outcomes](#), the broad policy aims which inform its [National Performance Framework](#) (NPF).
2. To input to that review, and in light of our [Inquiry into the Scottish Governments international work](#), the [report](#) of which we published in April 2022, the Committee is focusing on the current National Outcomes and Indicators relating to international policy.
3. Following previous evidence sessions on [1 June](#) (an overview of the Scottish Government's international with a panel session of academics) and [15 June](#) (a focus on how trade and culture are promoted), this week we focus on the approach of "sub-states", with experts from Quebec and the Basque Country.
4. Future work will include an online panel from a selection of the Scottish Government's international offices (Washington, Beijing and Copenhagen) and a look at how Northern Ireland and Ireland measure and evaluate the impact of their international work (with the forthcoming visit to both Belfast and Dublin).
5. SPICe has prepared a briefing at **Annexe A** and there is a paper from the Committee's adviser at **Annexe B**.

Committee Clerks

November 2023

Inquiry into the National Performance Framework international outcomes and indicators

Context

The Scottish Government is currently consulting on a review of the National Outcomes, a key aspect of the National Performance Framework (NPF). Following this public consultation, it must consult the Parliament on any proposed changes arising from that review. Consultation with the Parliament is likely to take place later this year and the Finance and Public Administration Committee is expected to lead the parliamentary process.

To inform consideration of any changes that may arise from the Scottish Government's review, the Committee is holding a short inquiry into whether the current National Outcomes and Indicators aligned to the Scottish Government's international work are appropriate. This inquiry will build on the Committee's previous report on an [Inquiry into the Scottish Government's international work](#) which reported in April 2022.

The current inquiry allows the committee to consider—

- How the Scottish Government's international work should be evaluated and what measurable outcomes could be developed?
- What is the intended impact of diplomacy and soft power? And how could this be measured?
- What economic related outcomes and targets are needed to evaluate the effectiveness of external affairs policies from that perspective?
- How should the National Outcomes inform the work of the Scottish Government's international offices and how could this be evaluated?

The Committee will have an opportunity to provide its views on the Scottish Government proposals which will be informed by this short inquiry.

The National Performance Framework

The [National Performance Framework](#) (NPF) is used by the Scottish Government to evaluate the outcomes of its policies. The current NPF has 11 National Outcomes. The most relevant National Outcome for the Europe and External Affairs elements of the committee's remit is:

- **International:** We are open, connected and make a positive contribution Internationally.

The Scottish Government's vision which [sits beneath this National Outcome](#) states:
 "We pursue happiness and quality of life as legitimate social goals. Our family, communities and people are important to us and we are committed to being fair and socially just. We are respectful of all who chose to visit, live and work in Scotland and acknowledge the positive contribution they make. Our visitor economy is thriving.

We are proud of our achievements and are confident, ambitious and positive about the future. We are regarded as a vibrant, modern country and have positive international relations, influence and exchange networks. We recognise the inter-connectedness of people and the obligations which flow from this and play a valuable role in providing aid and supporting developing countries. We are committed to promoting peace, democracy and human rights globally."

Beneath the National Outcomes are a number of [National Indicators](#) which are used to measure performance. In total there are 81 indicators. Under the International National Outcome there are 6 indicators:

- **A positive experience for people coming to live in Scotland** - intended to measure one important dimension of migrants' experiences in Scotland – a strong sense of belonging.
- **Scotland's Reputation** – intended to measure Scotland's reputation against 60 countries across the world on the Anholt-Ipsos Nation Brands IndexSM (NBISM)
- **Scotland's Population** - measures the number of council areas experiencing population decline.
- **Trust in public organisations** – no indicator has been developed
- **International networks** – no indicator has been developed
- **Contribution of development support to other nations** - a composite that measures Scotland's international development activities. It provides a comprehensive depiction of how Scotland contributes to international development.

Of the 6 indicators, no detailed indicator to measure progress has been developed for two of them.

There is also an indicator related to international trade which is relevant to the Scottish Government's international policies:

- **International exporting** - measures the annual value of international exports (not including the rest of the UK or Oil and Gas exports) as published in Export Statistics Scotland.

House of Commons Scottish Affairs Committee inquiry report on Promoting Scotland Internationally

Members may wish to be aware that on 4 September 2023, the House of Commons Scottish Affairs Committee published its [inquiry report into Promoting Scotland Internationally](#).

The report includes a section on the Scottish Government's global footprint and also on the competencies of the UK and Scottish governments in promoting Scotland internationally. Related to this, the Committee concluded that:

“The UK and Scottish Governments share many of the same priorities for Scotland on the international stage and there is an important role for the Scottish Government to play in promoting Scottish interests overseas in areas of devolved competence. Despite recent publicised tension between the two governments surrounding international activity, we found there to be positive and constructive collaboration between officials during our visit to Washington DC earlier this year, where UK and Scottish Government officials are co-located in the British Embassy. This kind of collaboration should be encouraged across the wider Embassy network where teams are co-located. In locations where Scottish Government officials are not co-located or based, it is important to embed regular communication between the teams to facilitate or identify any opportunities for joint initiatives between the governments. We encourage the UK and Scottish governments to work constructively and cooperatively on Scottish interests internationally. Whilst recognising that foreign affairs and international trade are reserved to the UK Government, the Scottish Government have international interests in devolved policy areas. (Paragraph 64).”

Previous evidence sessions

The Committee has previously taken evidence for this inquiry on 1 June 2023 and on 15 June 2023.

On 1 June, the [Committee took evidence from](#):

- Professor Stephen Gethins, Professor of Practice in International Relations, University of St Andrews
- Professor Juliet Kaarbo, Professor of Foreign Policy, University of Edinburgh
- Professor Peter Jackson, Chair in Global Security, University of Glasgow

On 15 June, the [Committee took evidence from](#):

- Seona Shand, International Trade Director, Scottish Chambers of Commerce
- Vicki Miller, Director of Marketing & Digital, VisitScotland
- Gareth Williams, Head of Policy, Scottish Council for Development and Industry
- Anthony Salamone, Managing Director, European Merchants

In the two previous evidence sessions held by the Committee, there was limited reference to the approach taken by other sub-state governments in pursuing international policy objectives. However, for the benefit of Members, this paper summarises a number of the key issues discussed in the previous evidence sessions below.

Evaluating the outcome of international policies

During the evidence session on 1 June 2023, the panel of witnesses acknowledged that evaluating the outcome of international policies was challenging. For example, Professor Stephen Gethins told the Committee:

“I point out that it is difficult and the issue is not exclusive to Scotland. As Professor Kaarbo pointed out, countries around the world that invest in their international profiles want to see some return, and committees like this one around the world want to scrutinise whether money is being well spent.”

As a result of this, it was suggested that it would be better to focus on strategic narratives when it comes to external engagement. In Scotland’s case that strategic narrative should focus on being a good global citizen.

During the evidence session on 15 June 2023, when asked about evaluating Scotland’s international engagement, Vicki Miller from VisitScotland set out the organisations approach to measurement which focused on spread of visitors across Scotland, spend per visitor, sustainability to reduce visitors travel footprint and the satisfaction element, “which involves quality measures with regard to visitors’ actual end-to-end experience”.

Seona Shand from the Scottish Chambers of Commerce set out the importance of measuring engagement from a business perspective:

“From an inward investment perspective, the business community is really important. When we bring delegations to Scotland from across the globe, they are here to look at investment opportunities, but we also want them to become visitors and to bring family and friends in the future.

I agree with the points about the measurement principles: it is the quality-versus-quantity conversation that we consistently have. If we are bringing delegates across, we might want to spend three or four days with them, business to business, but we always encourage our delegation to have an element of downtime and not to remain in one city in Scotland but to view Scotland as a whole. It is very much about working with other organisations in a team Scotland approach, and talking up other sectors, too.”

Gareth Williams from the Scottish Council for Development and Industry spoke about the National Performance Framework in evaluating international engagement:

“We welcomed the creation of the national performance framework. Our members have always found that a bit hard to engage with and monitor, and it contains a lot of indicators. We have had the conversation with the Scottish Government about the refresh, and we welcome the fact that it reached out to us on that. However, it struck me that it wanted to talk about the outcome and indicators that relate specifically to businesses. Obviously, we are an organisation with a wide membership, but even businesses or business organisations contribute to and have a strong interest in a range of outcomes

and indicators. Sometimes, there is a risk of pigeonholing in some of those conversations rather than joining things up.

Previously, we suggested that it would be worth looking at whether the indicators could be reframed so that they were measured in a distance-to-frontier way. I will take the example of the country or countries that are making the most progress on a specific area. How do we measure up to them on a scale of, say, 1 to 100? It is difficult, when you look across them, to track the progress that Scotland has been making. The international indicators seem to be quite diverse and in need of some focus. For example, on population, the indicator is overall population, whereas more priority should be given to the working-age population at this time, particularly given the projections on the increasing dependency ratios and so on.”

Anthony Salamone sought to focus on how the Scottish Government’s international engagement can be evaluated out with a trade and tourism focus. He told the Committee:

“For me, there are two aspects of that issue. I suppose that it is not really surprising, given my previous evidence to the committee for its international affairs inquiry, that I would say that it is crucial that the Scottish Government, in framing its own activities, has strategic principles and objectives but also targets. However, there is a difference between the existing kinds of targets, which my colleagues have spoken about, on specific outcomes in relation to trade, investment, tourism and so on and the targets or objectives that frame the work of the Scottish Government as an entity in its engagement with other Governments, for instance. There is a question about whether those are worth whatever they are trying to achieve. I am not always clear about what the objectives are, so I could not evaluate whether an outcome is being achieved or otherwise, and it is important to be able to do that.

There are three elements to that. If the Scottish Government has a more strategic perspective overall, there are three benefits. One is that it can prioritise where it will deploy its limited resources, and there will always be a limit on resources. Secondly, it can ensure that its work is delivered appropriately, and thirdly it will allow for the kind of measurability that we were speaking about.”

The objective of international engagement

Whilst being a good global citizen was seen as important, witnesses have also highlighted the importance of promoting the concept of good global citizenship within Scotland.

The Committee was told that the objective of international engagement for most countries is to support domestic policies. Professor Kaarbo told the Committee

“All state actors on the international stage are doing what they do in international relations in part because the international affects almost everything that they do at home. The two areas should not be separated arbitrarily”

As a result of this link, the witnesses said that there should be a clear link between external affairs policy and domestic policy and the day to day lives of people living in Scotland. The Committee heard that given the difficulty of measuring the efficacy of international work, international engagement should be viewed from the perspective of whether its delivering jobs and investment in Scotland for example. In addition, it can be about how Scotland is viewed with regards to addressing climate change and human rights issues.

Profesor Gethins highlighted the approach of other places such as Flanders where the approach to engagement is through multilateral diplomacy and ensuring a presence around international organisations such as the United Nations and the EU:

“I refreshed my knowledge by having another quick look at the Flemish Government’s international affairs department, its missions and its goals in relation to education and climate. I was also looking at its missions for international organisations in places such as Geneva, New York and Paris. For obvious reasons, it even has an international mission in Brussels, although Brussels is the capital of Flanders.”

Anthony Salamone picked up a similar point setting out what Scotland might learn from other countries and sub-states:

“They perhaps have a clearer sense of their core strengths, be it in economic or soft power terms, and of which ones they want to focus on and prioritise; they then take those strengths and build themselves a profile in the world that allows them access to the kinds of vehicles that promote their interests and values. For example, Ireland, over a long period of time, built the capacity to win a seat on the United Nations Security Council and used that as a platform for the country. Again, that is not directly comparable to Scotland because Scotland is not a state, but it demonstrates that, if one wants to achieve a longer-term objective, one needs to be willing to have a longer-term horizon. Ireland was waiting 15 years to win a UN Security Council seat, which means that it would have needed a high degree of cross-party agreement on the country’s objectives and on how it would achieve them across Governments.

In the Scottish context, it is not just about the Government of the day’s priorities for external affairs, in any dimension—be it trade or otherwise—but about the extent to which there is cross-party consensus on the core priorities for Scotland as part of the UK and the world, which transcends any one party or Administration.”

Witnesses giving evidence on 15 June 2023 highlighted the importance of international engagement from an economic perspective in terms of trade opportunities and tourism. They also suggested that it was important Scotland stepped up a gear to ensure its trading and tourism position was protected and improved. Gareth Williams from the Scottish Council on Development and Industry also highlighted that education was also an important factor in supporting Scotland’s international reputation.

The international footprint

A number of witnesses commented on the location of the Scottish Government's international offices. Professor Juliet Kaarbo told the Committee that a Scottish presence in the global south would be beneficial whilst Professor Peter Jackson suggested a presence in Africa would be important.

Cooperation between the Scottish and UK governments

Anthony Salamone highlighted that there was an opportunity for the Scottish Government to work with and benefit from the UK's diplomatic network, particularly in areas of the world where the Scottish Government is not present. He also provided an example of how the UK and Scottish Governments could work together more closely on the international stage:

"I hope that we can have a consensus that it is right for Scottish institutions—not just the Scottish Government but the Scottish Parliament—to engage with colleagues internationally. However, co-operation would require both Administrations to meet somewhere in the middle; why not have joint trade missions with Scottish Government ministers and UK Government ministers promoting Scotland together? That sounds like a great idea to me."

Linked to this, Seona Shand emphasised the importance of the UK Government promoting Scotland:

"There is duplication of effort, and it is a very crowded marketplace. I mentioned earlier that we are export champions in one area and international trade ambassadors in another, through GlobalScots. That is the quagmire for businesses. They need simplification and stability. The UK Government should be promoting Scotland—as well as the other nations, I hasten to add. Scotland does things that are very unique, and we need to be able to forge ahead independently."

On working with the UK Government, Professor Peter Jackson discussed how the Canadian Government works on the international stage with its provinces:

"In general, my view is that Canada—partly this is because I am Canadian and I am familiar with it—provides a few obvious examples of the way in which different regions can be positively supported by the national Government, in a way that I think is happening in Scotland."

Use of the diaspora

Witnesses have also highlighted the importance of using the Scottish diaspora to promote Scotland internationally and how an indicator on that engagement might be developed. Vicki Miller from VisitScotland told the Committee:

"I guess that our ask of global and diaspora Scots is to do some of that storytelling and also to help us connect businesses in Scotland with market opportunities. It is definitely an area where we could sharpen our indicators so that it is not necessarily only about how engaged they are. It could also be about outcome-focused measures, rather than simply that engagement metric, which I think is where we are just now."

Anthony Salamone supported this approach telling the Committee:

“if we are asking our diaspora or our networks to do something for us or to be a vehicle for us, although we can measure that, it is more important to measure the outcomes against whatever our objectives were in the first place. If they are the intermediary for whatever objective the Scottish Government or Scotland as a whole has, it is about whatever the outcome is.”

On the role of GlobalScots in particular, Gareth Williams told the Committee:

“We would also welcome metrics that are a bit more outcome focused in relation to networks. I am aware that the GlobalScot network has been expanded in recent times, but we have had mixed feedback from members operating internationally as to whether they have a connection with a GlobalScot or know how to go about establishing one. As it expands further, there is a need to, as Vicki Miller said, sharpen indicators.”

Anthony Salamone highlighted the opportunities for Scottish engagement presented by St Andrew’s Day citing the example of Ireland:

“I come back on the point about St Andrew’s day because it links to what I said about using culture as a catalyst. I can understand the reluctance to be pigeonholed in the view of Scotland as being about St Andrew’s day, bagpipes and tartan. However, my point is that we use that as a catalyst, as other countries do.

We should hold St Andrew’s day celebrations but use them as an opportunity to bring business people together to promote the space sector, for instance, as Ireland does extremely effectively with St Patrick’s day and, more recently, St Bridget’s day. As I imagine you are aware, on St Patrick’s day, almost every Government minister in Ireland is not in Ireland because they go all over the world to attend various St Patrick’s day celebrations and use them to promote the country. It is not just about promoting trade and investment, although they do that; they also use it as an opportunity to promote what they see as Irish and European values.”

Written evidence received ahead of today

The Committee’s adviser, Professor Michael Keating has provided a short briefing paper for today’s evidence session which focuses on Paradiplomacy. Professor Keating defines Paradiplomacy as:

“the external activities of sub-state entities, including non-sovereign nations, regions and cities.”

Professor Keating sets out that Paradiplomacy represents ‘soft power’, which is “influence not based on military force or hard-headed negotiation but on changing the climate of ideas and gaining recognition”.

Professor Keating highlights a paradiplomatic role for sub-state governments in areas such as trade and economic matters and culture. International engagement also provides opportunities for policy learning among sub-state territories where there are common problems or interests.

Professor Keating highlights the way in which sub-states use Paradiplomacy to “promote territories’ interest in global goods such as human rights or the environment and development cooperation and assistance. For example, the Basque Country has undertaken to meet the UN targets for [development assistance of 0.7% of GNI](#) (including its contributions to Spanish and EU programmes).

Finally, Professor Keating sets out the sub-state entities can use Paradiplomacy to establish a presence on the international stage:

“Finally, there are political reasons for paradiplomacy. It allows cities and regions to play on the international stage and seek opportunities and resources not available at home. Leaders may be able to widen their electoral base by presenting themselves as representatives of the whole community in the face of other territories, whether in competition or collaboration. In territories governed by pro-independence parties, there is often a ‘proto-diplomacy’ intended to create a favourable international environment for the would-be independent state. This was a marked feature of the international activities of both Quebec and Catalonia during times when their governments were pursuing independence. It may be aimed at other sub-state governments with similar aims or at existing states whose support would be necessary to secure international recognition.”

Today’s evidence session

Today’s evidence session with academics from Quebec and the Basque Country is an opportunity for Members to discuss how the governments of both places conduct their external affairs policies.

It also provides an opportunity to discuss how the effectiveness of external engagement is measured and how Quebec and the Basque Country legislatures scrutinise government activity in the external affairs policy area.

Members may also wish to explore the level of cooperation between the Quebec and Canadian governments and the Basque and Spanish governments in pursuing their international engagement policies.

Finally, Members may wish to use the opportunity to explore the extent of both Quebec and the Basque Country’s international network and the priorities their international offices pursue. In addition, it is an opportunity to find out how both areas use their respective diasporas to pursue international policies.

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Paradiplomacy and Scotland's External Relations

Michael Keating, Emeritus Professor of Politics, University of Aberdeen

Scottish Parliament Culture, Europe and External Affairs Committee

20 October 2023

Paradiplomacy

1. Paradiplomacy refers to the external activities of sub-state entities, including non-sovereign nations, regions and cities. There are several dimensions to this.
2. One is the external projection of competences that are devolved internally. So, if education or environmental policy are fully devolved then the devolved government has an interest in international negotiations on those matters. International trade agreements nowadays tend to include clauses on matters such as environmental standards or social protection in order to avoid a 'race to the bottom' as countries seek to gain competitive advantage. In Belgium, the principle of *in foro interno, in foro externo* gives the regions and language communities external powers corresponding to their internal competences.
3. An important dimension to paradiplomacy is economic. Modern theories of economic development put an emphasis on territories, regions and cities as sites for dynamism and growth. They sometimes portray territories as competing against each other in the global economy (competitive regionalism). Alternatively, territories may have an interest in collaboration where their assets are complementary. Economic interests include: trade, both exports and imports in the interest of comparative advantage and diversification; inward and outward investment; technology and innovation including the application of scientific knowledge. Scotland has been active in collaboration around the possibilities for hydrogen power. There may be an interest in building locally-owned business by expanding export opportunities.
4. Another dimension is cultural. Where there are minority (in their own state) languages, they may find allies and opportunities abroad (such as French for Quebec). The cultures of small societies may be in danger of marginalisation or provincialism if they are inward-looking and there are strong incentives to be part of wider cultural exchange and mutual influence.
5. There are opportunities for policy learning among sub-state territories where there are common problems or interests. This is notoriously difficult field, as it is not easy to replicate policies that have succeeded in one context in another one. There is now a large literature on international policy learning and a smaller one on how sub-state territories can learn from each other.
6. Paradiplomacy is used to promote territories' interest in global goods such as human rights or the environment. Some engage in development cooperation and assistance. In Italy, regions are formally given such a role. In Spain, the Basque Country has undertaken to meet the UN targets for development assistance (including its contributions to Spanish and EU programmes).

7. Finally, there are political reasons for paradiplomacy. It allows cities and regions to play on the international stage and seek opportunities and resources not available at home. Leaders may be able to widen their electoral base by presenting themselves as representatives of the whole community in the face of other territories, whether in competition or collaboration. In territories governed by pro-independence parties, there is often a 'proto-diplomacy' intended to create a favourable international environment for the would-be independent state. This was a marked feature of the international activities of both Quebec and Catalonia during times when their governments were pursuing independence. It may be aimed at other sub-state governments with similar aims or at existing states whose support would be necessary to secure international recognition. These two aims are often contradictory as individual independence movements, looking to other states for acceptance, are hesitant to back those states' secessionists.
8. Much of paradiplomacy represents 'soft power', that is influence not based on military force or hard-headed negotiation but on changing the climate of ideas and gaining recognition.

Actors

9. The principal actors in paradiplomacy are autonomous governments at the intermediate or 'meso' level (German Länder; French and Italian Regions; Spanish Autonomous Communities; Belgian Regions and Language Communities) and cities. The most active are those with distinct national or cultural traditions and larger entities with the necessary resources.
10. Paradiplomacy is also a matter for business, particularly small businesses who do not have the same resources as multinational corporations to find export markets, collaborators or technology.
11. There is also a role for civil society, including educational institutions at all levels, cultural bodies, campaigning organisations and, to some degree, social welfare organisations.
12. In some cases, there are active diaspora organisations abroad to help with paradiplomacy. This is a feature of the Basque case.

Mechanisms

13. Some territories maintain offices in foreign cities. Quebec, Catalonia and the Basque Country have extensive networks. The UK model is distinct in that the offices of the devolved nations are housed in British embassies, giving their staff diplomatic status. In the Scottish case, relationships with the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office have generally been harmonious, with an understanding that contentious issues such as Scottish independence cannot be dealt with under these mechanisms. There has been more tension in the cases of Quebec and Catalonia when independence has been on the agenda. The Catalan model includes the Public Diplomacy Council of Catalonia (Diplocat) a public-private consortium including business, universities and civil society. Diplocat in its original form did not survive the confrontation over the independence referendum of 2017 and was dissolved by the Spanish Government for allegedly promoting secession. It has since been re-established with a clearly non-partisan remit.

14. There are international organisations of sub-state governments. Some have a general remit, such as the Assembly of European Regions while others group territories with specific characteristics such as the Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions or Regions of Industrial Technology and its Network on Innovation and Technology Transfer.
15. A specific case of international engagement is through cross-border regions, where there are shared opportunities in infrastructure investment and creating technology poles. These are, however, sometimes zones of competition, for instance over the siting of airports.
16. International engagement takes place at various levels, including regions and cities, as well as localities.

The European Union

17. The EU represents a special case for activity by sub-state governments.
18. There is a large overlap between European and devolved competences. There are formal mechanisms for managing this, including provision for sub-state ministers in state delegations to the Council of the EU; the Committee of the Regions; and the presence of regional offices in Brussels to identify upcoming items.
19. The EU has its own spatial policies which provide mechanisms for policy learning, collaboration and cross-border programmes.
20. Since the UK's departure from the EU, matters that were previously EU competences are now matters of foreign policy. Scotland no longer has the channels of access it had before.
21. International trade agreements, which used to be negotiated by the EU, are now the responsibility of the UK Government. Consultation is promised on Scottish interests in these.
22. Under the devolution settlement, international relations were reserved to the UK Government, although a role was recognised for devolved governments implementing EU policies. Indeed, they were obliged to work within EU law. There is no similar obligation to implement international treaties although there is little practical scope not to. UK ministers can require Scottish ministers to lay implementing legislation before the Scottish Parliament and, in the unlikely event that the Parliament were to reject it, Westminster can legislate instead.
23. Scotland does not currently have powers to sign treaties or agreements with foreign governments or entities. This has been an issue in some other cases, although it is often difficult to define what a treaty or agreement is and therefore what is prohibited. The Labour Party constitution commission has suggested that the devolved governments could be given such a power.
24. Another suggestion made in other cases is that sub-state governments could be given associate status in international bodies such as UNESCO where they have the corresponding competences.

25. It is difficult to evaluate the success of paradiplomatic efforts, especially when they have multiple objectives. Promoting networks of collaboration and mutual trust is necessarily a long-term business. Opportunities may occur unexpectedly as a result of other activities.

Geographical and Sectoral Focus

26. Given the limited resources available paradiplomacy requires choices over territorial and sectoral focus. These are linked to each other. Within the EU, there have been various efforts, such as the Regions with Legislative Powers, to gain status and access. There may be cooperation among territories with national aspirations and shared institutional interests. There are also shared economic interests in trade, investment and technology.
27. Sub-state territories may seek linkages with sovereign states where these are a similar size and have complementary interests. More likely, they will seek partnerships with other devolved governments, which requires that they have similar competences.
28. Focusing on priority areas has usually been more productive than spreading the effort widely.
29. It is often easy to launch paradiplomatic initiatives and partnerships, especially where these give politicians opportunities for publicity and international projection. It is more difficult to sustain them and cultivate relationships over the long term.
30. Matters work better where there is a broad commitment from civil society, backed by government support and resources.

Evaluation

31. It is very difficult to evaluate the success of paradiplomacy, given the long term efforts and commitment required.
32. Some measures are available, such as large inward investments or technological breakthroughs.
33. Numbers of contacts may be used to assess the extent of the networks.
34. Other matters like influence or the deployment of soft power are harder to measure but may be important.
35. Qualitative measures as well as numerical ones are important. Local stakeholders can be asked their views.
36. It is common for paradiplomatic activity to be cut at times of expenditure constraint as it does not have a direct impact on domestic services. This makes it important to have evaluation of its effect.