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ROLE OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLICIES

**Case study: Italian Embassy Amman, ICE Amman and
Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec**

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*Vivi, come hai sempre fatto,
secondo il codice dello sforzo/risultato e
continui a raggiungere i tuoi traguardi
finché pensi di sapere le risposte a tutte le domande.*

Michele Obama

ABSTRACT

Il presente elaborato ha l'obiettivo di analizzare il ruolo delle Camere di commercio, nello specifico quelle italiane all'estero, nelle relazioni e nelle politiche internazionali. In particolare modo, gli ultimi capitoli saranno dedicati al caso studio della Camera di Commercio Italiana in Quebec e sul rapporto che le camere di commercio hanno con altri attori, quali ICE, agenzia per la promozione all'estero e l'internazionalizzazione delle imprese italiane, e Ambasciata.

L'approccio teorico, il metodo storico, l'analisi di un caso studio e l'indagine comparativa sono le metodologie utilizzate in questo documento. L'intento dello studio consiste nell'utilizzare la letteratura teorica, i dati storici esistenti e materiale inedito come risposta ai quesiti posti alla base del suddetto lavoro. Ciò implica che in questo documento venga applicata una struttura gerarchica, partendo dal campo della letteratura che le domande di ricerca trattano fino a raggiungere un livello di specificità tale da presentare un caso studio concreto. Infine il tutto verrà ulteriormente approfondito e contestualizzato fornendo altre specificità. A prima vista, questo approccio sembra eclettico e insostenibile, in quanto si fonda su diverse metodologie e paradigmi; eppure tale approccio è sostenuto e sistematicamente elaborato da molti studiosi, come Bennett R.J., uno dei massimi studiosi del tema. Per quanto riguarda la scelta dello studio dei due casi, va reso noto che questi sono stati selezionati sia sulla base di motivi pragmatici che comparativi. Pragmaticamente, su questo argomento ho avuto l'opportunità di fare esperienza diretta all'interno di due contesti internazionali che apparentemente sembrano differenti. Dall'altro lato, tali differenze hanno permesso di individuare alcune importanti peculiarità ed analogie. Di conseguenza, i casi sono realmente un valido aiuto nel rispondere ai quesiti di seguito riportati.

Con la logica esposta, questa ricerca mira principalmente a rispondere alle seguenti domande di ricerca: Le camere di commercio possono essere considerate attori non statali?; Quale ruolo svolgono oggi le camere di commercio?. Tuttavia, una domanda più mirata può essere valutata come l'obiettivo finale di questa tesi: Le camere di commercio possono svolgere un ruolo centrale nelle relazioni e nelle politiche tra e all'interno degli Stati?.

Pertanto, per raggiungere questi obiettivi, la presente tesi cercherà, nel primo capitolo, di descrivere quali sono gli attori non statali che operano nei seguenti paesi: Cile, Messico, Kenya, Sud Africa e, in modo particolare, Giordania e Canada. Inoltre si cercherà di definire quale ruolo svolgono nel panorama della società globale e della politica mondiale. In letteratura, gli attori non statali sono stati definiti in modi diversi a seconda del contesto di ricerca e delle impostazioni del sistema politico nei diversi paesi. In particolare, le nuove tecnologie e forme di mobilitazione sociale, alimentate da un'ondata di democratizzazione e di sviluppi internazionali, hanno improvvisamente fatto aumentare il numero di attori internazionali, in particolare gli attori non statali, quali le ONG, movimenti sociali e imprese transnazionali. Questo ha portato ad un aumento della loro rilevanza nel processo decisionale e ad un corrispondente boom di discussioni tra studiosi e politici sui vantaggi e gli svantaggi della globalizzazione e come essa potrebbe essere governata. Oltre alla loro fioritura e la loro rilevanza, la loro varietà è molto densa. Gli attori non statali coprono un'ampia gamma di entità, quali il settore privato, le parti economiche e sociali, comprese le organizzazioni sindacali e la società civile in tutte le sue forme in base alle caratteristiche nazionali. Nel campo teorico delle relazioni e delle politiche internazionali vi è un'ampia divergenza tra le diverse teorie su chi sono i soggetti nel sistema internazionale e sul ruolo che essi coprono. La teoria realista, in particolare, considera gli stati come i principali attori della politica internazionale. Gli Stati decidono di entrare in guerra, erigono barriere commerciali, scelgono se e a quale livello stabilire norme ambientali e stipulare accordi internazionali e scelgono se attenersi alle loro disposizioni. Anche se i realisti riconoscono altri attori nella sfera delle relazioni internazionali, lo stato rimane l'unico che può decidere la direzione della politica. Secondo i realisti, lo Stato è un soggetto razionale in quanto riconosce le circostanze in cui si trova e decide il modo in cui vuole agire attraverso l'analisi di costi-benefici. Tuttavia, vi è un accordo quasi unanime sui limiti della teoria statale-centrica. Ad esempio, una critica sostanziale è che gli Stati hanno perso il controllo sugli attori privati che possono organizzarsi e muoversi oltre i confini nazionali. Infatti, a causa di una serie di trasformazioni avvenute negli ultimi vent'anni, la disciplina si sta allontanando dallo studio delle relazioni internazionali verso lo studio della società globale. L'effetto di queste trasformazioni hanno cambiato la narrazione da un'anarchia in un sistema di stati a una governance all'interno di

una società globale. Anche se questioni come l'interesse degli Stati rimangono all'ordine del giorno, essi condividono sempre più spazio con altri temi che hanno bisogno di una prospettiva esterna.

Il pensiero liberale, dall'altro lato, rifiuta l'idea realista che lo stato sia l'attore principale sulla scena politica mondiale, anche se non negano che sia importante. Secondo i liberali, individui e gruppi, tra cui multinazionali, attori transnazionali e organizzazioni internazionali, sono attori centrali in alcune aree della politica mondiale. Singoli gruppi sociali, associazioni di imprese e tutti gli altri attori non statali operano all'interno dello Stato nazionale. Inoltre, i liberali tendono a pensare allo stato come composto da un insieme di apparati burocratici con i propri interessi. Pertanto, ottenere un unico interesse nazionale non è possibile in quanto esso rappresenta semplicemente il risultato di quelle che sono le preferenze sociali o le organizzazioni burocratiche che dominano il processo decisionale interno. Infatti, l'altra ipotesi principale di questa teoria è l'idea di "join games". Secondo i liberali, tale ipotesi suggerisce che gli individui e le comunità possono andare al di là dei guadagni relativi della prospettiva realista e sono in grado di pensare e cogliere le possibilità di guadagni condivisi basati sullo scambio, cooperazione e commercio. Infine, gli individui e gli attori non statali hanno molti incentivi e interessi a cercare la cooperazione, in quanto attraverso la stessa si può giungere a vantaggi condivisi.

Non solo la teoria liberale ma anche la teoria costruttivista dà spazio agli attori non statali. Tale teoria, basata su due presupposti, quali l'ambiente in cui gli attori agiscono è sociale e tale impostazione fornisce agli agenti la comprensione dei loro interessi, attribuisce alle idee, norme e interessi una posizione di rilievo. Essi infatti sostengono che, nonostante gli stati continuano ad essere i principali attori del sistema internazionale, le loro azioni devono essere intese non come comportamenti di auto-aiuto nell'anarchia, ma come azioni di membri di una società internazionale di stati e attori non statali. Pertanto, il processo di costruzione sociale non può essere compreso concentrandosi esclusivamente sul centrismo statale ma coinvolgendo gli attori non statali nella formazione delle preferenze dello stato e nel mondo delle idee.

Secondo la Scuola inglese, gli stati sovrani sono i membri primari della società internazionale; tuttavia, è importante notare che non sono gli unici membri. In particolare, gli studiosi della scuola inglese differenziano la società internazionale in due dimensioni: pluralista e solidale.

È proprio in quest'ultima dimensione che gli attori non statali sono coinvolti. Infatti, essi possono svolgere un ruolo importante nel spostare i presupposti che costituiscono la società internazionale promuovendo una coscienza globale, principi e norme condivisi. Inoltre, secondo questi studiosi trascurare gli interessi tali attori ostacola l'opportunità di applicare il concetto di società mondiale per analizzare come i loro interessi influenzano il funzionamento della società internazionale. Ad esempio, gli agenti non governativi, come la Camera di Commercio Internazionale, per citare un esempio, interagiscono con gli Stati e influenzano il funzionamento delle sue istituzioni senza rappresentare alcun problema alle sue norme di base.

Infine, un ultimo paragrafo è dedicato alla teoria economica nota come "win-win solution", che penso sia significativa per spiegare il vantaggio degli attori non statali, come lo sono in qualche modo le camere di commercio, che partecipano alle relazioni tra e all'interno degli Stati. Si può affermare che, le camere di commercio, come si vedrà meglio nei capitoli seguenti, svolgono un ruolo di intermediazione tra Stati, imprese e singoli individui. Dato il loro core business, esse possono svolgere un ruolo efficace nell'alleviare i conflitti economici.

Il secondo capitolo analizza l'evoluzione, la nascita delle camere di commercio, in particolare delle camere di commercio italiane all'estero, e il loro ruolo di "facilitatori" del commercio internazionale nel corso della storia.

Nel primo paragrafo verranno fornite le diverse definizioni delle camere di commercio sia dal punto di vista teorico che da quello legislativo. Inoltre, per discutere poi, nel terzo capitolo, l'importanza delle camere di commercio per le relazioni internazionali e per l'espansione dell'italianizzazione all'estero, verranno date informazioni sulle loro diverse funzioni e finalità, come il lobbismo, l'autogoverno e l'integrazione nelle politiche pubbliche.

In seguito, nel secondo paragrafo verrà specificata la distinzione tra camere di diritto pubblico e privato e il luogo in cui operano. A tal fine verrà esplicitato un confronto tra i due modelli attraverso una tabella esplicativa. Tale paragrafo, assieme al capitolo primo, permetterà di rispondere al primo quesito posto in essere ossia se camere di commercio possono essere considerate attori non statali.

Successivamente, si esaminerà la genesi e l'evoluzione di questi istituti, partendo da una sintesi storica degli organismi che li hanno preceduti. Questa analisi si concentrerà su Francia,

Inghilterra e soprattutto Italia, dal momento che il caso di studio, la camera di commercio italiana in Quebec, coinvolge questi paesi nel contesto storico, culturale e attuale. Il primo uso del termine “Camera di Commercio” si è visto in Francia, nel 1599. In quel periodo gli uomini d'affari di Marsiglia lavoravano per creare un'organizzazione con il sostegno del consiglio comunale. Dal 1700 al 1724 altre Camere sono nate nelle diverse regioni in quella che oggi è la Francia. La Camera di Amiens fu l'ultima Camera di Commercio francese sotto l'Ancien Régime, nel 1761. Nello stesso anno, per la prima volta, anche i produttori, oltre a tutti gli industriali, sono rappresentati nella Camera. Dopo un periodo di stagnazione nel 1898 la legge Boucher istituì il regime amministrativo, giuridico e finanziario delle Camere e le confermò nelle loro missioni. Al giorno d'oggi, i corpi intermedi, quali le Camere di Commercio, sono meglio accettati e percepiti come “connessione tra l'individuo e lo Stato”. Infatti, in Francia vi sono ora 126 Camere di Commercio e Industria presenti in 95 paesi.

Le Camere di commercio in Gran Bretagna sono, insieme alle Camere francesi, tra le più antiche organizzazioni imprenditoriali del mondo occidentale. Infatti l'Inghilterra ha tradizioni secolari di movimento pubblico per la libera imprenditorialità che risale alla Magna Carta del 1215 e la Carta dei mercanti del 1303. Allo stesso tempo, le caratteristiche del modello anglosassone hanno modellato i primi coloni inglesi imprenditori in Nord America. La prima camera di commercio britannica è stata fondata sull'isola di Jersey nel Canale della Manica nel 1768, adottando ab origine il modello francese pubblico, poi seguita da altre camere. Nel complesso, la fase attuale, anche se per molti versi meno stabile rispetto al passato e in continuo cambiamento, ha visto in misura ancora maggiore le richieste dei membri. Gli storici dell'economia hanno attribuito crescente importanza alle forze politico-culturali, come le camere di commercio e il loro dinamismo con una vasta gamma di società e comitati, nella crescita del commercio e della produzione britannica. Lo dimostra il numero crescente e costante di camere di commercio nel corso degli anni. Al giorno d'oggi, ci sono 53 camere nel Regno Unito e oltre 70 camere di commercio britanniche e gruppi di imprese situati in ogni continente del mondo.

Inoltre il suddetto paragrafo si focalizzerà sui principali cambiamenti legislativi alla disciplina all'interno dell'ordinamento giuridico italiano, dalla loro origine, nel 1862, fino all'ultima riforma, la cosiddetta “Madia” sulla pubblica amministrazione del 2016.

Infine, dal momento che le camere di commercio possono unirsi in associazioni a livello

locale, regionale, nazionale, come Union Chamber, a livello europeo, attraverso Eurochamber, o addirittura globale, attraverso International chamber of commerce, l'ultimo paragrafo analizzerà le varie differenziazioni e funzionalità di queste unioni camerali.

Questa prima ricerca teorica e storica sarà successivamente contestualizzata nell'analisi del caso della Camera di Commercio Italiana in Quebec nel terzo capitolo.

Nella prima parte introduttiva sarà presentato lo Stato canadese, la sua conformazione geografica e, nel paragrafo seguente, la sua economia, concentrandosi principalmente sui vari accordi commerciali bilaterali con l'Unione europea e con l'Italia. A questo proposito, sarà presentato, nel paragrafo terzo, il recente accordo commerciale tra il Canada e l'Unione europea, CETA, e i suoi effetti a breve e lungo termine.

Conseguentemente, nel quarto paragrafo, si analizzerà con maggiore specificità l'importanza del Made in Italy e la portata dell'Italianità all'estero, con maggiore enfasi agli scambi commerciali con il Canada.

Questo capitolo si concluderà con l'analisi della Camera di Commercio Italiana in Quebec, organizzazione in cui ho svolto il mio primo stage magistrale. Questo paragrafo si concentrerà sulla storia dell'organizzazione e il suo ruolo di mediatore tra le aziende italiane e il mercato canadese. Attraverso la mia esperienza di stagista, cercherò di analizzare l'importanza di istituzioni come le Camere italiane all'estero. In uno scenario di globalizzazione e soprattutto dopo la pandemia di Covid-19, possono rappresentare un importante intermediario tra l'apparato statale, i cittadini e le aziende, promuovendo e aumentando la trasparenza, la certezza e l'equità delle relazioni economiche e sociali. I materiali che ho usato per scrivere questa sezione sono stati forniti in esclusiva attraverso un'intervista direttamente dal contatto aziendale, la referente stage e analista di mercato, Lavallée Inga, oltre a vari siti web del governo e della camera.

Infine, dal momento che le Camere di commercio, poiché non sono organi chiusi in sé stessi, ma generatori di reti di relazioni economiche, politiche e sociali tra cittadini, imprese in esse rappresentate e organismi nazionali, questo quarto ed ultimo capitolo esplorerà altri enti italiani che mirano, allo stesso modo della camera di commercio, a diffondere il commercio estero italiano.

Il soft power come alternativa al hard power è diventato un argomento sempre più popolare nel contesto delle relazioni internazionali per affrontare l'ascesa pacifica dell'economia mondiale. I politici, i leader aziendali e gli accademici di tutto il mondo hanno ripetutamente sottolineato l'importanza e i benefici dell'impiego del soft power piuttosto che dell'hard power per gestire le relazioni internazionali. In questo breve capitolo, cercherò di indagare se le Camere di Commercio possono realizzare elementi di soft power e possono spingere verso un dialogo più pacifico ed efficace tra i paesi. Inoltre, a causa della crescente enfasi sull'uso del soft power, la mia ricerca si concentrerà su due domande: Le Camere di commercio sono in linea con la maggiore enfasi posta sull'uso del soft power e possono utilizzare il loro soft power in collaborazione con altri organismi analoghi, in questo caso, per l'attuazione dell'Italianizzazione all'estero? Prima di esaminare tutte le questioni, fornirò un quadro teorico nella prima sezione di questo capitolo. Discuterò il significato e il contenuto del potere morbido come descritto da diversi analisti politici e teorici, in particolare da Joseph S. Nye Jr. D'altra parte, lo scopo della seconda sezione è quello di dare un'idea di altre entità, che si avvalgono di strategie di soft power. A tal fine saranno brevemente analizzati due degli enti pubblici italiani all'estero, che mirano, in coppia con le Camere di Commercio, a diffondere lo spirito italiano nel mondo. Nello specifico, mi concentrerò, in primo luogo, sull'intero "Sistema Paese" definendolo e presentandone gli attori e le sue funzioni e, in secondo luogo, sull'Ambasciata e sull'Agenzia per la promozione all'estero e l'internazionalizzazione delle imprese italiane, nota anche con l'acronimo ICE. A rischio di semplificare le caratteristiche e le funzioni di ogni membro del Sistema Paese, mi concentrerò in modo approfondito sulle funzioni dell'ICE e sul ruolo dell'ufficio commerciale ed economico dell'Ambasciata. Infine, verranno illustrati gli strumenti analitici nella terza sezione in cui si farà luce sul rapporto tra i diversi enti italiani all'estero attraverso un'intervista con il responsabile di ICE Amman, dott. Filippo Covino, il Primo Segretario del Capo Ufficio Missione, Dott. Valeria Romare e il Primo Segretario dell'Ufficio economico-commerciale, Dott. Emilio Fralleone. Questo permetterà di comprendere la grande complementarietà, adattabilità e sinergia tra i vari enti che operano nel "Sistema Paese" per promuovere l'esportazione e l'espansione all'estero delle imprese italiane.

In conclusione, anche se non vi è dubbio che gli Stati sono, e probabilmente rimarranno in

futuro, i principali attori nella vita delle relazioni internazionali, la presenza di attori non statali è sempre più importante. Inoltre secondo la legge italiana le camere di commercio sono definite come enti autonomi di diritto pubblico, tuttavia vi sono svariate definizioni, ognuna delle quali possono avere una valenza diversa. Secondo la corte dei conti europea, per esempio, con il termine attore non statale si includono tutte le componenti della società che non rientrano del settore privato dello Stato. In particolare, nell'ambito della cooperazione allo sviluppo, tra gli attori non statali vi sono anche le camere di commercio.

Secondariamente, si può affermare che, grazie all'analisi, nel secondo capitolo, delle funzioni e scopi delle camere di commercio e, nel terzo capitolo, del ruolo della camera di commercio italiana in Quebec, esse svolgono un ruolo strategico di network tra attori con dinamiche, storie ed esigenze differenti.

Infine, si può concludere sostenendo che, nel commercio mondiale, la presenza delle camere di commercio, grazie alla loro complementarità con altri organismi pubblici e, ancora di più, grazie alla loro partecipazione alla formulazione e all'attuazione delle politiche commerciali internazionali, può essere tuttora vantaggiosa sia per gli stessi attori governativi che per gli attori privati.

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INTRODUCTION

Rationale of research

International trade has become an essential part of all countries' daily activities in today's global economy. Export-import activities, in particular, have become the locomotive for economic development in both developed and developing countries as a result of globalization. In this regard, states have increasingly felt the need to establish special mechanisms, such as free trade agreement or a membership to a common trading framework, to facilitate the management of common interests in modern times. When making decisions about trading activities or trade policy, governments need information from autonomous interest groups, particularly the private sector, to make accurate calculations of benefits, from exporting activities, and losses, from losing local market to foreign competitors. The information is required not only before governments enter into any trade negotiations, but also during trade policy implementation, therefore any inappropriate steps would be revised in the current policy or fixed in future commitments. This process of feeding, processing, selecting, and implementing information is known as trade policy consultation or non-state sector participation in international trade policy. These bodies' areas of competence have been and continue to be the most extensive.

One of these bodies is chambers of commerce. Specifically, chambers of commerce are the means by which companies are grouped and developed in the territory of origin or abroad, producing positive economic and cultural effects in their country of origin. They aim to promote the effective participation of the business community in the process of policy-making, negotiation and implementation of international trade commitments. Given their dynamism, faithful to the historical-economic logic of time and of different historical periods, they have changed in form, function and composition. In fact, especially in recent years, due to the global economic and pandemic crisis, the individual tasks of each chamber body are being reassessed and converted, opting for being increasingly specific, targeted and addressed online.

Therefore, the reasons which led me to examine this subject in greater depth are twofold. In addition to being a highly current and evolving theme, the interest in chambers of commerce, their role in international relations and their relationship with other actors has been influenced and certainly encouraged by the experiences experienced during my university internships, the first at the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec and the second at the Italian Embassy in Amman. They have allowed me to have direct contact with different organisational realities.

In conclusion, even though there is no doubt that States are, and are likely to remain, the main players in the life of international relations, the presence of non-state actors, especially chambers of commerce, in world trade, their complementarity with others public bodies and, even more, their participation in international trade policy formulation and implementation is very important and can be beneficial for both government and non-state actors themselves.

Research question

With the rationale set forth, this research aims to answer these following research questions:

Research question 1: Can chambers of commerce be considered non-state actors?

Research question 2: What role do chambers of commerce play today?

However, a more targeted question can be evaluated as the final aim of this thesis:

Research question 3: Can chambers of commerce play a central role in relations and policies between and within states?

Therefore, to achieve these goals, this research will seek, in the first chapter, to describe which are the non-state actors in the different countries and what role they play in the panorama of global society and world politics. This will be done through the assumptions of some of the main theories of international relations, inter alia the Realist theory, Liberalism, Constructivist theory and the British School. A final paragraph will be devoted to the economic theory known as “win-win solution,” which I believe is meaningful in explaining

the advantage of non-state actors, as are somehow chambers of commerce, participating in relations between and within states. It can be either stated that, since chambers of commerce, as will be seen better in the following chapters, have an intermediary role between states, companies and individuals, they can play an effective role in alleviating economic conflicts. In fact, according to Sweetman (2009), businesses and business associations that implement business-based peace building may be more effective at conflict resolution than many conflict resolution organisations.

Therefore, the second chapter will deal with the economic and political aspects that chambers and their bodies play in the relations between and within States. It will start by providing the different definitions of the chambers of commerce together with their functions and purposes. Afterwards, the distinction between Chambers of Commerce of Public and Private Order will be made clear. Finally, the genesis and evolution of these institutions in the French and British legal systems will be examined, since Canada, the subject of the case study in the aforementioned research, has been undermined by their colonial influence. Furthermore, I will analyse the main legislative changes to the discipline within the Italian legal system, from their origin in 1862 until the last reform, the so-called “Madia” on public administration in 2016.

This initial theoretical and historical research will be made practical by the analysis of the case of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Canada in the third chapter. In particular, the economic scope of the Canadian State will be understood with a particular specificity on trade with Italy. In this regard, the recent trade agreement between Canada and the European Union, CETA, will be presented and its effects in the short and long term will be explained. This chapter will be concluded with the analysis of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec. Through my experience as an intern, I will try to analyse the importance of institutions such as the Italian Chambers abroad, which, in a scenario of globalization and especially after the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, may represent an important intermediary for states and companies.

Finally, since the Chambers of Commerce are not closed bodies in themselves but generators of networks of economic, political and social relations not only through the companies and

individuals represented in them but also within national bodies, in the final chapter I will give space to other visions. In fact, first, I will focus on the role of chambers of commerce as soft power. Secondly, I will analyse other Italian bodies, including the embassy and the ICE, which operate above, in parallel and jointly with chambers of commerce abroad. This will allow to understand the great complementarity, adaptability and synergy between the various bodies that operate in the “Sistema Paese” to promote the export and expansion abroad of Italian companies.

CHAPTER 1

LANDSCAPE ON NON – STATE ACTORS

1.1. Concept of state and non-state actors

The state was, and still is today, a central actor in the study of international relations. However, theorists working in state-centric theories, which assume that states are the primary actors in world politics, do not refuse to admit the existence of other political units. As Kenneth Waltz (1979, 93-94) affirms, “States are not and never have been the only international actors” and, then, he continues by saying that “the importance of non-state actors and the extent of transitional activities are obvious”.

Before proceeding further, there is the need to establish a preliminary definition of what is an actor and in particular a state and a non-state actor.

An ‘actor’ is basically anybody who has the ability to influence the actions of other similar players at the global level. By this definition, an actor can be both a state, an organisation or an individual and all of them affect international politics. Kan (2010), in his work on “Actors in world politics”, in turn, refers specifically to Professor Ryo Osiba of Hitotsubashi University, who states that an actor in world politics has to have three main features:

- I. They should have the capacity to determine their purposes and interests.
- II. They should further have the capability to gather necessary resources to achieve these purposes and interests and be prepared to implement global cooperation.
- III. Their actions should be significant enough to have an effect on the state-to-state relations or the behaviour of other non-state actors in the global system (*ibid*).

A state actor, sometimes referred to as a ‘country’ or a ‘nation-state’, is uniquely considered as a primary actor. It is first necessary to underline that the formal beginning of the modern sovereign state and modern international relations are dated back to 1648, during the Peace of Westphalia. The peace treaties that followed legitimised, inter alia, the need for independent States and, at the same time, reflected the creation of an international system based precisely

on a plurality of independent States, which did not recognise an authority superior to them.

According to Jackson and Sørensen (2010), a state can be defined as a “territory-based socio-political organisation entrusted with the responsibility of defending basic social conditions and values, including security, freedom, order, justice, and welfare”. In addition to the common imagery and the definition above, it is essential to highlight that also organisations within states that have global influence, such as embassies and consulates, the CIA, FBI, British Secret Service and so on, are also looked upon as state actors since most of their actions are associated with some form of approval from the state.

In particular, to be considered a ‘state actor’ under international law, an actor has to enjoy the basic principles of statehood. For instance, it has to be recognised as independent of the international community and to possess a population, a territory and an apparatus of government which effectively exercises its authority of empire originally on a given territorial community (Cassese, 2013). In this way, the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Obligations of States of 1933, more precisely in accordance with Article 1, provides that, as a subject of international law, a State should possess the following qualifications:

- I. a permanent population;
- II. a defined territory;
- III. government; and
- IV. capacity to enter into relations with the other states.

Because of their role in influencing the state-to-state relations and in protecting their security, states have a monopoly on the authority and power to engage in war, and it is also for this reason that it is considered a leading actor (*op. cit.*). In addition, another matter to attend to is the so-called *jus excludendi alios*. Though states differ in their level of success in protecting the aforementioned values, the state is assumed to have legal jurisdiction over its own affairs and population, and thus reinforce the respect for territorial sovereignty.

In recent decades, however, the idea of state actors and how they operate has increasingly been unpacked, mostly due to globalisation, the rise of communication technology and the

emergence of a multipolar world order (*Wijninga P., Oosterveld W. T., Galdiga J. H., Marten P., 2014*).

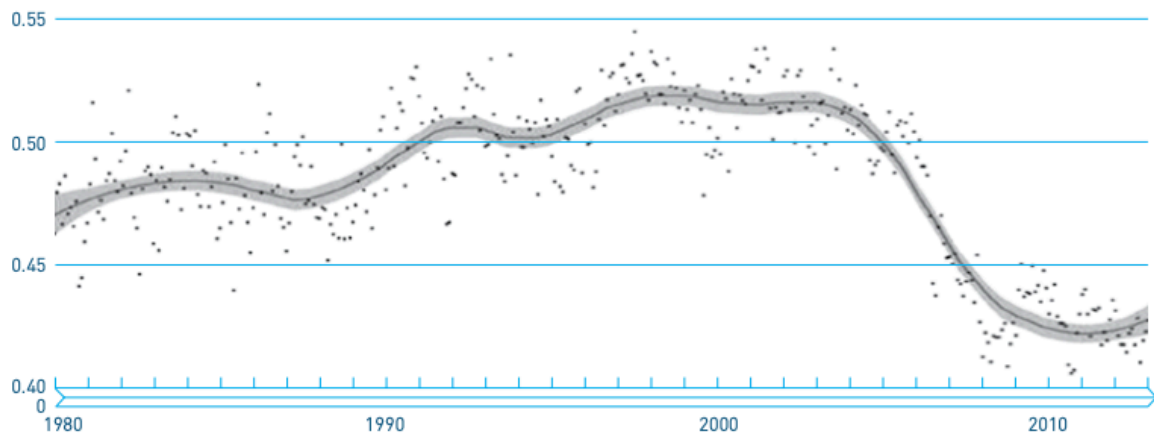


Figure 1: declining involvement of state actors in global events, measured by share of global news coverage (%), since 2000 (Source: GDELT)

The nature and extent of state authority and the ways in which a state exerts its authority have dramatically changed. As a result, as can be inferred from the graph above, the influence of the state as an actor appears to have declined over the last three decades, to the benefit of non-state actors such as NGOs.

Since, as previously mentioned, states are not the only actors on the world stage, a group of important players in the international arena is the intergovernmental organisations, otherwise known as the IGOs.

The term refers to an entity created, most of the times, by treaty, and established by two or more nations, to work in good faith on issues of common interest (*Harvard Law School*).

The most well-known and oldest intergovernmental organisations are the United Nations, abbreviated UN, which replaced the League of Nations, the Universal Postal Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Some other IGOs include the European Union, the Food and Agriculture Organization, G8, International Labour Organization, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the World Trade Organization, World Intellectual Property

Organization, World Food Programme, and many others.

Since IGOs are formed by treaties, they are more worthwhile than a mere grouping of nations. The reason is because they are subject to international law, and thus have the ability to enter into enforceable agreements among themselves or with states (*ibid*). However, since IGOs only operate by the consent of states, they may fulfil only the functions earmarked to them and states maintain sovereignty over them (*State and Non-state Actors in International Politics, 2022*). In other words, as the International Court of Justice, in its legal advice of 8 July 1996 on the Secularity of Nuclear Weapons, claims that international organisations are subject to international law but which, unlike States, do not enjoy a general competence. Indeed, international organisations are governed by the ‘principle of speciality,’ namely they are invested by the States which create them with powers, the limits of which are a function of the common interests whose promotion those States entrust to them (*Paragraph 25*).

The main purposes of IGOs are to create a mechanism to work more successfully together in the specific fields, such as peace and security, and also to solve economic and social questions. In this current era of increasing globalization and interdependence of nations, IGOs are playing an increasingly important role in international political systems and global governance, since they have the ability to make rules and exercise power within their member countries without granting any preference (*op. cit.; Charnovitz, 2006*). IGOs address a wide range of issues and involve governments from every region of the world. However, on a final note, it should also be underlined that, having been formed by states and the states themselves form part of them, they cannot be considered strictly non-states actors.

At the heart of the issue, among international actors, together with States and Intergovernmental Organisations, include non-state actors. They comprise individuals as well as entities, the latter spanning a large range of organisations and institutions on the global, regional, sub-regional as well as the local levels. These entities cannot be identified by common sociological features as they include, inter alia, international organisations and corporations, non-governmental organisations, known as NGOs, charitable and environmental organisations. In addition, they include national liberation movements and insurrectional movements, ‘Sui generis’ subjects, such as the Holy See, the Sovereign Order of Malta and the

International Committee of the Red Cross, trade associations, multinational and transnational corporations that have global reach, and finally terrorist, belligerent groups and transnational criminal organisations who have global influence.

Civil codes, legal doctrine and case studies of any jurisdiction in the world define a non-state actor as organisations and individuals that are not affiliated with, directed by, or funded through the government. The two following definitions of the US Code and the Cotonou Agreement, signed on 2000 and revised on 2010, by the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, the ACP countries express the same thought:

22 USC § 6402(11):

‘The term “non-state actor” means a nonsovereign entity that—

- (A) exercises significant political power and territorial control;
- (B) is outside the control of a sovereign government; and
- (C) often employs violence in pursuit of its objectives’ .

Chapter 2 Article 6 (c):

c) Non-State:

- private sector;
- economic and social partners, including trade union organisations;
- civil Society in all its forms according to national characteristics.

Both of these provisions define Non-State Actors as those players of international relations from the private sector, economic and social partners, including trade unions, and civil society in all its diversity according to national characteristics.

However, in the literature, non-state actors, also abbreviated to NSAs, have been defined in different and contradictory ways as well as applied generally depending on the research context and the settings of political system in different countries. Some scholars, examined below, favour notions dependent on factors such as independence from states, private nature, or the mere difference from states. Moreover, choose between one or the other definition is undoubtedly relevant since, for instance, entities as international organisations may be

classified as non-state or not depending on the appointment.

Above all, McDougal (1955) stresses the importance of studying non-state actors and their participation in the political and social power processes, considering their objectives, dynamics, practices, and relevance therein. Schachter (1997) steps forward examining the changing role and relevant actions of non-state actors; he further explores their interaction with international law in a global context, among which non-state governance and aid functions, the role of civil society, private regulation and functional norms.

Clapham (2009) examines the notion of non-state actors from a legal point of view. He includes, in the concept of non-state actors in nature, any entities different from states with respect to armed groups, terrorists, civil society, religious groups or corporation. Additionally, he acknowledges their legitimacy and accountability. Specifically, Clapham (2007) highlights that, as governments, non-state actors have certain obligations under human rights. These obligations are often known as positive obligations, or obligations to protect. For instance, in the field of human rights, these obligations are coming to be seen as having an impact on other non-state actors. According to him, in NSAs it may be included all sorts of political parties, religious groups, unions, clubs, and associations and broader contexts the United Nations and NATO, specifically in the context of their peace operations, international financial institutions, like the World Bank.

However, some narrower definitions exist too. Illustrative is Reinalda (2001), who has had insights on the classification of non-state entities taking into consideration their interests, goals, origin, and scope of participation. Especially he examines in detail nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and corporations from the perspective of some theoretical models, such as pluralism, transnationalism, and collective social action.

Even a more precise definition than that of Clapham (2009) is offered by Josselin and Wallace (2001). According to them, define non-state actors as only independent from state and state autonomy would be inaccurate, since private actors frequently work together with the public.

Their definition of non-state actors therefore includes organisations which are:

- “largely or entirely autonomous from central government funding and control: emanating from civil society, or from the market economy, or from political impulses beyond state control and direction;
- operating as or participating in networks which extend across the boundaries of two or more states — thus engaging in ‘transnational’ relations, linking political systems, economies, societies;
- acting in ways which affect political outcomes, either within one or more states or within international institutions [...]” (*ibid*).

They also examine, among others, conditions that embolden non-state participation, also formulating thought-provoking questions on non-state roles.

Calame (2008), in turn, highlights the relevance of non-state actions across boundaries and non-state contributions to provide public goods. Additionally, he discusses areas, among which their responsibility, representativeness, regulation, cooperation, coordination, legitimacy, and governance, in which they play a key role and the influence they can wield in comparison to states.

Additionally, Halliday (2001) considers non-state dynamics, their relevance throughout history, and the importance of regulations of non-state management. In particular, he firstly clarifies, as Josselin and Wallace (2001) declared before, that all that appears to be non-state is not so independent of the state. Secondly, he considers that not all of them are benign and thus argues that there is a need for a degree of ethical and democratic distance. Finally, he advances the need for the reassessment of the role of the NSA both in the light of the aftermath of Cold War and the spread of globalization on the other. The challenge, in his view, is, to think through the implications of changes in state-society relations, within the states borders and in a international setting, and to develop a regulatory framework that encompass both state and non-state actors in a shared democratic context.

Finally, as propounded by other scholars mentioned before, Reinalda, et all. (2001) highlight

the importance of studying non-state actors from multiple disciplines, given their relevance, and proposes a way to classify them. For this reason, the various theories about non-state and its role in the world politics will be discussed in more detail in the next paragraphs.

However, a common feature lies in their independence from the State and the voluntary basis upon which they have come together to act, promote and influence common interests. Furthermore, most, though not all, non-State actors possess some form of legal capacity under international law. This characteristic serves at the same time as an additional distinguishing feature of non-State actors vis-à-vis States, which possess full legal capacity. On the other side, in the case of non-State actors, this legal capacity may take on various degrees depending on the function of a non-State actor in the international legal order.

As mentioned before, until the first half of the twentieth century the world was very much dominated by states, whereas, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed an unprecedented growth in the number of international actors. In particular, Del Arenal (2002) analysed the phenomenon of increased non-state power and relevance in the current international social landscape. He also underlined the new important roles they play therein. According to him, those factors, which gave rise to their increasingly incisive role, must be considered related both to dynamics of interdependence, globalisation, and transnationalisation, as well as the decline of territoriality as an element of power.

Currently, non-state actors command the international headlines as much as states do, and are often able to decisively influence state decision-making processes. In particular, after the cold war, new technologies and new forms of social mobilisation, powered by a wave of democratisation and international developments, all of a sudden increased the number of international actors, in particular NSAs, such as NGOs, social movements and transnational companies (*Joachim J., 2019*). As a result, there has been a surge in debate among academics and policymakers regarding the benefits and drawbacks of globalization, as well as how it should be managed (*Weiss T. G., Seyle D. C. and Coolidge K., 2013*).

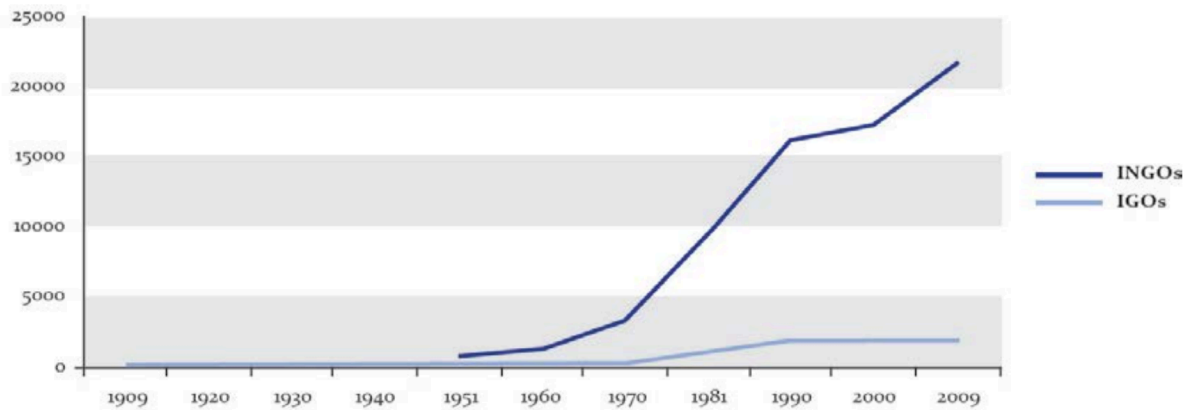


Figure 2: Number of IGOs and INGOs, 1909-2009
 (Source: Union of International Associations, Yearbook of International Organisations, edition 48, volume 5)

Even though the present chart (Figure 2) is not recently published, it can be noticed that, over the past century, there has been a marked increase in the number and the scope of international actors on the world stage. The most important aspect, however, is that this burgeoning has been concentrated in non-state actors, specifically International NonGovernmental Organisations.

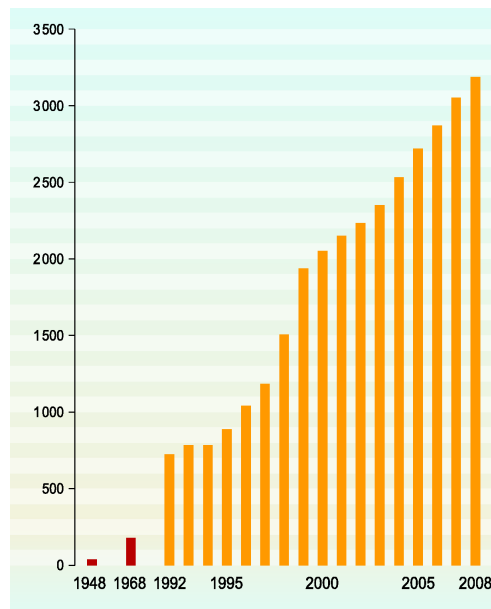


Figure 3: Growing relevance of non-state actors, Number of NGOs enjoying advisory status with the UN Economic and Social Council

(Source: ECOSOC¹, 2008)

By looking at Figure 3, it can be noted that, as a result of their increased number in the global field, their relevance in the decision making has increased too. Currently, 4,045 NGOs enjoy consultative status within the UN Economic and Social Council and the number of accessions has grown exponentially since 1948 and 1968.

In addition to its burgeoning and its relevance, their variety is very dense. Non-state actors cover a broad range of entities, from intergovernmental organisation, as boreed composed of states, to non-governmental organisation, multinational corporation and individuals. At the very end of the process, the only unifying definition holding them together is the fact that they are not states and that they are still participating in the international system. However, according to Capling. A and Low. P (2010), not all NSAs, regarded as both economic and socially motivated, in the practice of trade policy formulation in different countries, show their interest, raise their voice in the participatory dialogues or actively influence on the policy making process. Moreover, they yield, during their study, that approaches of consultation between government and NSA differ widely among countries. In particular they found that in developing countries, “only business actors possess the resources and capabilities that are essential to effective policy participation” (*ibid*).

1.1.1. Non-state actors in different countries

Non-state actors play a major role in forging nation-states’ foreign policy and greatly influence their foreign policy action. They exert influence in domestic as well as international environment and mobilise their home or host counties, national and global public opinion. Moreover, non-state actors are active in more than one state, therefore, they can harness states against each other. In present-day, non-state actors even began to replace nation-states in many areas (*Miyoshi M., 1993*).

¹ ECOSOC is one of the six principal organs of United Nations and its main aim is the promotion of studies or reports on economic, social, cultural, educational and health issues.

This paragraph reviews the participation of non-state actors in trade policy and negotiations in different countries. In particular, it will provide a briefly overview of Chile, Mexico, Kenya and South Africa. Finally, it will be given a more space of analysis of Jordan, in order to have a considerable starting point for the next chapter. The reason why it is necessary to focus on non-state actors in different countries is given to the scholar Ataman. He claims that their effectiveness differs from one state to another, one issue area to another, one spatial setting to another, or one time period to another. More precisely, according to him, powerful states are less constrained by the principle of IGOs, and non-state actors in general, than those who are relatively weak (*Ataman M., 2000*). Moreover, as Karns and Mingst clearly argues, NSAs make a difference in international interactions and have notable influence even on the most powerful state (*Karns M.P. and Mingst K., 1990*). Therefore it should be fundamental to analyse state by state its NSAs and the role they have in national and international policy.

The first state to be analysed and taken into account is Chile. In Chile, the most relevant category of NSAs in trade negotiations are: business associations; labour organisations; civil society organisations, the CSOs; and professional associations. There are also other categories, such as think tanks or academic institutions, though their participation in trade discussions is sporadic. According to an analysis performed by Herreros S. (2010), the business sector is by far the most influential constituency among NSAs. Moreover, NSA participation in trade policy discussions, outside the context of trade negotiations, has been rather occasional, and decreased significantly after negotiations with the United States and the European Union in 2003. Herrero S., in “Governments, Non-State Actors and Trade Policy-Making” book, indicated that the Chilean business associations had been the most active NSA in preference trade agreement negotiations since 1990. Previously, during the period of military rule, civil society involvement in the formulation of public policies was non-existent, apart from business interests. Indeed, Chile’s first private association of services exporters became involved in consultations towards the end of the 1990s in the context of the free trade agreement (FTA) with Canada. For instance, following the launch of preferential trade agreement (PTA) with Canada, the Services Exporters’ Committee was created in 1996 under the aegis of the Santiago Chamber of Commerce (*ibid*). It groups more than forty entities covering a wide range of sectors and professional associations. Its purpose was to act as a

private counterpart in negotiations between Canada-Chile FTA. Nowadays, in addition to acting as a consultive body to the government on trade negotiation matters, it provides technical support on fiscal matters. For this reason, it can be stated that participation by NSAs in trade negotiation is a relatively new phenomenon (*ibid*). Therefore, it is still too early to predict how NSA participation in trade policy will evolve. However, it seems clear that the long-range trend is towards greater transparency and accountability, which should facilitate NSA involvement.

For what regard Mexico, the involvement of NSAs in the development of Mexico's trade policy is not a new phenomenon. During the negotiation process for the participation of Mexico to GATT, and later to NAFTA, the business sector was consulted through its representatives at the Confederación de Cámaras Industriales de México, CONCAMIN (*Zabludovsky J. and Pasquel L., 2010*). Instead, the environmental, labour movement or academia have shown some interest in trade negotiations and Mexico's trade policy development even though, in recent years their interest has diminished and shifted to other areas. The most non-state organisation that have been involved in Mexico's trade policy development is the "Coordinadora de Organismos Empresariales de Comercio Exterior", COECE, which it is essentially characterised by high levels of mutual trust between state and business officials (*Zabludovsky J., 1994; Thacker S.C., 2000*). In conclusion, it can be deduced that after the unique consultation process carried out for the Free Trade negotiations, the interaction between the authorities and NSAs, especially for environmental and labour groups, has been declining both in intensity and awareness.

On the African side, instead two case studies reveals different findings. On the one hand, in Kenya the development of trade policies, particularly after the ushering of democracy in 2003, has attempted to embrace consultation among and between both state and non-state actors. However, it is not surprisingly, since its civil society is active in all sectors of the economy, that, NSAs from both the business and civil society sectors are involved in trade-related policy issues. Other CSOs involved in trade issues are universities, policy analysis and research institutions, whose work is used by government as well as by other organisations.

In particular, the business sector is organised into sector-specific organisations in order to facilitate provision of, and access to, a range of advisory services, and to provide a platform for policy advocacy. Just to name two of them, the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI), for instance, represents small, medium and large scale traders, while, Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) is the umbrella organisation of private business associations involved in the formulation of investor-friendly public policy. Therefore, the private sector has been reasonably influential in trade policy-making in Kenya, through participation in established trade consultative mechanisms, standing committees, task forces and other key decision-making organs. However, according to Ng'ethe and Omolo (2010), the participation of the private sector in trade policy-making in Kenya can be improved through better balancing of the interests of all actors, particularly by KEPSA and KNCCI. Overall, even though the actual influence of NSAs in trade policies has been low, there is a quite perception among NSAs in trade policy-making. All the same, participation of NSAs in Kenya's trade policy-making is expecting to grow and to acquire a measure of acceptance and, therefore, legitimacy.

On the other hand, the South Africa State retains a dominant role in the process of trade policy-making, while non-state actors, particularly business and labour, affect the content of negotiations, but not the issue of forum choice (*Draper, P., Disenyana, T., and Biacuana, G., 2010*). In fact, nowadays the African National Congress, ANC, is the dominant political force in South Africa and, in its members view, there is a consensus on the need for the state to lead development. Therefore, it is unlikely that NSAs participation will change or improve in the foreseeable future.

Finally, focusing on the Middle East, Jordan is a key country for stability in the Middle East and for this reason it is necessary to identify and understand the actors that are part of the system. In particular, Jordanian civil society emerged from particular social, economic and political background. As in the case of Chile, Jordan NSAs have had the opportunity to engage in public policy dialogue only in recent time.

According to Khouri R.A. (2010), NSAs in Jordan are business, private voluntary organisations, professional and labour groups. In his view, all these non-state actors can be

labelled into “old” NSAs, which were more powerful behind the scenes, in contrast to the “newer” ones set up or introduced in the 1990s.

More specifically, Williamson W. and Hakki H. (2010), in a summary called “Mapping Study of Non-State Actors in Jordan”, non-state actors can be classified in line with a four-level hierarchy (Figure 4).

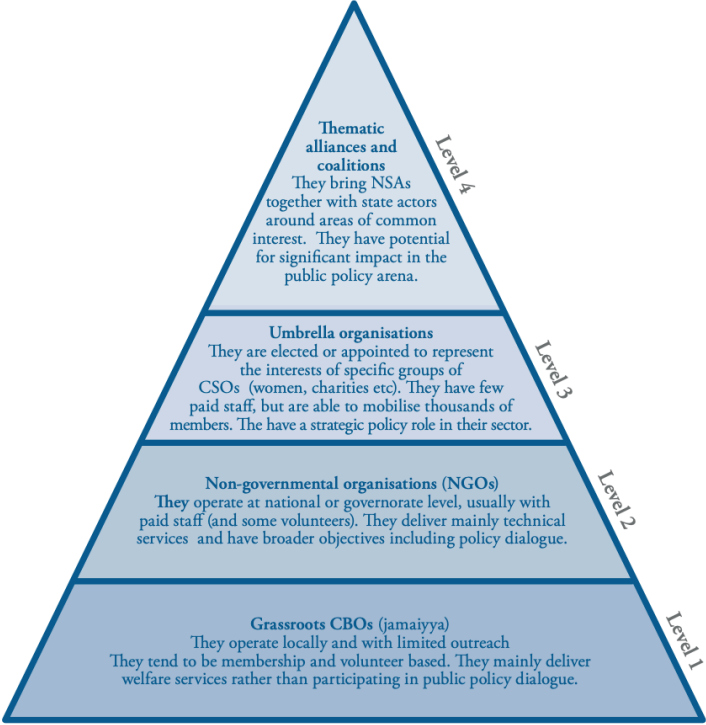


Figure 4: Classifying non state actors in Jordan: a hierarchy based on scale and mandate

Source: European Consultants Organisation (ECO)

According to them, the most important level is the Level 3, the umbrella organisations, since they are able to represent the diverse interests of significant segments of the population. In fact, they represent charities, cooperatives, women’s organisation, the business sector, associations and unions. They can also coordinate together around areas of shared interests, such as combating child labour or enforcing environmental standards.

However, despite the wide range of NSAs, in the case of Jordan, there has been very little engagement on the multilateral front.

Moreover, a lot of Jordan NSAs are at least in part government-sponsored; this of course suggests a degree of control over positions taken but also an ability to access government officials and political figures. Nevertheless, Williamson W. and Hakki H. (2010) argued that

the majority of NSAs embrace the opportunity to receive funds aimed at implementing projects that promote citizens' involvement in public policy dialogue.

Khoury R. (2010), referring to both to multinational and national negotiations, found that state actors engage with NSAs in trade policy-making for three main reasons:

- I. “for ‘seeking technical advice and commercial intelligence’;
- II. for ‘promoting transparency’ and ‘gauging potential public views in relation to potential points of opposition to negotiating positions’ (equal second preference);
- III. and ‘creating coalitions to support negotiating positions and outcomes’ and ‘satisfying public policy (including statutory) requirements’ (equal third preference)”

Lastly, Jordan policy and institutional framework support an increasingly enhanced role for non-state actors in public policy dialogue. Even King Abdullah H.M., in various statements, emphasises the vital role that civil society plays in the public policy process and the need for a closer cooperation. Indeed, the National Agenda and the ‘We are all Jordan’ initiative launched in 2006, set out clearly such aspirations for reform and modernisation (*The Royal Hashemite Court, 2022*).

In conclusion, through these brief cases of the above countries, NSAs are mainly subdivided into two sections. On the one hand, there are non-sovereign economic organisations, in which industrial or business associations and farmer’s associations are included. On the other hand, civil social organisations are also part of NSAs. These induce NGOs, labor organisation, private volunteer organisations, chamber of commerce, academia and mass-media. However, in most cases, only in recent time they have made their interests explicit and showed their influence at different levels on the trade policy setting process. Most of the time they have made use of business consultations which are the mostly common discussing dialogues with the government agents.

1.1.2. Non-state actors in Canada

For what concern Canada, Randolph Mank, former Canadian ambassador, in an Article called “Reflections on the Role of Non-State Actors in Canada-Asia Relations”, bear witness to the “ever increasing role of non-state actors in the foreign policy and international relations everywhere”. In the article, Mank analysed his personal experience as a diplomat showing that, non-state actors, such as scholars, research institutes, private sectors and even the Roman Catholic Church, have helped in the peace-keeping field. In fact, during the mid-1980s, working in the Central America desk in Ottawa, he observed that the Roman Catholic Church in such places as El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala has played a key role in working to protect human rights and extend aid in zones of conflict. In addition, he further highlighted their decisive help and intervention in the relations between Canada and Asian countries, especially in the backdrop of the Cold War. In particular, he focused the attention toward his work in and on Indonesia, Japan, Myanmar, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Firstly, in his Indonesian experience, he evinced the McGill University’s Institute for Islamic studies case, which had devised, in the 1960s, a unique programme to bring scholars to Montreal to study Islam. As a consequence, this initiative gave rise to a similar model in the Indonesian Islamic University system, becoming a positive, successful and renowned programme in Indonesia.

Analysing the non-state actor's role in the economic sphere, he addressed the enormous economic role played by Canada’s Inco Mining in its nickel operations in the province of Sulawesi. The company not only invested considerable sums in community development, but also influenced indirectly in the selection of the place to receive the Canadian aid programme. In addition to these contributions from academe and the private sector, Canadian non-governmental organisations played a key role in the Canada’s relations with Indonesia. A clear example can be inferred from the response to December 26, 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, which caused major disruptions to living conditions and commerce in the Aceh province, among others. In response to the tsunami disaster, many individual and groups of individual Canadians in the private sector, comprising individual within schools, faith-based

organisations, or businesses, have undertaken fund-raising activities or humanitarian and early recovery assistance. This not only strengthened an immediate and effective Canadian response to the tsunami disaster, but it also considerably increased Canadian diplomatic access to the highest levels of the Indonesian government on a wide range of bilateral issues.

For what concern the Canadian relations with Japan they are dominated by commercial interests from the outset, even though there was also the interest in broadening the relationship into the security sphere as well. However, according to Mank, it was difficult to engage the Japanese through traditional diplomatic channels in these conversations. Therefore, Mank R. (2016) and his team turned to Professors Brian Job of the University of British Columbia and Masashi Nishihara of the National Defense Academy to comprehend what dialogue and diplomacy among non-state actors might achieve. The ensuing 1997 'Job–Nishihara Report' led to the launch of the first ever Canada–Japan Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation.

However, on the other hand, the clearest case in order to show how destructive non-state actors can be was the Twin Towers al-Qaeda attacks of 9/11. This also demonstrated how dramatically and promptly these actors can shape the Canadian foreign policy. This event caused the closure of Canada–US borders and, consequently, the Canadian foreign policy towards Afghanistan was being driven and changed dramatically by the aftermath of the attacks. However, ironically, other non-state actors were necessary to act to help in the rebuilding process, as The Turquoise Mountain Foundation did during the Afghanistan war.

Taking into account the role of non-state actors within the Canadian State, their role and influence increased in the early 1990s. Indeed as Lafort, Millar, and Simmons (2016) claimed, at that time, the Canadian federal government, alongside the European Commission, has sought to include civil society groups in social policy, albeit limited to service delivery.

As already alluded to, governments can affect the level of involvement in policy making, including or excluding certain actors at the expense of others, or certain ideas over others (*Jenson J., 1989 and 2010*). In doing so, they convey a particular awareness of who are the

legitimate actors and the role they play in policy. As a result, to the turn of the XX century, Canada recognised the necessity to formalise its relationship with non-state actors in order to regulate their leading role in social policy. In particular, the Canadian State has attempted to use civil society groups to promote pan-Canadian measures in social policy (Laforest, 2013). In the 1970s and 1980s the federal government launched a series of programs through the Department of the Secretary of State specifically designed to support organisations representing the Canadian society. These programs aimed to cultivate and consult civil society, focusing on official language minorities, aboriginal organisations, women's organisations, and ethnocultural groups (Laforest 2013; Pal 1993; Smith 2005). This is relevant since, through these programs, "Canada became one of the only countries to have established an elaborate funding regime to assist civil society organisations and to institutionalise their access to the state" (*ibidem*). This dynamic shaped the Canadian model of civil social groups as we consider them today. Nowadays they fall within the umbrella organisations at the national level, mainly categorised vertically into various provincial and local branches. However, according to Millar, while Canadian non-state actors have been involved in a wide spectrum in service delivery to boost efficiency, they have had only a limited role in policy development. Specifically, Laforest highlighted that their inclusion in policy-making tends to privilege the best organised groups, rather than the most representative ones. By contrast, in the European Union non-state actors have been seen as a key link between EU institutions and citizens, contributing a favourable exchange of ideas and conferring a legitimisation on social policy matters decided at the European level (*ibidem*).

A clear example that demonstrate the necessity of a coalition between the Canada State and all non-state actors, operating within the Canadian border, can be seen in the climate change issue. In this regard, the first case is a case law that involved Ethyl Corp Vs the Government of Canada, erupted in April 1996 and settled in June 1998. Reacting to environmental group pressure and domestic consumer, the Canadian Government had banned the production and interprovincial trade of a gasoline additive (MMT), of which Ethyl was a monopoly producer. By contrast, the Company argued that there was no scientific evidence that could justify such a ban. This means, *apertis verbis*, that Ethyl Corporation submitted a Notice of Arbitration alleging that Canada breached its obligations under Chapter Eleven of the North American

Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a result of introducing legislation banning the importation of and interprovincial trade in MMT. Even though this provoked a torrent of protest from environmental groups all over North America, the Canadian government decided to settle the case out of court with a 13 million Canadian dollar payment to Ethyl. As part of the settlement, the Government of Canada removed the measure which unfairly banned the Company's product, issued a statement, signed by two government ministers, clarifying that it had no evidence of harm caused by the product and paid the company around 20 million Canadian dollar. As demonstrated by the controversy surrounding the dispute between the Canadian government and an American farm, Ethyl Corporation, MCSs has the potential to challenge national environmental standards. Moreover, environmental and labour NGOs demanded the inclusion of binding and enforceable minimal environmental and labour standards by Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) signatories, the stronger of home or host country standards for investors, and the access of NGOs to dispute settlement panels (*Barshevsky C., 1997*).

A more recent example can be found in the ambiguous plan of “Moving Forward Together - Canada’s 2030 Agenda National Strategy”, launched by the Minister of Families, Children and Social Development, Ahmed Hussen, and the Minister of International Development, Karina Gould, in February 2021. The strategy promotes a whole-of-society approach in order to achieve the SDGs. In fact, as British Columbia Council for International Cooperation (BCCIC) and Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) argued in 2019, “the scale and ambition of the agenda call for contributions from stakeholders across society including parliamentarians, citizens, civil society organisations, the private sector, academia, and the media”. While implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is primarily a governments’ responsibility, formal arrangements for effective multi-stakeholder engagement are a key element in ensuring whole-of-society approaches to implementing the Agenda. According to BCCIC and CCIC, international cooperative initiatives (ICIs), which involve both State and NSAs, could have an even larger impact in reducing emissions in 2030 by 290 to 310 MtCO_{2e}/year or 42% to 48% vis-à-vis the projected emissions under current national policies. It is therefore clear that if these initiatives

are successful, Canada will remain on track to achieve net zero GHG emissions by early in the second half of the 21st century.

Ultimately, it is evident from these examples provided that Canadians non-state actors cannot be organised into one cohesive group, but their influence in shaping foreign policy is nevertheless impactful and significant. What is clear is that giving non-state actors an increasing role in Canada could certainly help to create new links between levels of government, encourage policy learning, and confer greater legitimacy on the policy-making process.

1.2. NSAs in Academia's thought

In the theoretical field of international relations and policies there is a wide divergence between the different theories on who are the subjects in the international system.

According to Waltz (1979), the state is fundamental to neorealism, while, according to Keohane (1984), to neoliberal institutionalism (*Lake D.A. 2010*). The state is also the main actor in accordance to constructivist and English theories (*Bull 1977, Reus-Smit 1999, Wendt 1999*). Furthermore, according to Lake (2010), even critical, postmodern, or feminist theories, often focus on deconstructing states and state practice. In light of the above, the state is considered an indispensable component of theories of world politics.

Although scholars of international relations continue to recognise that states retain considerable power and advantages, they increasingly highlight an international realm where states share the stage with a multiple of other actors. Moreover, in this perspective trends in global politics are shaped not only by states but also by a variety of other actors and forces. In other words, the discipline is departing from the study of “international relations” and toward the study of the “global society” (*ibid*). For this reason, non-state actors have been examined from different disciplines, which acknowledge their relevance and attach importance to the international and transnational dimensions of non-state conduct given their power or impact.

In these paragraphs the main theories and models of international relations will be analysed, focusing on the different schools of thought about the role of non-state actors. In particular, the aim is to provide the basis for a comparison between the state-centric model and the so-called global society. Indeed, as Lakhany (2006) stated, a pluralist approach informed by realist, liberal and constructivist research is perhaps best able to account for the majority of interactions within the global political economy. This is corroborated by the Stephen Walt's statement, who argued "the "complete diplomat" of the future should remain cognisant of realism's emphasis on the inescapable role of power, keep liberalism's awareness of domestic forces in mind, and occasionally reflect on constructivism's vision of change".

Firstly, the realistic approach will be discussed with all its categories. Realism constitutes a fundamental starting point for understanding subsequent developments. Indeed, according to Wohlforth, the study of international politics would be inexplicable without a grounding in realism (*Wohlforth W.C., 2010*).

Secondly, the focus will be on neoliberal institutionalism, rationalistic theories and new liberalism. Unlike the realist, in the liberal thought, the dominant identity of states might be weakening therefore, the world, according to its view, should be described not just in terms of state interaction only but also in terms of an increasing community.

Thirdly, constructivist theory will be explained through its distinctive features and its controversies. Although the various arguments, the analysis shows that this theory looks at international relations with a broader view towards a society composed of different actors, institutes and their interaction is an important trait.

As a last theoretical approach analysed, the English school primarily offers a synthesis of different theories and concepts. In fact, the English school provides a holistic approach to the subject, aiming to examine the world as a whole. Therefore, by doing so, it offers a middle ground between the opposing theories of realism and liberalism.

Finally, both the zero-sum dichotomy and the win-win solution will be analysed with reference to the balancing of local and global influences between states and non-state actors. It will therefore be sought to outline an unambiguous solution in order to achieve peaceful and fruitful coexistence.

1.2.1 Realism

The realist theory has been one of the dominant ways in the West area of explaining world politics over the last 150 years and considers states as the main players in international politics.

It is necessary to first make an introduction about what is known as “realism”. The most important point to take in consideration is that realism is not now and never has been a coherent single theory. As a meta-theoretical unit, what International Relations scholars consider as “Realism” actually comprise different strands with different focuses, propositions, and policy prescriptions. According to Elman C. (2008) first and Wohlforth (2010) later, oftentimes, scholars utilise the word “realism” and “theory” together to refer to three different strands: realism, sub schools within realism like neorealism and specific realist theories such as balance of power, the threat balance theory or the hegemonic stability theory.

Schweller R.L. and Priess D. (1997) argued that all realists subscribe to four common assumptions that are held to be the key tenets of the paradigm.

First, “Humans do not face one another primarily as individuals but as members of groups that command their loyalty”. The historical background of international politics recognise that in the 16th century these groups have taken the form of nation-state. Nowadays, states are the main the dominant actor in world affairs, though not the only one.

Second, “International affairs take place in a state of anarchy”, since within international system there is a lack of authority that can enforce rules or order between nation-states. According to this assumption, the law that prevail is the law of power, in which powerful states prevail and the weaker submit.

Third and fourth assumptions are respectively “the nature of international interaction is essentially conflictual” and “power is the fundamental feature of international politics”. These mean that in the absence of a formal international authority and world government, when all else fails, military force is the final and legitimate arbitrator of disputes among states.

For this reason, some realists such as Niebuhr (1932; 1944) and Morgenthau (1946; 1948) claim that conflict is inevitable due to the lack of a higher power and a scarcity of material resources, markets, and social goods. While all these different strands share common starting assumptions, the notion that realism has to be reduced to a single, internally consistent and logically coherent theory is the origin of a misunderstanding. Therefore, disaggregate realism is a necessary task to place in a much better place non-state actors’ analytical value within the major research program.

Another important claim is that most scholars working within the realist tradition generally do not place non-state actors at the center of their theoretical propositions. According to realists, states are rational actors since they recognise the circumstances in which they find themselves and they decide the way in which they want to act by cost-benefit analysis. States decide to go to war, they erect trade barriers, choose whether and at what level to establish environmental standards and enter international agreements and choose whether to abide by their provisions (*Lake D.A., 2010*). Despite what noted before, this does not suggest that realism simply dismisses non-state actors, or that they somehow simply are of no importance. In fact, through a more nuanced reading, it would be suggested that, on the one hand, as spectrum of ideas (*Haslam J., 2002*), realism is generally more concerned with issues and patterns which encompass inter-state relations and major power interactions, notably with regard to war and peace. For this reason, it would not be able to explain all issues of international politics, including the behavior of non-state actors. An important contribution to this awareness is given by Waltz’s observation (1986), who once argued that “structure never tells us all that we want to know. Instead they tell us a small number of big and important things.”

On the other hand, several strands of realism, most prominently the neoclassical variant, are willing to give analytical and theoretical space for non-state actors, in order to explain state behaviour in international politics. In particular, most scholars, working within the “realist

research programme," are primarily interested in the role of violent non-state actors as threats to national security. By restating in the clearest form, they have tended to enhance attention to international institutions and organisations, rather than MNCs or NGOs.

However, IGOs are considered simply instruments of states and their role are marginal. According to Waltz (1979), "States are the units whose interactions form the structure of international political systems". Therefore, even though "it is important to consider the nature of transnational movements, the extent of their penetration, and the conditions that make it harder or easier for states to control them," it could be argued that IGOs cannot change the state's positions or attitudes (*Waltz, 1979*). Considering that being said, realists give less chance for international cooperation and for effective international institutions (*Ataman M., 2003*). Nevertheless, an accurate reading of "defensive structural realism" would suggest that international institutions are becoming increasingly more important in maintaining global and regional relations.

From another point of view, given the analytical concerns of realism, the relegation of non-state actors, and their marginalisation in realist theories can be considered not as a weakness but as a starting point for further analysis. Focusing on major questions of inter-state relations and great power conflict, scholars within realism were able to work lens to refine and better specify their theoretical propositions over time. They often have been willing to extend realist tradition, concepts, and propositions to explain new and important questions and issues beyond great power relations and war. This includes works that explore both general phenomenon, such as the dynamic of unipolarity (*Wohlforth 1999; Pape 2005*), Barry Posen's work ethnic conflict and security dilemma as well as terrorism (*1993; 2001*) or Stephen Van Evera's work on nationalism (*1994*), and more discrete events or behaviours, like US foreign policy in the cold war (*McAllister, 2002*), and many others. Thus, after all, there is no need to overhaul realism just to take into account the role of non-state actors. As Waltz (*1979*) argued, as long as states remain a significant, even though not the most dominant, group-conflict unit within the contemporary IS, non-state actors could still be included under the wing of realism. Additionally, since no scholars of transnational phenomena have developed a distinct theory that denies the central role of states yet, it can be said that non-state actors have not developed

to the extent of competing with or surpassing the great state powers (*Waltz 1979*). By contrast, using the same realist' core concepts, Keohane (*1984*) explained the high possibility of international cooperation. According to him, although rational actors concern about their self-interests in an anarchic international system, they are willing to cooperate for their long-term interests. Given that realists give less chance for international cooperation and for effective international institutions, they are mainly focus on short-term interests, overlooking behaviour changes, for instance, in the Prisoner's Dilemma. As a result, from this angle it can be considered that the influence of non-state actors is significant in international politics.

Nevertheless, there is almost unanimous agreement on the limits of state-centric theory. For example, a substantive critique is that states have lost control over private actors who can organise and move across national borders (*Lake, 2010*). In fact, due to a series of transformations in the last twenty years regarding what and, more importantly, whom is studied, the discipline is moving away from the study of international relations toward the study of the global society (*ibidem*). The effect of these transformations was that the narrative of the field has changed from one anarchy in a system of states to governance within a global society. Although issues such as the interest of states remain of the agenda, they increasingly share space with other topics which needed an outside perspective and interest.

In conclusion, all strands of realism mainly focussed on explaining state behaviour and international outcomes, and not on the nature and role of non-state actors. After all, as Glaser (*2003*) argues, "Realism is designed to understand relations and interactions between states; we should not be surprised that it has less to tell us about non-state actors."

1.2.2. Liberalism

Liberal theories of international relations and politics inform the practice and tradition of non-state actors and non-governmental organisations. Among the scholars inclined towards global justice and democratic peace belong to the liberal thoughts. The most illustrious one were

John Locke and Immanuel Kant up to Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls. In particular, they focus on the enduring role of private actors in the public sphere, as they are a necessary element for progressive political development (*Gordon and Pierik, 2010*).

In the paragraph above, it was explained the contributions and limits of realism, but as early as the 70s and 80s the perspective slowly changed. Afterwards, in 1983, Ruggie denoted realism's inability to explain change as its greatest weakness. He argued that realism was unable to explain the ongoing main changes in the international system, since it was missing both a dimension and a determinant of change (*Ruggie J., 1983*). Specifically, global governance has changed from a state-dominated affair to include an array of actors. In fact, in the mid-1970s, scholars known as "liberal pluralists" began to consider the state no longer as an isolated actor in the political system, but rather a complementary actor. Secondly, they arrived at the conclusion that the traditional supremacy of military and security issues as key factor of policy had changed and economic and social interests had become even more important. Indeed, global rule-making, and the ecology of international politics in general, is no longer dominated and controlled by states, in lieu it is increasingly produced by private authorities such as global corporations and bond-rating agencies, IOs and nongovernmental organisations (*Barnett and Sikkink 2010; Ruggie J. 2004*). For this reason, it is necessary to understand new theories, which have made some important contributions to understanding specific changes in global society.

According to the "liberal" thought, contrary to the realist position, a positive approach is more desirable. As a starting point, they stated that human being and societies can be improved and that the dominant identity of states is weakening. Therefore, it is necessary to describe the world not just in terms of state interactions but also in terms of an increasing community. Liberals Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye were among the first scholars to suggest a revision of the state-centric paradigm by reason on the fact that it had failed to identify the importance of non-state actors. According to them, individuals and groups, including multinational corporations, transnational actors, and international organisations are central actors in some issue-areas of world politics. Hence, liberals reject the realist notion that state is the main actor on the world political stage, although they do not deny that is important. Indeed, as

Andrew Moravcsik (1993) has written, liberalism assumes that the principal actors in politics are "autonomous individuals and private groups differentiated by their variable interests and resource endowment" (*Moravcsik A., 1997*). Individual societal groups, firms associations and all other non-state actors operate in and across nation-state. A major study to be taken into account which deals with the importance of non-governmental actors in global politics is the Non-State Actor Project (NOSTAC) of the 1970s (*Mansbach R. W., Ferguson Y., Lampert D., 1976*). The researcher focussed at events and challenges that had taken place between 1948 and 1972 in three regions, Latin America, Western Europe and the Middle East, in order to analytically explain the growth and behaviour of non-state actors. The main finding demonstrated that only one-half of the interactions in these regions were conducted under the state umbrella. Thus, this implies that only one-half of international events could be analysed using the state-centric approach and consequently a new approach is needed.

Indeed, the increasing levels of political, economic, military and cultural transactions between individuals, societies and states gave rise to an increasing number of organisations, challenging the "state-centric" perception. As a by-product of intensified globalization process, these new kinds of organisations have become significant elements of foreign policies of the state. In particular, liberalism considers NSAs as full-fledged actors which comprise both NGOs and MNCs. Firstly, liberal theory focuses on for-profit NSAs, such as multinational transitional corporations, identified as agents of interdependence and thus promoter of cooperation among states. Secondly, it analyses not-for-profit organisations, which build transnational relations across societies in order to promote universal values, such as human rights and environmental protection. Specifically, according to Mingst, MNCs are considered vanguard of the new world order since they possess the most efficient means of production and their trade crosses state borders (*Mingst, 1999*). Moreover, liberal economists suggest that "the global efficiency and the increased generation of the wealth result from the ability of MNCs to invest freely across international borders" (*Goldstein, 1999*). Some economists even developed an argument about the replacement of the nation-state by MNCs as the main economic unit (*Barnet R.J. and Cavanagh J., 1994*). Kenichi Ohmae, on the contrary, supports that the rising importance of TNCs and MNCs does not entail that states

decline in significance but that are involved in negotiations between firms, governments and NGOs (*Bieler, A., Higgott, R., & Underhill, G., 2000*).

Moreover, liberals tend to think of the state as comprised of a set of bureaucracies with their own interests. Therefore, a single 'national interest' is not possible since it merely represents the result of what ever social preferences or bureaucratic organisations dominate the domestic decision-making process. In a book called "World Society" John Burton (1972) proposes the 'cobweb model' of transnational relationships. The Burton' cobweb model points a world driven more by mutually beneficial cooperation between the actors within IR than by antagonistic conflict. The purpose of this model is to demonstrate how any nation-state is composed of many different groups of people that have different types of external tie and different types of interest, such as business groups or labour groups. In fact, the other main assumption of this theory is the idea of "joint gains". According to the liberals, the individuals and communities can move beyond the "relative gains" of the realist perspective and they are able to think and seize possibilities for "joint gains" based on exchange, cooperation and trade (Jackson R., Sørensen G., 2013). In addition, individuals and non-state actors have many incentives to seek cooperation in order to guarantee the gains to all of them. Individuals and groups, with an attitude called a 'win-win approach', which it will be analyse in depth in next paragraphs, give the opportunity for individuals to look for a way to advance their interests through cooperation. The cooperation is preferred to conflict, because by cooperative attitude, all the actors can gain.

In summary, liberal thinking is closely connected with recent developments, including the emergence of the modern constitutional state. Liberals argue that modernisation is a process involving progress in most areas of life and gave rise to new non governmental actors. The process of globalisation enlarges the scope for cooperation across inter-national boundaries and therefore it is necessary to include in the analysis NGOs and economic actors.

1.2.3 Constructivist Theory

Many IR and IPE theories tend to marginalise non-state actors in an inconsistent manner with regard to their role in integration, governance, and policy-making. However, it cannot be denied that multinational firms, NGOs and advocacy networks are increasingly important actors in today's global economy. Accordingly, constructivism, which is also an important theory of IR, as well as liberalism, creates space for non-State actors, primary through prism of non-profit organisations, to influence anarchical politics.

In contrast to realism and liberalism, constructivism is not a distinctive political science approach but rather a broad social theory. In accordance with Checkel, the constructivist approach is based on two main assumptions:

- I. "the environment in which agents/states take action is social as well as material; and
- II. this setting can provide agents/states with understandings of their interests"

(Checkel J.T., 1998)

In fact, constructivists give a central place to ideas in the structuring of the international system and thus, undermines the approaches that analyse social life only by materialist arguments. Similarly, the identities and interests of actors operating in the international system are shaped by their concept of the world, which is socially structured. In short, the trajectory of the constructivist research agenda, as Alexander Wendt noted, is based on three main terms: identities, norms, defined as shared expectations concerning the proper behaviour for the actors, and interests, referring to what the actors want to obtain *(Wendt A., 1992)*.

Some critics noted two major shortcomings in the constructivist theory. The first criticism is that constructivists sometimes lack a "theory of agency". As Checkel argues, early constructivist approaches tended to overestimate "the role of social structures and norms at the expense of the agents who help create and change them" (1998).

Secondly, it is focused primarily on the norms and discourses of public actors, institutions,

and elites. Only in recent years, liberal constructivists, such as Keck and Sikkink, have comprehend private actors in their ontological approach as well.

Another critical point pointed out by Checkel is that constructivists need to “give equal attention to the bad things in world politics that are socially constructed” (*Checkel 1998*). However, there seems to be an unwritten rule to give recognition only to those who are deemed “ethically good”. Indeed, constructivist scholars are primarily interested in the role not-for-profit organisations. NGOs are considered as “good”, since are perceived as agents building transnational relations across societies in order to promote universal values, such as human rights or environmental protection. Such entities, as IOs, whose members can be entities different from states, are classified as non-state or not depending on the election. Keck and Sikkink (1998) in detail distinguish between three different categories of transnational actors based on their motivations:

- I. “those with essentially instrumental goals, especially transnational corporations and banks;
- II. those motivated primarily by shared causal ideas, such as scientific groups or epistemic communities; and
- III. those motivated primarily by shared principled ideas or values (transnational advocacy networks).”

This, nevertheless, implies that one group, inter alia NGOs and transnational societal groups, have values and moral authority, whereas another group, namely firms, do not. Indeed, neo-Gramscians, such as Van Apeldoorn (2002), focused themselves on multinational firms's negative impact and their social construction of norms and discourse. Johnson R., in his book, made the Greenpeace example. In 1995, Greenpeace International organisation suffered a normative setback when it lost sight of its principled ideas. In fact, it was more worried about the confiscation of its high-priced ships than its anti-nuclear agenda (*Johnson R., 2000*).

To conclude, the inability or unwillingness of constructivists to adequately address firms and other non-state actors together results in a false dichotomy between “good” and “bad”. However, as Sikkink argued, while states continue to be the primary actors in the international system, “their actions need to be understood not as self-help behaviour in anarchy, but as the

actions of members of an international society of states and non-state actors". Therefore, according to constructivists, the process of social construction cannot be understood by focusing exclusively on state centrism. In fact, although constructivism build non-State actors into their explanations of anarchy, it connects NSAs, namely NGOs, involvement with State-preference formation and the world of ideas rather than with the direct exercise of material power.

1.2.4 English School

The English school, the oldest rival to the American mainstream, offers the basis for the study of international and world history with regard of the social structures of international orders. Unlike many theories that assert a particular topic of international relations, the English school provides a holistic approach to the subject, aiming to examine the world as a whole. In particular, Barry Buzan, one of the most prominent English school writers of post-classical period, built social interaction study around three main divisions. The first category is the interstate society also known as international society. The second one is the transnational society, which refers to the dimension of non-state organisations. The last section is devoted to the inter-human society, which basically means the social structures among individuals (*Buzan, 2004*). In particular, with regard to NSAs interactions, their dimensions in international relations are composed by both inter-human and transnational levels, and Buzan names them as "world society" (*Buzan, 2004; 2009*). Thus, the English School, and the world society in particular, improved the understanding of modern non-state elements by achieving theoretical generalisations about the non-state dimension of the international relations.

Firstly, according to the definition provided by Bull Hedley (1977), the international system is mainly focus on power politics among states whose actions are affected by the structure of international anarchy. In other words, international society is mainly about the establishment and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions. According to Bull (1971) there are two dimension of international society: a pluralist and solidarity one. A pluralist international society prescribes that the international order is formed by the separateness of states which

have ultimate authority over their people and territory. According to pluralists, if a state intervenes in the internal affairs of another state, this would lead to a harm to the international order. In order to prevent it, pluralists argues that intervention should be avoided in all cases. It can be noticed that the pluralist dimension, in line with the English School, considers sovereign states as the primary members of international society, although it is important to note that they are not the only members (*Dunne T., 2010*). In fact, on the other hand, solidarism refers to types of international society with a relatively high degree of shared norms, rules and institutions and, therefore, foresees humanitarian intervention as a norm. If a state loses its legitimacy, other actors of the international society should interfere and reestablish justice in the international politics.

However, the international society domain is subordinate to the world society, deemed as “more fundamental and primordial” (*Bull, 1977*). Clark defined world society in term of “the realm of the individual, of the non-official group or movement, and of the transnational network of nongovernmental agents” (*Clark, 2007*). It is also suggested that the concept may delineate sub-globally shared values and interest among individual or non-state actors, which have the capacity to interact with the state system and society of states. This shared interests and values can also provide basis for the establishment of non-state organisations. In fact, according to Bull, and Buzan later, “the ultimate units of the great society of all mankind are not states [...] but individual human beings” (*Bull, 1977*). Thus, world society goes beyond the state system and considers individuals, non-state actors and ultimately the global population as the focus of global social identities and arrangements. In accordance with their claims, one might also argued that influential international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) can be considered members insofar as they give advice to institutions such as the United Nations and they participate in the drafting of significant multilateral treaties. Similarly, even though John Williams’s study of the world society concept diverges sharply from others, he highlights the importance of institutions of international society that generate “new organisations, practices and normative propositions” (*Williams J., 2005*). In fact, although World Trade Organization cannot be regarded as a true non-state element of international relations, he further supports his argument considering it as world society

elements working on international society. As a result, it is still possible to argue that Williams takes international acts based on interests, such as trade, as examples of world society.

To conclude, the English school's works considers the role of NSAs in normative and sociological changes of international relation. Arguing that, ideas, not merely material interests, shape international agendas. The English School also shows that non-state actors may play a major part in shifting the assumptions which constitute international society. Notably, NSAs promote shared principles and norms, foster a global consciousness, with major changes, challenges for domestic and international politics (*Nadelmann 1990; Haas 1992; Wapner 1996; Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Boli and Thomas 1999; Evangelista 1999*). Moreover, neglecting the NSA's interests hinders the opportunity to apply the world society concept to analyse how their interests influence the functioning of international society. For instance, non-governmental agents, such as International Chamber of Commerce, to mention an example, interact with States and influence the functioning of its institutions without representing any challenge to its basic norms. Thus, the English School conceptualisation of world society represents a suitable starting point for developing and improving the non-state dimension of international relations theory.

1.3. Beyond the Zero-Sum Dichotomy and toward a Win-Win solution

Having explained several times in the previous paragraphs the increasing role of non-state actors and their interconnection with states, the main question that must be asked is whether and how state and non-state actors can coexist in the global system.

In this respect one of the main arguments is that the balance of influence on issues like security between State and Non-State Actors does not have to be zero-sum (*Wijninga P, Oosterveld W. T., Galdiga J. H. and Marten P., 2014*). The zero-sum dichotomy draws its force namely from the preponderance of conflict, inequality, and the possibility of violence in political and social life. However, it cannot explain the blend of conflict and cooperation

which is a characteristic of many important power relations, including the rule-bound political and economic competition between states and NSAs. Accordingly, this assumption is a Game Theory illustration which predicts that the rise of the one represents an inevitable decline of the other. This framework, per contra, does not mean that states take preference to the exclusion of other actors, or vice versa. Alias, an increasing role of the one does not necessarily coincides to reduced influence of the other. Therefore, it is necessary, as far as possible, to encourage cooperation between the parties and to adopt a win-win perspective. Aligning their interests and efforts, State and Non-State Actors may strengthen their respective influence on peace and order in the global contest. Non-state actors, notably, NGOs, can be positively involved in rule setting, decision-making, monitoring or regulatory roles, or consultation procedures (*ibid*).

According to them, a more profitable engagement is formed by public-private partnerships (PPPs). PPPs are government services or private business projects which are funded and operated through a partnership between government and one or more private sector companies (*International Economic Development Council, 2017*). Business associations, like chambers of commerce, often create PPPs since they can help bring legitimacy to such projects through inclusiveness fostering social trust.

In some instances, even the application of Zero-Sum game cannot be regarded in the relationship between states and aggressive Non-State Actors. Similarly, also relations between cooperative and aggressive Non-State Actors need not to be consider zero-sum. There are several examples of states and aggressive Non-State Actors benefiting from close cooperation. For instance, Hezbollah and Hamas carry on charitable or social welfare activities aim to broaden and consolidate their influence in their countries. Further private charities can play a role in financing criminal or terrorist operations as well, such as Saudi Arabia's al-Haramain Foundation, the Holy Land Foundation and Muslim Aid.

From the point of view of the state, both in developed and developing countries, there is instead a general concern that Non-State Actors can replace government functions without the state's consent, place themselves outside the law or use the law into their advantage. For

example, in recent years there was a debate in the Netherlands on whether Dutch merchant ships could take armed private security guards onboard to provide for their safety when crossing the waters of the Arabian Sea. The Dutch government maintained that, under international law, ships flying the Dutch flag were an extension of Dutch national territory. For this reason, the Dutch State exercises sovereignty over those ships and, therefore, are the sole power allowed to bear arms and use violence on board those ships. However, since there are limits to the number of ships the Navy can protect, in accordance with the “Merchant Shipping (Protection) Act”, which came into force on 1 February 2022, maritime security companies can apply for a license to provide security services (*Private security guards to be allowed on Dutch merchant ships to protect against piracy, 2021*). The Act specified that private security guards will be deployed only in the Gulf of Aden off Somalia, though.

Finally, in developing countries, such as Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Somalia and more, both military and non-military Non-State Actors have undermined state power, even questioning the very legitimacy of the authorities. This may usually be due to the fact that the state itself lacks legitimacy with the people living within its jurisdiction. A clear example dates back to the decolonisation era where many states erected their legitimacy only in a formalist way. Nevertheless, tribal, ethnic, and religious loyalties remain in place to the point of seriously challenging state authorities.

To conclude, there is no doubt about the increasing role and the even profound influence of NSAs on the international order. Indeed, the Realist perspective which emphasised the “state-centric system” of the Westphalian order is now succeeded by a “multi-centric system” in which NSAs are capable of helping push network diplomacy and exerting influence within sphere of global govern (*Lakhany, F. 2006; Barnett. M. and Sikkink K. 2010*). So, rather than adopt a "zero-sum game," where power is shifted from State to NSAs or where public authority are replaced by the private sphere, it is necessary to draw the attention to new forms of delegated power, hybridisation and shared authority. This means, *apertis verbis*, that it is also required a reappraisal of relations between State and Non-State Actors, moving beyond a simple “zero-sum” dichotomy to a more nuanced and cooperative “win-win perspective”.

Consequently, a cooperative win-win solution is preferred to conflict, since, by cooperative attitude, all the actors can gain and benefit.

CHAPTER 2

CREATION AND EVOLUTION OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

In the previous chapter, it was pointed out a general analysis of non-state actors in relation to their role of international trade both from a computational and theoretical point of view.

The above-mentioned chapter analyses the evolution and constitution of chamber of commerce, especially Italian Chambers of Commerce Abroad, as concerns their role as "facilitators" of international trade throughout history.

This chapter will be divided into four different paragraphs which will also be divided into sub-paragraphs.

In the first paragraph there will be provided a definition of chambers of commerce both from a general and a legislative point of view. Furthermore, in order to discuss, in the third chapter, the relevance of the chambers of commerce for political science, research on their different functions, such as lobbying, self-governance, and integration in public policy, will be sketched out.

The second paragraph will be aimed at understanding the difference between Public and Private Law Chambers and where they operate. For this purpose a comparison will be made between the two models providing an explanatory table.

Afterwards, in the third paragraph, it will be examined the genesis and evolution of these institutes, premising a historical synthesis of the organisms that preceded them. This analysis will focus on France, England and especially Italy, since the case study involves these countries in historical, cultural and current context.

Finally, there will be a session in which the various differentiations of Chamber of Commerce will be highlighted, such as bilateral, public and private, regional unions, Union Chamber, Eurochamber and International chamber of commerce.

2.1. Definition of chambers of commerce

Before commencing the review of the political reforms, a few opening remarks on the various definitions, functions and the broad attitudes toward them in the countries are in order.

Chambers of Commerce are considered the longest established and historically the most significant agents of local business voice anywhere in the world and in the context of business-government relations in general (*Bennett, 2011*). Nowadays, chambers of commerce, both local and merged in unions, continue to be the main channels representing the interests of businesses in their areas of expertise, play a role as partners with local and national government and other organisations in promoting and supporting their local economies, and also provide direct services and advice to their members (*ibid*). However, as quintessentially local bodies but operating on a voluntary basis, a unique and proper definition can be difficult.

First of all, the very use of “chamber” title produces many problems and misunderstandings. In fact, the usage of the term is commonly applied for different type of bodies, which do not necessary have the same characteristics and some may not be representative bodies at all. In fact, the term also offered a broadly intertextual resonance as a “brand name that conveyed status, formality, the impression of legal standing, and independence judicial ability” (*ibid*). For instance, the term was adopted both for the re-establishment of the Paris Royal Chamber of Assurance in 1750 and for the surviving Chamber of Assurance in London. Secondly, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica edition of 1778–83 there was also a brief definition of chambers referring to chartered companies, especially that for the Whitehaven herring fisheries petition of 1753. Similarly, the meeting-chambers of the local corporations, which the commercial bodies sought to rival, and later it also suggested an equivalence of the chambers of the Houses of Parliament were referred to as “chambers”. Hence, ‘chamber’ concept was part of the idea that it was not only an association, but also formal meeting places with elite membership and where expert deliberation took place, but with an official status. Furthermore, its significance also had legal resonance with the courts, and hence led to an alignment with the idea of a medium for commercial arbitration. All things considered, the evolution of the word chamber identity is primarily empirical with different personal visions,

lack of a unique template, organisational learning and contingency, which indeed are general among voluntary associations (*ibid*).

In the specific case, the title "chamber of commerce" has also multiple possible definitions. According to Sack, 2021, as a first definitional approach, chamber of commerce can be defined as “generalist business associations, meaning that they include companies from different economic sectors and of different sizes”. Seemingly, Another definition of the chamber of commerce and industry can be found in the site of the European Commission, who define it as “a self-governing body that perceives the overall interests of their associated businesses in their district”. Whereas, according to the Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives, a chamber of commerce is an organisation of businesses which seek to further their collective interests, while advancing their community, region, state or nation (*ACCE | Chambers of Commerce, n.d.*). Therefore, in line with these initial definitions, they are self-governing organisations for business purposes, which aims to further collective interests. Another crucial feature is that its membership is heterogeneous in terms of business activities, modes of production, infrastructural and technological needs, number of employees, turnover, and area of economic activity (*Sack, 2021*).

However, a more precise definition can be found in the Italian Legislative Decree of 2010, 15th February, n. 23, amendments to the law of 29 December 1993, n. 580. It defines the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture as “functionally independent public bodies that, within the territorial boundaries for which they are responsible, based on the principle of subsidiarity pursuant to article 118 of the Constitution, carry out functions of general interest for the business system, dealing with its development within the local economies”. Whereas, according to the Federal law of the United States, chambers of commerce are regulated by Internal Revenue Code, section 501(c)(6) which specifically defines chamber of commerce and boards of trade as associations which are not organised for profit and no part of the net incomes of which inures to the benefit of a single private shareholder or individual (Reilly J.F., Hull C.C. Braig Allen B.A., 2003). In addition to definitions of organisations, Section 501(c) exempts these associations from state taxation as well. An organisation, as chambers of commerce, that otherwise qualifies for exemption under

Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(6) usually promote the common economic interests of all the commercial enterprises in a given trade community but may also engage in some political and lobby activities. Indeed, they are allowed to influence legislative framework that is related to the common business interests of its members.

More concretely, according to Bennett (2011), to be a Chamber of Commerce five defining characteristics are to be in order:

- I. they seek to act as voices of the local business community;
- II. they are voluntary, expressing grass-roots local needs and desires;
- III. they represent general interests;
- IV. they are locally rooted in a specific business community or field;
- V. their voice is emanated and legitimised by a deliberated process in an open and transparent way.

Therefore, he used an inclusive definition of chamber as those bodies with the five characteristics of: exerting voice, voluntary independent associations, expressing general interests, locally rooted, with deliberated transparent governance.

Finally, these generalist business-interest organisations cover principally three fields of action (*Bennett, 2011; Sack, 2021*). Firstly, chambers of commerce are considered interest groups on the different governmental levels of political systems but predominantly not involved in industrial relations. However, it is expected that they exist parallel to other bodies, namely business and employers' associations. These include chambers of trade, chambers of agriculture, and the trade protection societies that formed rival or complementary networks or also bodies representing small firms, national bodies, and sector bodies that may have regional or local structures. Secondly, they are organisations characterised by a self-governance since they offer to their members expertise, arbitration, judicial advice and standard-setting and promote business startups. They do so through an internal democratic structure in which members decide on the services and their funding and vote for representatives and governing bodies. The last field of action is the involvement of the chambers in public policy. Chambers' activity could, for example, comprehend vocational training or regional partnerships to counter youth unemployment or promote urban

development. In accordance with Sack, they implement public policy both permanently, by steady participating in examination boards in vocational training or administering the business register, and occasionally, by temporary working partnerships in regional policies.

To conclude, in all cases there have occurred and are expected to occur in the future changes in definitions and various inconsistencies over time. Different series of definition have been aligned with each other by re-scaling towards a common base, but a unique definition that can take into account all the characteristics of each chamber of commerce is not been found yet.

2.1.1. Functions and purposes

The functions of the chambers of commerce are varied and depend on the historical moments taken into account or whether they are integrated in a local, regional or international context. Nevertheless, Chamber' missions tend to focus to some degree on specific goals. As mentioned above, the scope of chambers of commerce actions mainly encompasses lobbying, self-governance and involvement in public policy. Moreover, as they act as a meeting point between companies, individuals and institutions, their functions may be roughly divided under two heads: deliberate and administrative.

According to Bennett and Ramsden, a classification of the activities enacted by chambers of commerce are possible and can be summarised in Table 5. In particular they combine two dimensions of chamber interactions with members: first, whether the service is only available to its members (excludable or non-excludable); second, whether its work is individually tailored or is provide to all businesses (individual or collective).

	Individual	Collective
Excludable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Information, helpline ■ Advice and consultancy ■ Specific services (training, recruitment, translation) ■ Member discounts ■ Certification, badge, and kudos ■ Some government contracts to deliver services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Coffee rooms, hotels ■ Meeting rooms, libraries ■ Meetings and groups ■ Bulk purchasing, group insurance schemes ■ Some social events ■ Self-regulation
Non-excludable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Exhibitions and events ■ Trade missions ■ Sale of services ■ Arbitration ■ Some social events ■ Some government contracts to deliver services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lobbying, representation ■ Promotion of locality ■ Economic and other surveys ■ Newsletters and journals ■ Websites, directories ■ Collective bargaining

Figure 5: A classification of chamber of commerce activities

Source: Bennett and Ramsden (2007)

Firstly, they work for individual firms and give them excludable services tailored and targeted on the strategic needs of the business. Chambers may provide to their members both in-house advices and consultancy and specific services, such as certifications or identification badge. Although these are membership services, they may involve additional expenditure.

Secondly, they also provide exclusive collective services reserved for all associate members. In particular, they offer group credit insurance and recovery, the purchase of mass goods, with its lower cost, libraries and meeting rooms.

Third, a special class of services, both offered to members and also to non-members, but at a higher cost, are exhibitions and social events. Depending on the criteria for attendance used, events may offer excludable or non-excludable benefits. On the one hand, member-only activity can confer exclusivity and shape the character of the networking and improve solidarity. On the other hand, member and non-member activity can widespread general marketing, benefitting the chamber and the members themselves. Moreover, networking

events are oftentimes one of the most important motives for chamber membership, especially for small firms, since they offer various possibilities to increase their business. Besides, the category also includes services provided on behalf of the government, namely administrative functions. Within this area, which is assigned or delegated by the State, lie all activities relating to the keeping of records, lists and books, registers and roles, in which are cataloged and certified the main events that characterise the life of each company. In other words, they are involved in the management of a comprehensive and reliable system of commercial information and market regulation. Thus, although they do not have a direct role in creating laws or regulations, they can have an effective influence in regulators and legislators with their organised lobbying efforts.

Finally, Chambers of Commerce aim at promoting and increasing transparency, the certainty and equity of economic and social relations between businesses, citizens and the state apparatus. Therefore, their main purpose is “to represent the interests of their members” but, by doing so, they do not exclude non-members from the benefits that derive from them both locally and nationally (*Hayes A., 2021*). Indeed, according to Bennett, all firms take advantage from change in new government regulations that a chamber of commerce association may win, such as reducing taxes or bureaucracy. On the same way, the many economic surveys accomplished by Chambers provide information benefits to all, irrespective of whether they are members (*Bennett J. R., 2011*). In particular, they organise promotional local activities, with the ultimate aim of developing the local economy, and studying, analysing and monitoring of data on the local economy through economic surveys (*Chambers of Commerce / Italian Business Register, n.d.*). They apply the same trend to newsletters and journals sent directly to members or shared on official website pages.

2.2. Public Vs Private Law Chamber

The previous paragraph was focused on the similarities, analogies and functions of chambers of commerce; however it is now essential to focus on the main difference of chambers. Indeed, according to Bennett (2011) and even before to Rehker H. (1982), the most prominent distinction is the difference between public law and private law chambers, shown in Figure 6

(Bennett J. R., 2011).

Public law system	British and Irish private law system
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Compulsory membership ● Membership fees seen as ‘tax’ ● Complete coverage of business ● National network in all areas ● Assured size and critical mass ● Large organization ● Services with major staff resources underwritten by public finance to meet public needs ● Public control of status and internal management ● Assured status and stability ● Recognition of formal voice and representational role ● Single organization in a given area (or one of a very few organizations) ● Little internal policy conflict within a local area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Voluntary membership ● Membership based on commitment ● Self-selective coverage of business ● Difficulty in spreading networks to low-density rural areas and small communities ● Critical mass achieved only with fees and contracts tied to specific purposes ● Variable size with many small organizations ● Services and income based on sales and contracts to meet business demands ● Freedom of action, but sometimes uneven quality ● No special status and some instability ● No formal representational role and recognition for voice ● One of many organizations in an area with competition and overlap in a crowded domain ● Potential for uncertainty about policy due to variable membership and lack of access routes to government

Figure 6: Contrasts of public law with British and Irish chambers of commerce

Source: Bennett, 2011

The public law, as the name itself suggests, relies on state regulation that envisages compulsory membership. Therefore, it is state politics that decides on chamber’ organisational features such as their tasks, funding, organisational form and internal decision-making. However, at the same time, State limits their capacity to act autonomously from the state’s demands. Thus, according to Martin C. J. and Swank D. (2012), public law chambers are a clear example of the “political construction of business interests”. In fact, according to them, global economic crisis, like that of 2008, may affect governments’ capabilities for engaging the private sector in the national circuit. It has also been showed that the efforts of some governments in order aimed at sustaining and financing institutions for coordination among the social partners, mainly chamber of commerce, had a major impact on the evolution and survival of programs to enhance skills and to reduce long-term unemployment (Martin C. J. and Swank D., 2012). Moreover, public law chambers, large organisations that cover a nearly

complete business, are governed by law and subjected to supervision by ministries and courts. Members as well are forced to be members by law and hence their membership fee are seen as “tax”. Finally, since they are close to a “corporatist” model, they have the monopoly in a given area with the subsequent little internal policy conflict within a local area.

On the other hand, private law chambers are founded on freedom of association, voluntary membership and the commitment of their members. For this reason, they often are small, uneven in coverage and have to compete with other organisations in a specific area. By their private nature, they often have uncertain resources and instability. For instance, private law chambers have to deal with the free-rider problem and, to face this, they are likely to strengthen their service production to attract members (*Olson, 1971*). In fact, their services and income are based on sales and contracts in order to meet business demands while their service membership is based on continuous commitment. However, at the same time, they are closer to market needs of their members, and their members have true level commitment without being compelled to pay. *Vis-à-vis* public law counterparts, chambers under private law are more eclectic and tends to select and rationalise the businesses that they want to cover, thus encountering difficulties in representing the mass (*Sack, 2021*). Finally, private law chambers enjoy more political independence but have, at the same time, to compete in order to obtain recognition and political clout.

Chambers under public law differ fundamentally from the traditional European systems and can be found principally in member or former member states of the Commonwealth, such as the UK, Malta and Ireland but, if it extends into the international level, also Canada and Australia. On the other hand, the most widespread chamber model in Europe is the public law model adopted by states such as Italy, France, Germany and Spain, shown in more detailed in Figure 7. However, nowadays most of the European chambers have a hybrid character, combining both public law aspects, like the fact that associations have to fulfil certain standards, and private law peculiarities, such as the voluntary membership (*Medina I. and Molins J. M., 2017*).

	<i>Public-law chambers</i>	<i>Hybrid chambers</i>	<i>Private-law chambers</i>
Features	Public-law status with compulsory membership	Public-law status with voluntary membership	Private-law status with voluntary membership
Countries	Austria, Croatia, Germany, Greece, France, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain	Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden, Czech Republic, Cyprus	Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Ireland, Malta, United Kingdom

Figure 7: Types of chamber systems in the European Union 1995

In a global context analysis, Fedotov (2007) distinguishes in a deeper way Chamber into four model, which comprises Public, Anglo-Saxon, also known as “private law chambers,” Continental, which use the public law system, Asian, and Eurasian models. All in all, if a detailed analysis of the various models would be done, the differences that will emerge would be more encompassing than the simple distinction between public and private law chambers suggests.

2.3. History of Chambers of Commerce

As an introduction it is worth asserting that whilst history is never repeated, we can all learn from the past and especially from chambers’ history in order to come up with a solid basis to understand today’s dynamics and predict the implications in the future. Indeed, as Bennett wisely confirmed, many of the experiences are repeated over time, and it is possible to find some closer resemblances to the former centuries. With the intention of examining, albeit briefly, the genesis and evolution of these institutes, it is essential to begin with a historical synthesis of the organisms which preceded them, even if these are not entirely comparable with the current Chamber bodies.

The beginning of the Trade association's movement can be traced back almost 6,000 years to the City of Mari in Mesopotamia (*History of Chamber of Commerce, n.d.*). However, those early associations of traders had little in common with Chambers of Commerce as are today. Chambers, as we understand them today, had their origins since the 1760s when the voice of the business community assumed a new form and shape, in response to new local demands of being represented, and to the perceived inattentiveness of government. The term "chamber", as long defined in the first paragraph, became common use only after the XVIII century, precisely was not universally adopted until 1815. Other names, such as "society", "committee", and "association" were used instead.

2.3.1. French Chambers of Commerce

The creation of French Chambers of Commerce and Industry takes place in stages, which sometimes consecrate them, sometimes discredit them. Over the centuries, their consideration has undergone ups and downs reaching, at a certain time, also their suppression. In addition, the originality of the French Chambers of Commerce derives from the long history that has accompanied and fuelled their genesis. Far from being the result of random events, they have not always enjoyed full recognition and have always had difficulty in benefiting entirely from it. Nevertheless, they persist to this day, testifying to their long and pervasive history that has left traces even in the current chamber structure.

The French chambers of commerce and their original status are the result of a long journey that lasted no less than three centuries, mainly XVII, XVIII and XIX centuries. It was later consecrated by the Basic Law of 9 April 1898, and further refined and consolidated during the XX century. Finally, today their status has arrived at proposals and amending amendments such as the General Review of Public Policies (RGPP) of 2015 (*Andriamasinoro V., 2014; Puaux P., 1998*).

The first known use of the term "Chamber of Commerce" in the Western world occurred in France in 1599. In fact, in that period the history of the French Chambers of Commerce and

Industry began in Marseilles with the creation of a specialised committee called “Deputy Commerce” with the backing of the city council (*Puaux P., 1998*). On 5 August 1599 the City Council of Marseilles chose four “deputies of commerce” among “worthy, well-to-do, dignified, and solvent businessmen”, who were tasked of regulating port trade, with a budget of 1,200 écus allocated from the city treasury and amplified by the proceeds from a tax on the cargo processed by the port (*Fedotov V., 2007*). They also received letters patent from the king, who charged them with “taking the negotiations”, officially confirmed by King Henry IV only the following year. Thus, it was a body based on a public organisational and legal model. Nevertheless, at that time there was no clear institution of Chambers of Commerce, or at least their name did not have a real definition, but, in any case, their functions already existed since 1599 with the “deputies of commerce” of Marseilles. Afterwards, in 1660, the Assembly of Deputies of Commerce of Marseille was enlarged becoming the Company Marseillaise, dean of the French consular institutions. The Marseille Company, as well as administering the trade of the Ottoman Empire, was also responsible for ensuring the safety of ships often attacked, looted, captured or sunk by pirates (*Puaux P., 2003*). Therefore, the Marseilles chamber was first established by voluntary municipal action in 1599 and only later, in 1650, it became independent of the municipality. Then, in 1779, it was brought into the public law structure, though it remained independently recognized and sanctioned by the King.

In the same period, what happened in Marseille was exported to other cities in France. In fact, in 1596, the Edict of Nantes, promulgated by Henry IV, paved the way for the reconstruction of the national economy. From 1598, de facto, the creation of an Assembly of notables on Rouen, whose commission was charged with deliberating “on the fact of commerce”, was recommended to the monarch by Barthélemy de Laffemas, then Controller-General of Commerce (*Brunet P., 2009 and Discours de Henry IV, dans l'assemblée tenue à Rouen, n.d.*). Other commissions of the same type were set up almost everywhere during the XVII century before the creation of local chambers of commerce. By the way, all of them, according to Postlethwayt and Mortimer, derived from a national Superior Council of Commerce, the first national chamber, which was established by King Henry IV on 13 April 1601. It was created to inquire into problems of commerce and advise the government.

Although the French Council had a short life, in fact it interrupted its work three years later, on 26 October 1604, it was revived in a General Council of Commerce in 1616 after petitions from merchants. Later, however, with the adherence of Louis XIII to the kingdom, the Chambers of Commerce were somewhat forgotten. It was not until 1650 that this institution, enlarged to twelve members, acquired its independence from the city council. It is the birth of an independent Chamber of Commerce.

As a result, right after Marseille, in 1664 a reinforced Council was set up by Louis XIV, revived then, albeit with less result, by Jean-Baptiste Colbert. In particular, the Council was given more power for a favourable economic promotion. Later, in 1700, this Council was further developed by establishing state-sponsored local chambers of commerce finalised in giving advice to the national council (*Bennett R., 2011*). It was at this date of 29 June 1700 that the system of permanent representation of French trade to the central power was really born with the creation of a General Trade Council, composed of six officials and twelve of the leading merchants of the kingdom. Indeed, from 1700 to 1724 other Chambers were born in the different regions of what is now France: Dunkerque, Lyon, Rouen, Toulouse, Montpellier, Bordeaux, Nantes, Saint-Malo, Lille, La Rochelle and Bayonne (*Histoire, 2022*). Their main role was to know and procure all that could have been more advantageous to the commerce and manufactures of the Kingdom, in addition of receiving proposals and complaints from traders, studying them and delivering them to the Council of Commerce of the King. All these chambers are considered the first “public law” local chambers.

Therefore, the actual creation of the Chambers of Commerce as such and in the form we know today takes place from 1700 until 1726, except that of Paris which was created only in 1803. In 1761, the Amiens Chamber of Commerce, the last chamber of commerce under the Ancien Régime, was added to the twelve existing chambers of commerce. It sees, for the first time, the industrialists join the traders, claiming alone to represent the economic world (*Ibid*). This sumptuous period of consular institutions, however, will experience a decline when the French Revolution arrives.

From the second half of the XVI century, a strong development of distrust towards the corporation of commerce began to arise. At the origin there were abuses committed by the elites of the arts and crafts communities in the granting of domains (*Kaplan S. L., 2001*). As a result, the guilds were suppressed by Inspector General Turgot. They were later restored a few months later on the initiative of the Necker, minister of Louis XVI, but remained under the latter's tutelage. With the outbreak of the French Revolution and the fall of the monarchy, the guilds and intermediate bodies are preparing for their gradual elimination. In fact, by virtue of the freedom of establishment, the Constituent Assembly forbade corporations and comrades through the decree of Allarde, concerning the suppression of the "guilds of trades" and the Le Chapelier law of 14 June 1791. In fact, this law does not directly affect the Chambers of Commerce of the old regime because Le Chapelier considered them indispensable for the development of the economy. These provisions, namely that of Allarde and Le Chapelier, resonate with Article 3 of the Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights of 1789, which states that "the principle of any Sovereignty lies primarily in the Nation. No corporate body, no individual may exercise any authority that does not expressly emanate from it". However, Chambers, as intermediate representations judged contrary to the general interest, became illegitimate and disappeared. Their suppression was thus voted on September 27, 1791, in the last three days of the Constituent Assembly (*Rosanvallon P., 1989*). The end of the XVIII century was then marked by the absolute rejection of intermediate bodies. This position results "from excesses and blocks linked to the monopoly of the bodies of trades and other economic privileges as statutory" (*Meignen L. and Quenet M., 2003*).

Napoleon's Penal Code of 1810 dealt a further blow to the associations, banning associations of more than 20 people. Article 291, in fact, points out that "No association of more than twenty people, whose purpose will be to meet every day or on certain days marked to deal with religious, literary, political or other objects, can be formed only with the approval of the government, and the conditions that will please the public authority to impose on society". Thus, the post-revolutionary period has strongly restricted the forms of grouping inherited from the Ancien Régime. Considering the above, Rosanvallon (1989) evoked a "theoretical antibody of revolutionary political culture". The state thus summed up the public sphere in itself, becoming the only figure who embodied the general interest (*ibid*).

The beginning of the XIX century witnessed the re-establishment of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in French society. This restoration stems from the demands of the institutions themselves. It was Beugnot, prefect of Rouen, who militates against the power to recognise that the “functions of the old Chambers cannot be correctly assumed by the administration” and that it was essential and practical to restore them (*Ibid*). It was Chaptal, then Minister of the Interior of Bonaparte, who, in 1802, echoed this motion. He then sent to the consuls a report to convince them of the interest of this operation. In his report, inter alia, he remarked “These institutions were wise: they were popular and conservative of everything that may affect the prosperity of trade. The Revolution destroyed them and with them disappeared that surveillance of every day, these lessons of experience, those tips given for the interest of each and those fruitful means of improvement that arise from the knowledge of the needs and resources of each locality” (*Puaux P., 2003*). Chaptal even declared that the Chambers of Commerce are “hotbeds of light [destined] to enlighten the government on the State and the needs of industry” (*ibid*).

On 24 December 1802 Bonaparte signed the decree that restored the twenty-two Chambers of Commerce. These include Lyon, Rouen, Bordeaux, Marseille, Brussels, Antwerp, Nantes, Dunkirk, Lille, Mainz, Nîmes, Avignon, Strasbourg, Turin, Montpellier, Geneva, Bayonne, Toulouse, Tours, Carcassonne, Amiens and Le Havre. Eight more were created in the following year of the birth of a General Trade Council. For what concerned industry, it was not until April 1803 that the law authorised the establishment of Consultative Chambers of Manufactures, Factories, Arts and Crafts. The name “Chamber of Commerce and Industry” has only existed since 1960. Twenty-six Chambers, of which three overseas will be created during the Restoration and the July Monarchy. On June 17, 1832, King Louis-Philippe, in favour of the Chambers of Commerce, issued a royal ordinance extending their electoral corps.

However, it should be noted that if this recovery has been carried out, it is also because the object of the Chambers has changed. According to Rosanvallon (1989), they moved away from the corporate model of the Ancien Régime, even though they are not a modern system of

representation of interests. They corresponded more to an implementation of a “new system of articulation of the administrative system and the professional organisation”. They thus become an additional part of the administrative system.

Under the Second Republic and Napoleon III there were other twenty-nine more Chambers. Nevertheless, the real recognition came in 1851, the year in which the consular companies have been recognized as public utilities, which have the authority to develop trade and industry. The Waldeck-Rousseau Act of 1884, which put an end to the trade union ban, gave also a new life to professional organisations and helped to allow the development of the Chambers. Forty more Chambers have been created during the Third Republic.

When the Act of 9 April 1898 on the Chambers of Commerce and the Consultative Chambers of the Arts and Manufactures was passed, there were one hundred and sixteen companies in the Metropolis and seven overseas. This law was a fundamental turning point in the history of the consular institution in that it consecrated its definitive emancipation. It dealt with the nature, powers and administrative organisation of chambers of commerce, particularly in the financial and budgetary fields. This is why this law of 1898 is also called CCI Charter. Since 1898, thirty-seven new rooms have been created. This strong growth is due to the extraordinary expansion of trade and industry since the mid-nineteenth century. The Chambers were then a means of clarifying the decisions of the State and, at the same time, constituted a representative of a general interest.

By 1860 there were about 48 local chambers in mainland France; 143 by 1908; and 155 in 1913 (*Bennett R. J., 2011*). Nowadays, intermediate bodies are better accepted. They are perceived as “relays between the individual and the State” (*Mekki M., 2011*). Indeed, there are now 126 French Chamber of Commerce and Industry which are presence in 95 countries. Moreover, every year, thanks to CCI, 450,000 companies are supported in their projects, 500,000 people acquire training and finally, 35,000 companies become international.

Law No 2010-853 of 23 July 2010 is currently in force on the network of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Article 1 confers upon them the status of intermediate organs of the State. Their function of representing the interests of trade, industry and services to public

authorities or foreign authorities is also maintained. The article also stresses that the exercise of their activities does not affect the representative tasks assigned to professional or inter-professional organisations and to those carried out by local and regional authorities. For their functions, the French chambers of commerce and industry are still called “corps consulaires” (*Fedotov I., 2007*). They are thus close to a corporatist model since they use State support, which guarantees to them access, revenue, and a level of attention, but, at the same time, limits their capacity to act autonomously from the state’s demands (*Bennett R. J., 2011*).

At the end of this historical survey, one can learn that the French Chambers of Commerce are a prime example of the Chambers of Commerce of today’s public law model. Moreover, they have appeared in very different periods often spaced by tens of decades. In fact, although they share a common history, each of the listed chambers of commerce have been the fruit and witnesses of different eras of history. Rather than a historical basis, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry also have in common their status and *raison d’être*.

2.3.2. Italian Chambers of Commerce

For what concerns the Chambers of Commerce in Italy, although they have assumed their present form in relatively recent times, their origins have remote roots and their functions were different and constantly evolving over time. Examining the systems of the pre-Union States there are similar institutions, although with quite different denominations, purposes and functions. Their origins date back to the era in which the figure of the merchant emerges, a new social group that destabilised the feudal system.

There are vestiges of comparable bodies dating back to ancient Rome, known as the “*Collegia opificum mercatorum*,” which were institutions that vanished with barbaric dominance (*Fricano R., 1983*). Instead, in the Middle Ages, precisely in the period of the Communes, the Medieval Guilds of Arts and Crafts were created and were able to gain control of the production, standards, and marketing of a particular craft, such as cloth makers, shoemakers, apothecaries, masons, painters, sculptors, etc (*Unioncamere; Medieval Guilds and Craft*

Production, n.d.). The functions of the Guilds were initially of control and regulation of the market, but, over time, the main purpose became the conquest of a solid representation within the public power by participating in the initiatives and plans of government. In fact, at that time, as well as today, a single trader had little power to assert his interests but, by joining in groups, the individual merchants were able to have extraordinary power. Through the development of guilds, artisans were able to emerge from their precarious conditions, much like migrant workers today, to establish associations that could protect their social and economic autonomy. Precisely for the commonality of their functions, they are considered today, for all intents and purposes, the ancestors of the present Chambers (*ibid*).

The Guilds began to decline from the XVI century and then “became extinct” around the XVIII century because of the complexity of the scenario in which they operated and the overlapping interests of the Renaissance Lordships and the States of the modern era. In fact, they sought greater autonomy than sovereign interference in order to approach a liberal and international model. The suppression of the Guilds was followed by the birth of the Chambers of Commerce (*ibid*). Therefore, the first references of the establishment of Chambers of Commerce, in that cauldron that would later become the Italian State, dates back to the early 1700s.

In 1701, in Turin, at the hands of Vittorio Amedeo II, the Consulate of Commerce was established, which counted administrative, managerial and promotion powers of the Royal power then expanded in 1729 in the Council of Commerce, supreme advisory body. However, the first real Chamber of Commerce arts and manufactures came to light on 1 February 1770 in Florence on the initiative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Peter Leopold. It was a body of representation and management of those classes emerging in the post-medieval historical context, that centralised all functions in a unique, more controllable and effective organism. Nevertheless, they acquired the administrative and managerial power of the mercantile forum only, after several attempts, in 1786, when the Austrians conquered the Duchy of Milan (*Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato ed Agricoltura del Nord Sardegna, Sassari., 2022*). In the same year, with the edict of Emperor Joseph II, other Chambers of Commerce arose in what was the Austrian Lombardy. They had the task of controlling on the behaviour

of the workers, certifying of the manufactures, validating through the recording systems, called “*matriculae*”, and mapping of all the companies involved in the market, in trades or arts and crafts.

The French revolutionary context, as well as the Napoleonic period, also upset the already precarious balances of the Italian peninsula, characterised by the increasing political instability and by the continuous demands of economic nature from the working classes. However, at the same time, it served as a model for the implementation of what would be the new Italian Chambers, under the French model. In fact, under the Napoleonic influence, in 1802, by law of 26 August, the Italian Republic recognized the creation of Chambers of Commerce, establishing one in each municipality, with the functions of courts in economic and commercial matters (*Fricano R., 1983*). However, only in 1811 their functions were expanded by adopting the name “Chambers of Commerce, Arts and Manufacture” with functions similar to those of today. In addition to the protection of the interests of the commercial and industrial categories represented, the Chambers were also given public functions including the collection of news and data on the economic situation, proposals for awards in favour of inventors and functions of commercial jurisdiction (*Ibid*). In addition, at the time there was already an obligation for those who carried out any economic activity to report themselves to the Chamber, laying the real foundations to what is now known as the “*Company Registration Report*”. The fall of Napoleon and the consequent Restoration led to the abolition of the French legislation in place.

With the end of the French domination around 1848, the Chambers of Commerce underwent a reform in the various Italian states with notable differences between them both in terms of the competences conferred and the organisation of the institution itself. It is precisely the Law of March 18, 1850, on the establishment of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, that abrogated all previous provisions and officially established the competences, territorial extension and purpose of the institute. In addition it was decreed that the Chambers are the way of communication between the industrial class and merchants with the ministry of commerce and relations with their peers. In this regard, worthy of mention is Article 3 of the Law which provided that: “*the sphere of activity [...]*

extends only to trade and industry. [The Chambers] are the means by which the commercial and industrial class participates its desires to the Ministry of Commerce and assists it for the benefit of commercial relations” (Bidischini E. and Musei L., 1996). The division of chambers provided for an internal bi-partition, on the one hand the commercial sector, to protect the traffic of products, and on the other, the industrial one, for the protection of trademarks, inventions and relations between employers and workers. The operational functions of the Chambers concerned their advisory, informative and administrative character. They also had the obligation, as is still the case today, to draw up annual reports, registers and statistics describing commercial and industrial characteristics and changes within their local territoriality. This reform is considered the most modern of the pre-unification kingdoms of Italy and some parts of it will be taken over by the following law of reorganisation of the Chambers after the national unification, proclaimed in 1861 (*Ibid*).

Indeed, a turning point occurred on the aftermath of the unification when the Law of July 6, 1862, n. 680 gave, for the first time, a homogeneous chamber organisation. However, the law was still affected by the pre-unification political and economic heritage, by a still too fragile state administrative apparatus with remnants of foreign influence. In fact, even if the chambers could acquire their own structure in each provincial capital, they positioned themselves as peripheral private entities closely connected to the central administration. Every activity of the Chambers, such as the proposal of initiatives useful to traffic, arts and manufacturing or the establishment of schools for practical teaching, depended on approval by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. Therefore, the Chambers of Commerce were not granted autonomy by the Italian government or a fundamental role in the economic scenario. There was undoubtedly a need for a reorganisation, a clear law on the type of financing and the containment of the state presence, towards a more independent function. Despite the enormous economic and commercial potential, the functioning of the Italian Chambers of Commerce remained in the hands of the State for many years.

Only with the Law of 20 March 1910, n. 121, with the relative regulations of application approved by Royal Decree 19 February 1911, n. 245, the Italian State defines their official denomination of “Chambers of Commerce and Industry”, lacking competence of agriculture. Key points of the chamber’s activity became the Register of Companies, currently the

Company Registration Report. The companies had the task of self-declaration otherwise they would have been incorporated ex officio by the Chamber itself. The skills were also expanded in the field of advertising with the collection of data on commercial uses and customs and the consequent drafting of specialised periodic reports. Finally, the Chambers obtained the opportunity to meet each other in permanent unions as *Unioncamere*, analysed in the following paragraph, under the leadership of Leopoldo Sabbatini. This has allowed them to acquire considerable political clout.

The growing political and economic importance of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, leads the Bonomi government to have to provide greater legitimacy by giving them the appointment of public body. Subsequently, the R. D. L. of 8 May 1924, n. 750, devised by the Honourable Corbino, and the relative general regulation of implementation from the R. D. L. 8 May 1925, n. 29, specify even better the tasks of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The Chambers were given functions such as carrying out statistical surveys, receiving patents, models and trademarks, participating in arbitration panels for the resolution of disputes and sending annual reports to the Ministry. In addition, the recruitment within them was placed under the dependency of an opening of public competition, laying the foundations for greater internal legitimacy. The R. D. L. however is important above all because it formally confers the qualification of public body to the Chambers, bringing them out of the cone of shadow in which they were from decades.

However, due to the advent of fascism and the consequent state centralisation and loss of freedom and autonomy, the newborn measure just mentioned was repealed by art. 35 of L. 18 April 1926, n. 731. In this dictatorial context, the gains achieved by the various supporters of the effectiveness of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry vanish and the article in question, issued by Minister Belluzzo, affirmed precisely the oppressive and statist intentions of the Duce. The Chambers, the Provincial Agrarian Councils, the Forestry Committees, the Provincial Commissions of Agriculture and other bodies are replaced by the “Provincial Councils of the Economy”, institutions managed entirely by the State through the prefects. These Councils, despite the limitations introduced, however, do not substantially change the institutional function of the Chambers continuing to represent the interests of the producer categories and to provide periodic reports specialised in the field. In essence, what

materialised was a process of fascistization. The same elective system, previously promoted by the Corbino law, was abolished and staff were directly selected by the central authority.

A further tightening will take place with the norms contained in Law No. 875 of 18 June 1931, but above all with the Consolidated Text of 1934, R.D. 20/09/1934, No. 2011, transformed the Provincial Councils of the economy into Provincial Councils of the corporate economy (*Bilotto A., 2011*). Again, on April 28, 1937, Law No. 524 sanctioned a new denomination from “Councils and provincial offices of corporate economy” to “Councils and provincial offices of corporations” (*ibid*).

The Second World War and the fall of fascism brought with them the decay of all the institutions created by the regime and outlined a watershed in the evolution of the Chambers. On 21 September 1994, a provisional solution was adopted by Legislative Decree No. 315 entitled: "Abolition of the Councils and Provincial Offices of the Economy and establishment of the Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, as well as the Provincial Offices of Commerce and Industry" (*ibid*). Although it was a first step towards the demolition of one of the institutional apparatuses set up by the fascists, it was not possible to create a solid and effective structure for the chamber networks yet. It should be noted especially Article 10 of the Legislative Decree, which provides for the defascism of the councils themselves and of the staff who wanted to work in the new institutions, thus making a clean break with the past. The decree, however, should have had provisional value, in order to cope with the situation of agitation of the time, but for the new reform will be expected fifty years, putting the Chambers in a sort of perpetual Commission.

Afterwards, with the D. P. R. 28 June 1955, n. 620 the functions that still belonged to the Provincial Offices of Industry and Commerce, in particular the keeping of the Register of Companies, were transferred to the Chambers of Commerce and with them other functions, of ministerial competence, such as the issue of certificates of origin of goods, the attributions on designs, trademarks and distinguishing marks (Art. 13). However, it was not until 1966 that the competence in the field of crafts was added and finally the current name of “Chamber of Commerce Industry, Crafts and Agriculture” appeared in Law n. 792.

In this period of uncertainty and precariousness, its solution was sought in d.p.r. July 24, 1977, n. 616, which saw, following the birth of the Italian Regions, the transfer or delegation of administrative functions in an attempt to harmonise with them. For example, important responsibilities in the fields of agriculture, crafts and tourism were transferred to the Regions until the law of 8 June 1990 on the reform of local self-government and its local and territorial authorities.

Nonetheless, only in 1993, with the law n. 580, the reorganisation of the Chambers of Commerce, industry, crafts and agriculture was established, assuming the current configuration, modern and innovative, both in terms of functions and organisational structure. Law 580/1993 was adopted at a time when the Italian institutional system was still organised around excessively centralist structures, in which the pyramid model no longer seemed acceptable. On the other hand, the aforementioned legislation concretises what is the will of a ruling class inclined to favour liberal initiatives, especially within an increasingly globalised and interconnected context.

In particular, Article 1 of Law No 580/1993 gives the chambers a high degree of legal autonomy. It states that: *“Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture, hereinafter referred to as ‘chambers of commerce’, are public bodies with functional autonomy which carry out, within the territorial area of competence, on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity referred to in Article 118 of the Constitution, functions of general interest for the business system, taking care of its development within local economies”* (L. n. 580/1993). Therefore the concept of autonomy assumes in this article a colossal importance, as it is allowed to enact regulations aimed at controlling and managing its internal functioning and its constituent and operational apparatus. The independence of this body can take on a legal connotation from which derives the legislative autonomy, the organisational or management autonomy and, finally, the financial and accounting autonomy (*Tuttocamere*). Moreover, “territorial area of competence” is meant to highlight the territorial belonging of each Chamber and, in particular, refers to paragraph 2 which emphasises their presence “in every provincial capital”.

Among the main tasks of the Chambers of Commerce, defined in Article 2, paragraph 1, of Law n.580/1993, comprise *“support functions and promotion of the general interests of*

businesses; [...] functions in administrative and economic matters relating to the business system. Chambers of commerce also carry out functions delegated to them by the State and the regions, as well as those resulting from international conventions”. In addition, paragraph 4 assigns to the Chambers, individually or in associated form, the tasks of:

- I. *promote the setting-up of arbitration and conciliation committees for the resolution of disputes between undertakings and between undertakings and consumers and users;*
- II. *prepare and promote model contracts between undertakings, their associations and associations for the protection of the interests of consumers and users;*
- III. *promote forms of control over the presence of unfair clauses included in contracts”*.

Noteworthy is the bivalent nature of the Chambers of Commerce, as they both carry out activities relating to the public sphere and to the State, but they also take care of the social interest as an extension of the State. Functions that find fertile ground in the Bassanini Law n. 59 of March, 15, 1997 on public administration through the so-called administrative federalism that provides for the decentralisation of state functions through the principle of subsidiarity that allowed a distribution of skills with inverse hierarchical order. However, State vigilance remains strong. Indeed, every year, the Minister for Industry, Trade and Craft Trades presents a general report to Parliament on the activities of the chambers of commerce, evaluating their interventions and programmes.

Another important article of Law n. 580/1993 is Article 7 which describes the list of organs of each Chamber and their functions: the Council, with representative body, the Board, with executive body, the President and the College of Auditors, whose functions are internal control and collaboration in the accounting and financial supervision of the Chamber.

Important for this thesis is also the Law of February, 14 2003, n. 30, Article 1, subparagraph 2, section 1, which laid the foundations for the possibility of exchanging students at the chambers, with the possibility of working in agreement with public and private universities to carry out intermediary activities, also allowing other public entities such as local authorities and secondary schools (*Tuttocamere*).

In 2010, the legislator launched a further reform of the Chambers of Commerce with the aim of adapting the Chamber’s legislation to the changed constitutional framework following the

approval of Title V of the Italian Constitution and the economic crisis that has hit Italy and Europe in previous years. The Legislative Decree n. 23/2010 aims at an overall modernisation and rationalisation of the Chamber system designed by Law n. 580/93. The main institutional novelty can be found in the express recognition of the Chambers of Commerce as “public bodies with functional autonomy”. Their autonomy is developed first of all in the relationship with the State and the regions through the strengthening of the network chamber system, articulated on several levels (Rinaldi P. G., 2021). In substance, new functions that emerged resulting from the transformation of activities previously carried out in a sporadic form and others resulting from the attribution of new tasks aimed at promoting technological innovation and at increasing the competitiveness of local economies. However, it should be noted that these measures, although aimed at reducing costs, leave to the individual chambers the possibility of being able to take the most appropriate choices within the framework of their autonomy. In this regard, the most important instrument is the introduction of the "stability pact" which requires chambers of commerce, as is the case for local and regional authorities, to respect the constraints of containment of public finances. Although Legislative Decree No. 23/2010 has developed along different directions, in the overall the reform reflects a choice of confidence of the legislator towards the Chambers of Commerce, since it relies on Chambers ability to organise themselves independently and responsibly (*ibid*).

Finally, the Chambers of Commerce system has been modified in a not inconsiderable way by the law n. 124 of 2015, then implemented through law n. 219/2016, also known as Madia Law from the name of the Minister promoter. It has led to an overall reorganisation of the chamber system in order to achieve a reduction in costs and to ensure greater efficiency of the system. The law n. 124/15 gives start to an overall process of reorganisation of the chamber system adopting in its directional criteria the reduction of the number of the Chambers of Commerce from 105 to 60. This happens through the amalgamation and the redefinition of the territorial districts with the fixing of a “*minimum dimensional threshold of 75.000 enterprises*” for single chamber and the presence of at least one Chamber of Commerce in every region. In addition, there is a reduction in the number of organ components, the elimination of the related fees and the redetermination of the annual fee. Finally, there is a redefinition of the tasks of the Chambers of Commerce with the attribution of specific competences also delegated by the State and the regions. However, these changes, especially that of maintaining existing the individual Chambers of Commerce only if they reach a “minimum size threshold of 75,000

companies” registered in the chamber, do not take account, according to Rinaldi, the peculiarities of the different territories. The perception that is drawn from the overall process of reorganisation of the chamber system initiated by Law n. 124/15 and D.L n. 219/2016 is a reform “dropped from above”. This is due to the fact that its objective is pursued through the predetermining of rigid criteria established in a uniform manner without a prior assessment of the different local economic and administrative situations (*ibid*). Through the D. L. n. 104 of August, 14, 2020, Article 61, the government, in order to accelerate the process of reorganisation of Chambers, set the deadline for the amalgamation within 60 days, id est by 15 October 2020. As a result of the Covid-19 health emergency, the conversion law of the D.L. Simplifications has then extended to 30 November 2020 the deadline. However, even after this extension, the legislator has no longer intervened to amend the amalgamations planned at ministerial level.

To conclude, the Italian Chambers of Commerce have witnessed various changes throughout their history. This can be seen both from the various changes in the legislative system analysed above and from their variable number over the years. In 2001 the Italian Chamber System included 102 Chambers of Commerce, each of them owned a business archive which comprises all people that carry on businesses (*Cucculelli M., Mazzoni R., 2003*). In 2012, rather, there were 105 Chambers of Commerce, an Italian union, 19 regional unions, 66 chambers of arbitration, 9 centres for foreign trade, 74 Italian chambers of commerce abroad and 32 chambers of Italian-foreign commerce (*Menini A., 2012*). Currently, after the recent reforming decrees to merge undersized CCIAA together, with the abolition of 57 chambers and the establishment of 25 new and merged CCIAA, the total of chambers of commerce on Italian territory is equal to 73 bodies. In addition to the 73 Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture in Italy, the Italian Chambers System includes also 81 Italian Chamber of commerce abroad (CCIE) and 39 foreign chambers of commerce in Italy, according to data reported by various government sites (*Unioncamere; Camere di Commercio italiane all'estero, n.d.*). The chamber system is further articulated, in an UnionCamere, Regional Unions, Arbitration Chambers, Conciliation Chambers, Chemical-Commodity Laboratories, Commodity Exchanges and Trading Halls and Real Estate Exchanges, branches for the provision of services on the territory, Special companies for the management of promotional services and infrastructures, joint ventures with other public and private entities in infrastructure and regional foreign centers.

2.3.3. British Chambers of Commerce

Finally, the Chambers of commerce in Britain are, together with the French Chambers, among the oldest business organisation in the western world. First of all, it is necessary to highlight that England has centuries-old traditions of public movement for free entrepreneurship which dates back to Magna Carta of 1215 and the Merchants' Charter of 1303. At the same time the features of the Anglo-Saxon model have moulded the first entrepreneur English colonists in North America.

Indeed, the first British chamber of commerce was established on the Island of Jersey in the English Channel in 1768. Because of its proximity to French territory, it adopted ab origine the public French model. It was then followed by the chambers in Liverpool, in 1774, Glasgow, Dublin, and Belfast in 1783, in 1785 by chambers in Edinburgh and Leeds and in 1794 the Chamber of Manchester.

In the same period, over 1769-1778, the first organisations with the formal title of “chamber of commerce” in the English-speaking world were also founded in the former colonies, namely in New York, Charleston, Quebec and Jamaica. Nonetheless, the oldest initiative of chamber of commerce in North America was in Halifax. It is also true that, during the 1750s, the English merchants, facing permanent danger and lack of true protection by the authorities, formed local committees in Montreal, Quebec and Halifax in order to defend their interests.

The history of British chambers of commerce can be divided, according to Bennett R. J. (2018), into three broad quasi-stable phases: 1783–1835, 1850–1950, and 1980–to nowadays.

The first phase is characterised by the adoption, as previously mentioned, of the French public model, then later changed into private model. The emergence of the chambers' institutions from the 1760s seems to result from two factors. First, it was a period in which commercial difficulties were on the agendas and there was the attempt to settle debts and disputes. The second thrust primarily came from events, namely wars, which had been disruptive to trade

and credit. The Seven Years War with France of 1756–63, and then the disastrous American war of 1775–81, caused, apart from the fracturing of trade and the outbreak of protests, a step change in government taxation, particularly excise levies on items of manufacturing and commerce (*Bennett, R. J., 2011*). Therefore, the early chambers had to work more intensively with government or to respond to its threats.

In the early XIX century, chambers began to diffuse more widely and develop some services. Moreover, major successes were achieved, most prominently the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the General Combination Act of 1799 in 1824 that made trade union illegal. In particular, from the mid to late XIX century important changes occurred both in the field of education and connection for Chambers. On the one hand, the focus on improving education and training lead Chambers to establish new examination systems and prizes. On the other hand, from 1820, a closer joint collaboration between the chambers in the different areas began arriving at the foundation of the national British association of chambers (ACC) in 1860. Even though the establishment of the ACC is recognised as an important step, its implementation has been slow. Indeed, the network of chambers become a real national system, with all the chambers becoming members of the ACC, only by 1910. From 1880, new services were also implemented, such as statistics and enquiry services, document certification, more widespread arbitration services, labour conciliation boards, more extensive library and reading rooms, international exhibitions, and missions. Furthermore, over the period 1900-1920, the size of chambers also expanded becoming from predominantly small organisations to bodies of many thousands of members. At the same time, government started to examine the effectiveness of chambers activities as partners in policy development and for delivery of government services. This increased competition among local chambers of commerce for members and attention. As a result, the chamber system became an increasingly confused organism, characterised by differences in goals and capacities between the ‘large’ and ‘small’ chambers.

In the immediate aftermath of WW2 the chambers of commerce in Britain were largely excluded by developments and changes in government until the 1970s. Through reform of internal organisation, in 1973, systematic comparative financial data was collected from each chamber to allow monitoring and the increasing of the relationship with government. In addition, important in this phase is the merger with the NCT, the national body for the

chambers of trade, eliminating competitiveness. A major step also occurred in 1999 with the approval of Company and Business Name Act, which restricted the use of the chamber title. Chambers had the opportunity to shine in 1981 when the government launched the New Training Initiative, whose fulcrum was the Youth Training Scheme, which gave the opportunity for unemployed young people to receive technical training. In this occasion many chambers, together with many other bodies, became managing agents for this training. Between 1995 and 1997, 16 new Chambers of Commerce, Training, and Enterprise (CCTE) bodies were created but with the new Labour government of 1997 all initiatives and previously obtained advances were progressively abolished. For many chambers their world collapsed since the total income of the chamber system experienced major decline. New challenges have arisen after 2007, due to the global economic crisis, when contracts for business support were reallocated and in 2010 due to election. In the overall, the current phase, even though in many ways less stable and in continuing change, has witnessed market-driven dynamics emphasising members' demands to an even greater extent. Economic historians have accorded increasing importance to political-cultural forces, such as chambers of commerce and their dynamism with a wide array of corporations and committees, in the growth of British commerce and manufacturing. This is demonstrated by the increasing and constant numbers of Chambers of commerce over the years. In fact, by 1935 there were 23, and 75 by 1962; by 1964 there were 81 and by 1968 there were 100 (*Bennett R. J., 2011*). Nowadays, according to British Chambers of Commerce, there are 53 Chambers in UK and over 70 British Chambers of Commerce and business groups located in every continent of the world, which are directly associated with UK-based Chambers of Commerce.

2.4. Differentiation and division

Finally, as mentioned above, the Chambers of Commerce may join in associations, on the local and regional level, or may be individual. Additionally, they are also joined into local, national, continental and global associations. While umbrella associations at national and international level act as a lobby in the regulation of the wider economy, what is crucial for the understanding of the chambers of commerce is their spatial character as local and/or regional organisations, advocate for the protection and well-being of their specific regional economies. Apart from local, regional, national, continental, and global associations, two or

more Chambers of Commerce can be joined together in order to form bilateral transnational chambers. For instance, the Joint Italian Arab Chamber of Commerce, created in 1972, is mainly aimed at fostering contacts and the development of trade and economic cooperation between Italy and the Arab countries (*Home - Joint Italian Arab Chamber, n.d.*). The Chambers of Commerce, no matter if they are individual or are in association, also carry out the functions delegated to them by the State and the regions, as well as the tasks deriving from international agreements or conventions, informing their action to the principle of subsidiarity.

Generally speaking, Chamber of commerce may be divided into (*Hayes A., 2021; trade association*):

I. Regional, City, and Community Chambers

They are mainly focused on regional or local issues and aimed primarily to promote the interests of local businesses, often by cooperating with the local municipality.

II. State Chambers

Such chambers are more widespread in the USA, where they provide aid and defence at the state and sometimes national level. Therefore, for their functions, they have greater influence over state regulations and legislation.

III. Compulsory Chambers

In some countries, such as in Europe and Japan, businesses of a certain size are required to join a chamber of commerce, which provides a self-regulation, as well as promotes member businesses, provide economic data, supports economic development, and oversees worker training.

IV. National Chambers

Focusing on the Italian territory, the Chamber System is represented by Unioncamere which mainly includes the 73 Chambers of Commerce, 69 special companies, 11 regional unions. In addition, specifically to the Italian Chambers of commerce abroad, they are under the umbrella of the Association of Chambers of Commerce Abroad, better known as Assocamerestero. Unioncamere and Assocamerestero were created, in the late 1980s, with the aim of increasing the initiatives promoted by the Chambers and to ensure that a

certain level of knowledge about the CCIE network is spread both nationally and between international institutions and Italian business activities abroad.

On the one hand, the Italian Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture is an institutional body, created precisely in 1901, whose main objective is the creation and management of services and activities addressed to local Italian Chambers of Commerce. They have the capacity, as an organisation with legal personality, to draft directives proposed to the Italian Country System. Therefore, it is an organisation that acts as a facilitator for the expansion of the chamber network whose activities develop within the national territory and not abroad. Unioncamere performs mainly administrative functions such as the drafting of registers, lists, roles, in which certain events related to companies are reported and certified. The periodic collection of this data provides numbers necessary to establish the trend of the local economy and also to define possible implementations of promotional activities in order to support local organisations. Moreover, this market research makes it possible to establish regulations on trade, codes of conduct aimed at increasing levels of transparency and fairness in the economic market.

On the other hand, the statute of Assocamerestero provides for the promotion of the activities carried out by each Italian Chamber of Commerce Abroad, underlining the peculiarities of each project. It also aimed at promoting the Made in Italy and more generally of Italian know-how through an internationalisation of work and Italian companies in new foreign markets. Essentially, Assocamerestero's role is one of lobbying and institutional representation, as it supports the continuous search for partnerships both at public and private levels, through all the media and institutional channels available to them (*Assocamerestero; Unioncamere*).

V. International Chambers

At the international level the Chambers of Commerce are mainly represented by three organisations: Eurochambres, International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), World Chamber Federation (WCF) (*Kelly D., 2005; Jogdankar H. B., 2019; History of the chamber movement - ICC - International Chamber of Commerce, n.d.*).

Eurochambres was founded in 1958, following the creation of the European Economic Community with the aim of representing in all aspects the business community of the European Union. It currently represents 45 members, 43 national associations of

chambers of commerce and industry and two transnational chamber organisations, with a network of 1700 regional and local chambers. Among its members there is also represented Italy, under the nomenclature “Association of Italian Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Craft and Agriculture”, the now familiar Unioncamere. Eurochambres functions are to manage and coordinate various projects to the benefit of the chamber network and the wider business community. Most of these EU-funded projects are aimed at encouraging business relations between the EU and third countries and on promoting entrepreneurship (*Eurochambres – EU4Business: Connecting Companies, 2020*).

The International Chamber of Commerce is one of the largest, most delegate business organisations on the planet. It was founded in the aftermath of the First World War, in 1919, to serve world business by advancing speculation and exchange, open markets for enterprises and merchandise, and free stream of capital. Nowadays, the ICC represents more than 45 million companies in over 100 countries. It has three fundamental functions: rule setting, question goals and arrangement promotion. The organisation operates through a vast network of committees and experts working on behalf of its members to ensure that they are entirely informed about issues that may impact their respective industries. One of the most important contributions of the ICC is Incoterms, which is a globally recognised publication of international commercial terms. It was created in order to facilitate global commerce by providing parties involved in domestic and international trade with a tool kit, aimed to clarify the obligations of both buyers and sellers (*About us - ICC - International Chamber of Commerce, n.d.*).

The ICC, in 1951, after the World Congress of CC in Rome, established the World Chambers Federation, a special non-political and non-legislative body worldwide gathering joining the overall system of more that 12,000 committee of business and industry. It was founded in order to encourage the trading of best practice and the improvement of new worldwide items and administrations for chambers, and improve global organisations among chambers and different partners to enable nearby organisations to develop (*Jogdankar H. B., 2019*).

Finally, in modern times there are also other organisations, which include, among other, chambers of agriculture, chambers of trade, and the trade protection societies that form rival or complementary networks from the 1850s. Likewise, there are also organisations under the umbrella and the state leadership that offer healthy competition and complementarity both

locally and abroad. In particular, the next chapter will focus on Italian State bodies with functions similar to chambers of commerce in order to be able to draw a parallel with them.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY: Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec

Having illustrated in the previous chapters some of the theories of non-state actors and the nature, functions and compositions of the Chambers of Commerce both in Italy and abroad, the third chapter will focus on the case study under consideration: Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec.

In the first introductory part will be introduced the Canadian State, its geographical conformation and its economy, focusing mainly on the various bilateral trade agreements with the European Union and with Italy.

In the second part it will be analysed with more specificity the importance of Made in Italy and the scope of “Italianity” [Italianità] abroad, with greater emphasis to Canada, that is to say, to conform to what is considered peculiarly Italian or proper of the Italians in language, custom, character, culture, civilisation and economy.

Finally, the last paragraph will outline the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec, an organisation of which I was part during my first master’s internship. This paragraph will focus on the history of the organisation and its role as a mediator between Italian companies and the Canadian market. The materials I used to write this section were provided through an interview directly by the company contact, the project director and market analyst, Lavallée Inga, and various government and chamber websites.

3.1. Why Canada?

At this point a legitimate question is why is there three an Italian Chamber of Industry and Commerce abroad in Canada?

The answers are many and varied, first of all we must analyse and contextualise the geographical area in which it is located and the origins and dynamics from which this state inevitably depends.

With a landmass of 9.9 million square kilometres, Canada is the second largest country in the world after Russia, occupying roughly the northern two-fifths of the continent of North America. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean in the East, the Pacific Ocean and the US State of Alaska in the West, from the Arctic Ocean in the North and from the United States of America in the South. To give a meter of size, Canada has a territory corresponding to about 33 times that of Italy and 2.3 times that of the European Union. As a result, morphologically speaking, this country is very diverse, even though most of the soil is flat. An important information related to the territory is the fact that fresh water covers 9% of the Canadian surface. Very extensive are also the forests that account for 38% of the soil, while 5% is used for arable purposes. These factor endowments have a positive influence on the economy and make it a perfect economic partner, but all this will be extensively discussed in the next paragraph.

For what concern the administrative subdivision, Canada is a federation, namely a union of states characterised by the attribution of international legal personality to the union, and by the recognition of the executive, legislative and judicial powers to the individual federated states within the limits provided by the federal Constitution. In particular, Canada is divided into ten provinces, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia among the most famous, and three territories, which, due to their size, can be compared to real countries. Therefore, the Constitution of Canada gives the provinces jurisdiction over law administration, civil rights, natural resources, provincial taxes, education, culture, and municipal administration, and the three territories have comparable delegated powers.

Despite the great Canadian surface, it is one of the world's most sparsely populated countries.

In fact, the population is just over 38.5 million inhabitants and its 82% is urbanised (Statistics Canada, 2022). Due to both climatic issues and economic reasons of trade, inhabitants are distributed almost entirely in major cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, the capital Ottawa and Calgary and are located close to the border with the USA. This feature, coupled with the favourable geographical position and the grandeur of the landscape, has been central to the sense of Canadian national identity and a favourable future for immigrant populations. Indeed, although relatively few in number, Canadians have crafted what many observers consider to be a model multicultural and diverse society, welcoming immigrant populations from every continent. This ethnic and cultural diversity is a source of wealth in terms of intellectual knowledge, instead of being cause for clashes, as happens in other countries. Probably these positive outputs are also the result of an effective social policy of collective inclusion and well-being.

A separate note, useful for the chapter, should be devoted to the Italian-Canadian community since they are among the earliest Europeans to have visited and settled the country and among the first countries of origin of second-generation parents (Sturino, F. 2019; Garnett Picot, G. and Ostrovsky, Y. 2021). Although the steadiest waves of immigration occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries, decreasing gradually, according to data from the 2016 Canadian census, just under 1.6 million people reported having Italian origins, which corresponds to 4.2% of the total population. This brings the Italian language to be the most spoken among the unofficial ones. Moreover, Italian Canadians have featured prominently in union organisation, in business associations and in developing and promoting multiculturalism. This result is due both to the massive Italian emigration occurred between the 1950s and 60s but is also a consequence of generational successions. In fact, according to the Picot and Ostrovsky Report on Immigrant and second-generation entrepreneurs in Canada, second-generation Canadians had mostly European ancestry, with parents who arrived from Poland, Italy, the United Kingdom and other European countries. Furthermore, Italy is one of the top three countries, together with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, of origin of the second generation's parents. Not only the sizeable Italian presence is significant but also the Italian culture, especially that of the food, is much appreciated also by the rest of the population and therefore finds a good market.

Historically, Canada was originally inhabited by Aboriginal people, but by the XVII century

the arrival of European traders, missionaries, soldiers and colonists, mainly French and English, changed the native way of life. That is for this reason that today the official languages mainly are French and English. Then, by the 1550s, the name of Canada began appearing on maps, thanks to Jacques Cartier who claimed the land for King Francis I of France. In 1608, it was founded what is now the Quebec City, one of the earliest permanent settlements, which would become the capital of New France. In the meantime, the English claimed Newfoundland and other territories. After many wars, with the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, British gained these territories while France lost almost all its remaining territories. From 1763 to 1931 Canada was under the British rule. Many events happened during this 168 years, firstly, the British were guaranteeing the right of Canadians to use the French civil law and, because of the American independence war, Canada's economy began to flourish. Secondly, British province of Quebec was divided into upper and lower Canada in 1791 and then reunified in 1841. Subsequently, this giant of North America obtained the recognition of self-governing "Dominion" on July 1, 1867. On the one hand, the Dominion status allowed Canada a large measure of self-rule, but, on the other, matters pertaining to military alliances and international diplomacy were chartered to the British crown. Only later, when the Statute of Westminster was promulgated on 11th December 1931, by which the British Parliament ruled that it would no longer have the right to legislate for the Dominions, became formally independent and become co-equal with the UK. However, full legislative independence was not achieved until 1982, when Canada obtained the right to amend its own constitution. This historical influence then evolved into today's Commonwealth, of which Canada is still a part.

Currently, as regards domestic politics, Canada is formally a parliamentary constitutional monarchy with Queen Elisabeth II as the head of the state. In practice, however, Canada is an independent federal state established by the British North America Act, in 1867. In fact, the Queen delegates her powers to her representative, the Governor General of Canada. The current Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, who is a member of the Liberal Party, and his Council exercise executive power. The Parliament is the legislative body and consists of the Senate, which is formed by appointed senators, and the House of Commons, whose members are elected by universal suffrage every four years. Thirdly, Canada is a bijural State where Civil law and Common law coexist. The British Common law tradition applies throughout Canada in all federal and provincial and territorial law and in all matters of public law, while the French Civil Code is in force in the province of Quebec in all matters of private law, including

matters of family and child law.

In conclusion, in order to have a more comprehensive geopolitical framework on Canada, it is necessary to note that the Canadian Government is strongly committed to relaunching its multilateral profile in order to increase visibility and influence at the global level. Therefore, cooperation with several countries is a central aspect of Canada's foreign policy, based on the belief that coordination with partners is an essential tool to achieve common long term goals. Just to name a few, Canada is a member of the United Nations, since its inception in 1945, of NATO, since 1949, of G7 and G20. It is also a member of various other international and regional agreements and organisations for economic and cultural affairs. Among the most prolific economic agreements, Canada has a membership in the World Trade Organization, since 1947, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, of which it is part since 1994. Canada's policy also seeks to expand its ties to the Pacific economies through the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, CPTPP, concluded between 11 countries of the Pacific area and in force since December 30, 2018. Finally, a recent agreement with Europe to further strengthen its relations with the historic partner is the CETA which it will be explained with more details in the next paragraphs.

3.2. Canada's Economy

In addition to being the place, albeit remotely, in which my first master's internship took place, Canada is also notoriously considered among the best economies in the world, in fact it was ranked sixth in Forbes' annual ranking of the best countries to do business in 2019. Therefore, in this paragraph the Canadian economy will be illustrated in order to analyse it, understand it more thoroughly and understand the reasons that led the renowned US financial economy magazine to place it so high in its ranking.

The Canadian economic structure leads the country to have a Gross Domestic Product among the highest in the world: 1,643 billion US\$ in 2020 that converted into PPP correspond to 1,77

trillion. To give some terms of comparison, Italy in 2020 recorded at 1,886 billion, 2.49 trillion in PPP, while the US 20,94 thousands of billions (The World Bank, 2022). Looking at the graph it is possible to notice that historically Canada’s GDP has always grown +1.5% in 2016, +1.8% in 2018, +1.6% in 2019. However, it declined slightly only in 2009 and 2015, but the Canadian economy was able to resume steady growth immediately. Growth rates have been rather constant, but it is not all due to an increase in economic welfare, but partly to inflation, which has also remained fairly constant over time. In 2020, following the effects of the pandemic, GDP stood at -5.1% and then returned to positive territory, +4.0%, in 2021 (InfoMercatiEsteri, 2022). From these datas, the Canadian picture shows a healthy economy in sight , whose growth is expected to be growing around the 2-3% over the next few years (ESPAS, 2017).

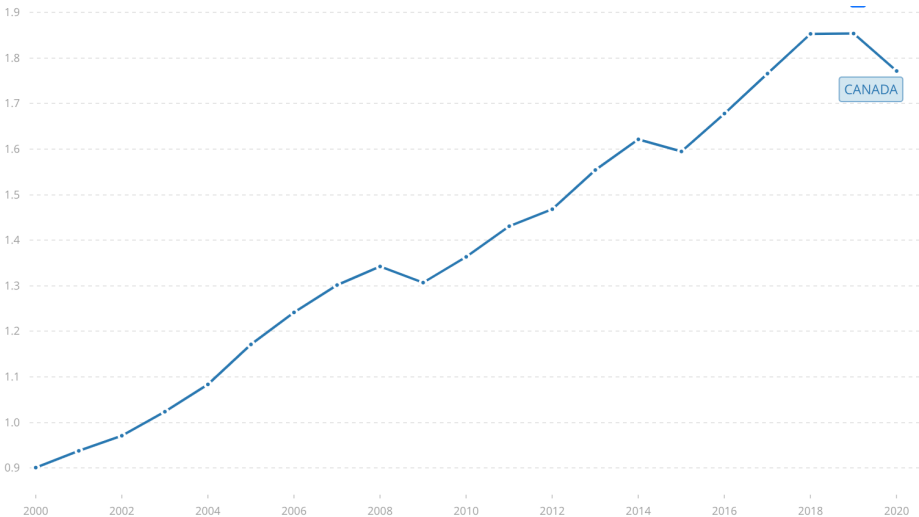


Figure 8: GDP, PPP (current international \$) - Canada
Source: World Bank Data, 2022

A further interesting analysis is provided by GDP per capita, which shows that, purchasing power parity, in 2021 reached 48,029,344 USD, compared with 43,814,849 USD in 2020. To give some terms of comparison, in the same year in Italy it was 34,997 US\$ and in USA 69,375.38 US\$. This means that, at the national level, the Canadian economy is relatively smaller than Italy, but every single Canadian worker produces on average more wealth. This is mainly due to a greater use of capital than the workforce.

Canada’s economic prosperity is also reflected in the unemployment rate, which is continuing to decline after the surge in 2009, except for 2020, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, but with an immediate descent. In particular, the unemployment rate stood at 5.3%, decreasing to 0.2 percentage points, the lowest rate on record since comparable data became available in 1976. In addition, according to the Labour Force Survey of Statistics Canada, employment rose, both the goods and services producing sectors, above all in Ontario and Quebec, by +0.4% in March 2022.

The above information is reflected in a high Human Development Index, HDI, that allows Canada to be in the world’s top 20, reaching a value of 0.929 in 2019. In addition to the economic side itself, the reasons for this are to be found in the welfare state, including the free national health system, investment in high-level education and the high life expectancy of the inhabitants.

Turning instead to the traditional subdivision of economic sectors, the column chart below reveals that Canada does not differ much from other developed countries. The primary sector, coloured grey, contributes to the creation of employment and GDP by around 1.51%, the secondary sector, the blue one, by around 19.25%, while, the tertiary sector, the light blue one, by around 79.24%.

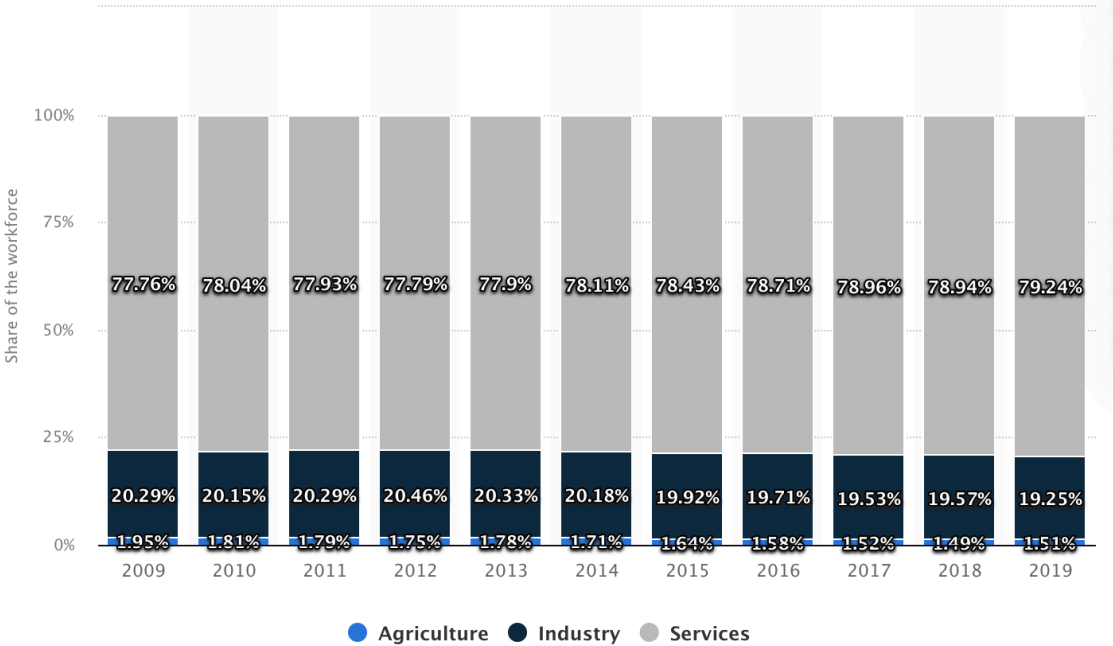


Figure 9: Distribution of the workforce across economic sectors from 2009 to 2019 in Canada

Source: Statista 2022

Starting with agriculture, the Canadian economy is characterised by extensive wheat cultivation. Other well-known cereal products include oats, barley, and maize. In addition, the primary sector is also characterised by the cultivation of potatoes, soybeans, flax, rapeseed, blueberries, tobacco and sugar beet. Despite a limited amount of arable land, indeed, in 2019 only 4.3% of the land was destined for arable use, thanks to high mechanisation and modern techniques, the lands of Canada have a high productivity. In recent years, because of the challenging climate and soil conditions, there has been a trend towards the production of genetically modified organisms, though their disfavour in Europe jeopardises exportability. Another important aspect of the primary sector is the intensive rearing, mainly of cattle and pigs, with an abundant consideration also for fur animals such as minks and silver foxes.

Continuing in the perspective of the primary sector, in Canada, the fish market, thanks to the rich fishing grounds off both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, is also very developed, both for fishing itself and for widespread aquaculture. Thanks to the latter, the country manages to obtain trout, salmon, cod and oysters at competitive cost. On the other hand, with the classic fishing method, the most important species caught are herring, mackerel, tuna, sole, salmon, sturgeon, various crustaceans and molluscs. Furthermore, even though Canada fishes only a small proportion of the world's marine fish, it ranks among the leaders in the volume of fish exports. This is due to both the relatively small population of Canada and the low per capita consumption of fish.

In order to understand why the secondary sector uses almost 20% of the workforce, some relevant elements need to be taken into account. The first element to be considered is the significant endowment of natural resources. Timber production, for example, is remarkable by virtue of the extensive coverage of the national territory of forests of fir, pine, cedar, birch and maple. Canada also has a flourishing forest industry thanks to the sustainable exploitation of its woodlands. Indeed, since almost half of Canada's land area is covered by forest, this allows an abundant resources supply for the related industry in the production of cellulose, wood pulp, paper and wood. In particular, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec provinces,

is the world leader in the export of pulp, paper and softwood lumber. The American giant is, therefore, in a position to compete on prices, due to low production costs, quantity and quality, while taking into account the environment. As a result, forestry products account for a greater share of Canada's export trade than the combined exports of agricultural products, fish and minerals.

Another huge factor is the reserves of energy resources, such as coal, natural gas but above all oil. In particular, the largest deposits of coal and petroleum, consisting mainly of tar sands, have been found in the interior plains of western Canada, mainly in the province of Alberta, but potential reserves can also be found in the Arctic and off the East coast. For this reason, Canada is placed among the top areas in the world for the amount of oil reserves, more precisely in third place after Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. Canada can thus fulfil its own petroleum needs and has a surplus of natural gas and electricity. It is currently the largest supplier of oil to the US. In 2019, Canada exported more than 3.7 million barrels of oil to the United States, with less than 1% of Canadian exports destined to other countries. It is also richly endowed with hydroelectric power resources, since it has about one-sixth of the world's total installed hydroelectric generating capacity. However, since most of the suitable hydroelectric sites have already been highly developed and as nuclear power generation, which provides about one-eighth of Canada's power, has declined because of safety concerns, the country has turned to coal-fuelled thermal energy. Therefore, thanks to the exploitation of its 19 active nuclear reactors, but also to the enhancement of its thermal power plants, hydroelectric and, in small part, alternative sources such as wind and solar, the giant of North America reached, in 2019, the fifth position in energy production worldwide (*EIA, 2019*).

Last but not least elements to be considered concern minerals. Canada has long ranked among the world leaders in the extraction and production especially of uranium, but also for industrial minerals such as zinc, nickel, asbestos, iron, lead, and coppered titanium. In addition, in the country there are significant deposits of sulfur, potassium salts and precious metals, such as gold, silver and platinum. Diamond mining, especially in the Northwest Nunavut Territories, is significant as well. Moreover, the Canadian mining fields support the mining and related industries of steel, metallurgy and mechanics, mainly automotive, railway and naval, as well as high-tech machinery. Given that Canada exports a large portion of its mineral output, the mining industry is sensitive to fluctuations in world prices. Therefore,

during times of high demand, prices rise, and mining companies increase their production and open new mines; when demand drops, output is reduced, mines close, and workers are laid off.

Other sectors worthy of note are the chemical industry and the textile industry, electronics, computer science, telecommunications, aerospace, then, connected to the primary sector, the food industry. The real highlight, however, is the biotechnology industry in which Canada dominates thanks to massive investment in research and development.

Turning finally to the tertiary sector, it contributes most to the wealth of the country both in terms of income and employment, since it employs more people than all other activities combined. First of all, it is necessary to point out the great Canadian trade opening at the international level, especially towards the USA, due to the NAFTA agreement, which accounts for three-quarter of total exports. To be precise, Canada's largest export destination and import origin in May 2021 was the United States. In this respect, an important component is represented by a very active commercial policy based on the diversification of the portfolio of international partners, which, especially for Canada, assumes a particular importance in the light of the dominant role of trade with the USA. Canada also retains strong ties with Europe, although nowadays China ranks as Canada's second largest trading partner, expanding its business horizons. Other important partners include the United Kingdom, South Korea, Mexico, Japan, and Germany.

The products that are sold abroad are closely linked to the relative factor endowments. Thus, they consist of construction timber and other derivatives, uranium, chemical and petroleum products, aluminum, machinery, sanitary products and agricultural commodities. On the other hand, imports consist of industrial machinery, means of transport and parts thereof, food, computers and consumer durables. As can be seen from the following table, both incoming and outgoing products and services have been growing historically. However, even Canada, like almost all countries in the world, suffered a sharp shutdown in the year 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown. Nevertheless, according to the OECD forecasts, in 2023, both export and import compliance will be more than positive, even exceeding the levels of 2019. In fact, export levels, compared to 1.3 in 2019, will be 2.6 while import levels from a 0.4 will reach 3.7.

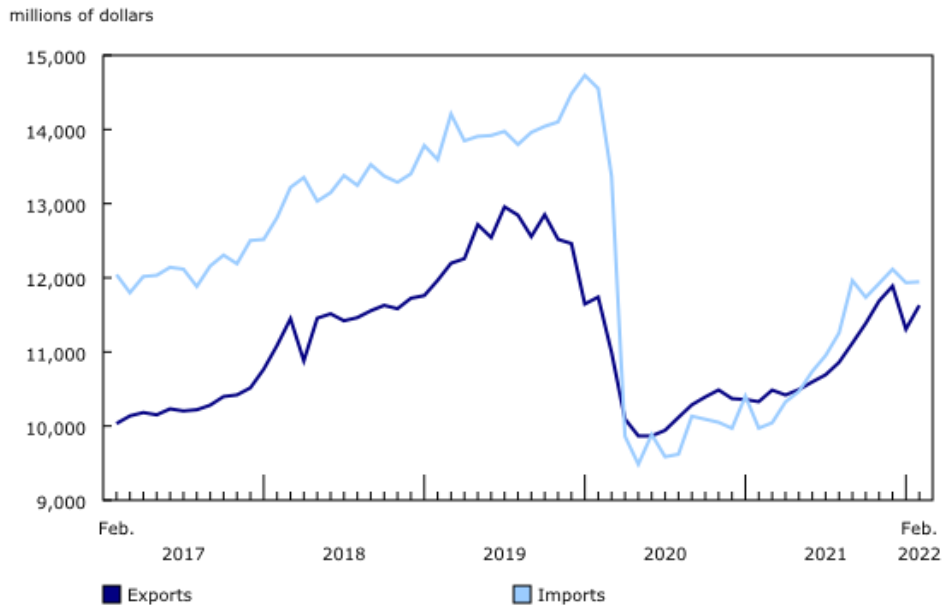


Figure 10: Canada Export-Import

Source: Statistics Canada

In the financial field, the Canadian banking system has an excellent capitalisation and a great deal of flexibility in responding to the monetary needs of the economy. In fact, together with a predictive credit policy, has made it one of the best advanced countries in the world in terms of resistance to the crisis of 2008-2009, keeping the real estate intact. Canada has two stock exchanges, Montréal and Toronto, which are part of the TMX Group and, as expected, specialise in mining and energy securities. A sore point for Canadian finances is the debt of households, consisting essentially of mortgages. In 2021, relation to net disposable income corresponds to 186.2%, greater than the US neighbour, which is 101%, and more than double that of Italy, around 91%.

Remaining in the tertiary sector, Canada's tourism sector is a further essential contributor to the Canadian economy. The tourism sector accounts for two percent of gross national product and provides employment for 1.8 million people. Just to make an example prior to the pandemic, in 2019, tourism brought in Canada revenue in the amount of US\$ 104.9 billion and contributed an estimated \$43.5 billion in Gross Domestic Product. For comparison, at the same period, Italy stood at around US\$ 248 billion, generating over 1.7 million jobs. Moreover, Canada was one of the world's leading destinations for foreign travellers,

especially from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Japan. Canada was and still is one of the world's leading destinations for foreign travellers, especially from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Japan, although, in recent years, due to Covid-19 restrictions, tourism has become more local. In fact, unfortunately, Canada has been among the most affected countries by the COVID-19 pandemic, with a loss equal to -\$22.5 compared to 2019. Targeted government supports have considerably helped businesses not only to survive but also to adapt their operations meeting public health requirements, improving their products and services, and positioning themselves for post-pandemic economic recovery.

To conclude the overview of Canada's economy, the Italian information page on foreign markets of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation confirms the economic strength of the country. In particular, it underlines the reasons that lead Italy to the convenience of having as a trading partner the second largest country in the world. Firstly, it highlighted the stability and transparency of the political and economic system, as well as the presence of certain rules and the rule of law. Secondly, it is a robust and constantly growing market, mainly thanks to the policy of openness to international trade traditionally followed by the country. Third, labour market conditions, the presence of highly qualified personnel, resource-rich market and the cost of the factors of production and access to credit make the country globally competitive. Finally, together with the appreciation of Italian products, the Free Trade Agreement (CETA) between the EU and Canada will continue to provide more opportunities for businesses.






3.3. CETA

Currently the most important and recent trade agreement between Canada and Italy, and more generally between Canada and the European Union, is the CETA, the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement.

3.3.1. Definition, objective and regulation

The CETA is essentially a trade agreement between the European Union and Canada that aims to promote free trade between the two parties, further strengthening their close economic relations. The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement falls into the category of international treaties and, according to European regulations, has the characteristic of being “mixed”. This means that the contract can only become fully effective once it has been ratified by all the EU Member States, through their national parliaments. While the requirement for Member State’ approval of a "mixed agreement" is not a novelty, CETA is one of the first free trade agreements for which the ratification procedure passes through the national legislatures.

The main objective for which the parties on both sides of the Atlantic are committed is the progressive reduction of most tariff barriers related to goods, estimated to 99% of all tariff lines. The Agency for the promotion abroad and the internationalisation of Italian companies, in its 2018 Passepartout on Canada, summarises with the following figure the main news by listing some examples of products. The first column lists the category of products, including wine, motor vehicles, footwear, ceramic tiles and clothing. In the next two columns, the pre CETA and post CETA customs duties are expressed, in which the words 'deleted' appear.

	PRODOTTI ESEMPLIFICATIVI	DAZIO PRE CETA	DAZIO POST CETA	TEMPI DI ABBATTIMENTO* (ANNI)
	VINO	1,87 - 4,68 CENT (DOLLARI CANADESI)	ELIMINATO	IMMEDIATO
	AUTOVEICOLI	6,1%	ELIMINATO	8
	CALZATURE	16 - 20%	ELIMINATO	IMMEDIATO
	PIASTRELLE IN CERAMICA	8,0%	ELIMINATO	IMMEDIATO
	ABBIGLIAMENTO	16 - 18%	ELIMINATO	IMMEDIATO

* Il dazio decade in maniera lineare nell'arco temporale indicato

Figure 11: Comparison of customs duties between pre CETA and post CETA for certain commodity products

In addition to duties, however, several other aspects of significant economic benefit are included in the regulation, such as:

- the access to the respective markets on equal terms for local firms, both for private operators and for public procurement;
- the recognition of professional qualifications which will lead to new job opportunities or higher salaries for those working in the export sector, thus stimulating growth employment;
- the simplification of trade in services with the result that consumers have a wider choice;
- the simplification of bureaucracy for staff transfers or the establishment of new premises from Canada to the EU and vice versa, with the aim of encouraging foreign direct investment;
- a mutual commitment to the recognition of people's rights in the workplace and the environment, for example by giving greater consideration to trade unions;
- a more relevant protection related to the remuneration of the intellectual property of innovative companies and of the people working within them, through a more strict application of copyright rights;
- a more concrete defence of the distinctive marks of European rural communities, especially those related to food with protected geographical indications, for example by introducing measures to combat the Italian sounding phenomenon.

In summary, CETA provides some of the strongest commitments ever included in a trade deal ensuring not only economic growth but also social development, labour rights, environmental protection and sustainable development.

One of the most controversial points of the Agreement with Canada, at least with regard to the agri-food sector, concerns the treatment of Protected Geographical Indications, the last point of the previous list. This aspect is particularly important for Italy. On the one hand, the Italian agri-food sector, second after the mechanical one, represents strategic excellence with a significant economic weight. On the other hand, Italy is the country with the highest number of Geographical Indications within the EU. The legal protection contained in the CETA on Geographical Indications concerns an initial list of 143 products, of which the greatest

number, 41, are Italian. However, the agreement is functioning dynamically and is set to expand this number of protected European products on the Canadian market in the future. For example, the procedure has already produced results in September 2018 when the 'Prosciutto di Carpegna' was added to the initial list. Thanks to the trade agreement, these products are protected against imitations at a level comparable to that offered by EU legislation. This is very important step, in light of the fact that Canada, until CETA agreement, has been unwilling to protect the geographical indications of other countries. In addition, European standards are always be enforced as the trade agreement does not present any kind of changes regarding food safety legislation in the old world market.

In order to conclude the presentation of the agreement, it is necessary to clarify how any disputes between investors and the State concerning the application or interpretation of the provisions of the CETA should be resolved. The trade agreement provides that the parties must first of all contact each other in order to try to clarify matters and consult experts on the matter. Only in the event that an amicable agreement is not reached can a permanent court composed of publicly appointed magistrates be established. Therefore, to address some of these matters, the EU replaced the controversial investor-state dispute settlement, ISDS, with a new investment court system, ICS, that features permanent independent judges appointed in advance by the EU and Canada, an appeals mechanism and transparent proceedings. In April 2019, the CJEU deemed, in its final Opinion 1/17, that ICS provisions under CETA are compatible with the EU law, further alleviating concerns.

3.3.2. Historical evolution

The idea of a trade agreement involving the EU and Canada dates back to 2009. The European Commission, having made a prior assessment of the economic impact of the then hypothetical treaty, sent the Council of Ministers a proposal to start negotiations. Each Member State had the opportunity to express its position on the matter. This happened on 24 April 2009 when unanimity was given to start negotiations.

Discussions on the trade agreement lasted five years, until the full text was drafted on August 5, 2014, made public three weeks later. From this moment on, the public movements, especially by opponents, began to be felt more and more because of doubts about the actual convenience of signing the treaty.

About a year and a half later, on 29 February 2016, Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmstroem announced the completion of CETA's statutory audit. In the meantime, public pressure and pressure from various countries, including Italy, led the European Commission to propose on 5 July 2016 that the agreement be classified as "mixed". The proposal was accepted despite the related legal implications.

As for the signing of the agreement, it was scheduled for 27 October of the same year, but strong pressure from Wallonia, the southern region of Belgium, made it postponed. Nevertheless, on 28 October 2016 the Council of the European Union adopted the decision to sign the treaty. Then, following the summit of 30 October 2016 between the EU, represented by Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission and Robert Fico, President-in-Office of the Council, and Canada, represented by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, CETA was officially signed. Subsequently, on 15 February 2017, the agreement was also approved by the European Parliament with about three-fifths in favour, while ratification by Canada arrived on 16 May.

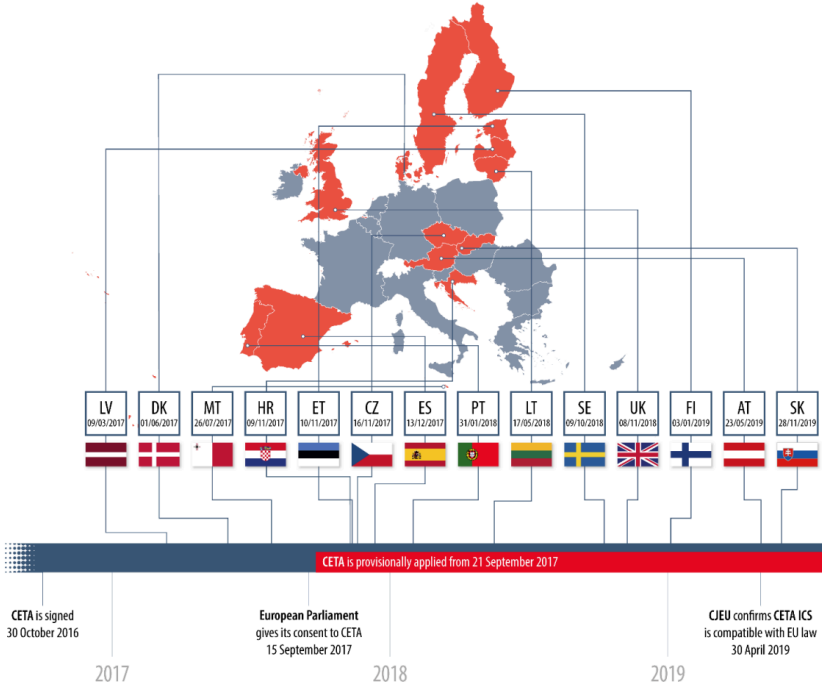


Figure 12: Member States that have ratified CETA as of November 2019

Source: European Parliamentary Research Service

Finally, CETA entered into force, at least provisionally, on 21 September 2017, by 408 votes to 254, with 33 abstentions. At the moment, therefore, the agreement with Canada is still awaiting ratification at national level by all EU member States. For instance, as shown in the figure above, the UK ratified CETA on 8 November 2018 while 14 Member States had notified the European Council of completion of national ratification procedures for CETA in November 2019.

It should nevertheless be emphasised that Italy has shown opposition toward CETA. In fact, the Italian Government approved the draft law for the ratification of the treaty on 24 May 2017 and, subsequently, the examination began in the Senate but soon ran aground due to the mobilisation of farmers. They expressed their concern about the consequences for agriculture and the scarce protection of Italian food products with a designation of origin, even though CETA has already a provision which protects them. Regions, municipalities and mountain communities have also lined up against CETA, with the result that the vote has been postponed to a date to be set aside. After the 2018 election, the new “Government of Change” took office, whose contract does not include the ratification of CETA. Indeed, in the chapter dedicated to the European Union it says that “with regard to CETA, MES-China, TTIP and similar treaties, we will oppose the aspects that lead to an excessive weakening of the protection of citizens’ rights, as well as an infringement of fair and sustainable competition on the internal market”. However, since these objections were raised once CETA was provisionally implemented, Italy is unlikely to lead the agreement to fall apart. At the same time, however, according to the words of the president of CIA, Italian farmers Confederation, Dino Scanavino, “a rapid ratification of the CETA agreement would represent a clear and immediate message for agri-food companies and especially for our livestock companies at default risk due to the increase in raw materials”. He also stated that “the objective advantages for our companies are indisputable and now the policy must accelerate on the ratification of the CETA to give competitiveness to the Italian System. With the recognition and protection of the main European DOP and IGP denominations, the agreement has helped to facilitate fair and sustainable trade, within the framework of international rules”.

3.3.2. Effects of trade post-CETA provisional application

Five years after CETA provisionally came into effect, it can be reviewed the two partners' trade performance in order to understand which benefits CETA has brought in the short term. In particular, this subsection summarises two trade analyses, one from 2017 and the other, more recent, from 2021, both elaborated by the Directorate General for Trade of the European Commission. Specifically, the first analysis was made as a simulation and the economic outcome is compared to the baseline scenario and projected to 2030. On the other hand, the second impact analysis of the trade agreement between Canada and EU is a comparison between trade performance in year 2016, prior to the provisional application of CETA, with trade performance in 2019, post-CETA provisional application, and prior to the COVID 19 pandemic. Additionally, in this overview 2020 trade data has also been included.

According to the 2017 impact analysis of CETA on the EU market prepared, both European imports and exports, of products and services, from and to Canada were expected to increase by €5.9 billion and €5.8 billion respectively, for a total bilateral trade that was close to €12 billion. Instead, for IDE, Integrated Development Environment, to the EU, the projections estimated an increase of €630 million while those to Canada of €1.2 billion. In terms of GDP, annual increases were expected to be around €1.7 - 2.1 billion for the European Union, with economic growth of around 0.02 - 0.03%, and €2.4 - 3.0 billion for Canada, 0.3 - 0.4%.

Instead, according to the more recent overview of Canada-EU trade performance under CETA of March 2021, created for the Second Canada-EU CETA Joint Committee Meeting, before the pandemic broke down across the world in 2020, total merchandise trade between Canada and the EU reached a record high of €66.8 billion in 2019. This is equivalent to a 27.0% increase compared to the level in 2016, which was the year before CETA provisionally came into effect. Over the same period, Canada's trade with the world grew merely by 13.7% while the EU's trade with the world grew by 17.4%. Furthermore, following the adoption of CETA, the yearly average growth rate of bilateral commerce between Canada and the EU has climbed from 4.4 percent in 2011-2016 to nearly double that of 7.9 percent in 2018-19.

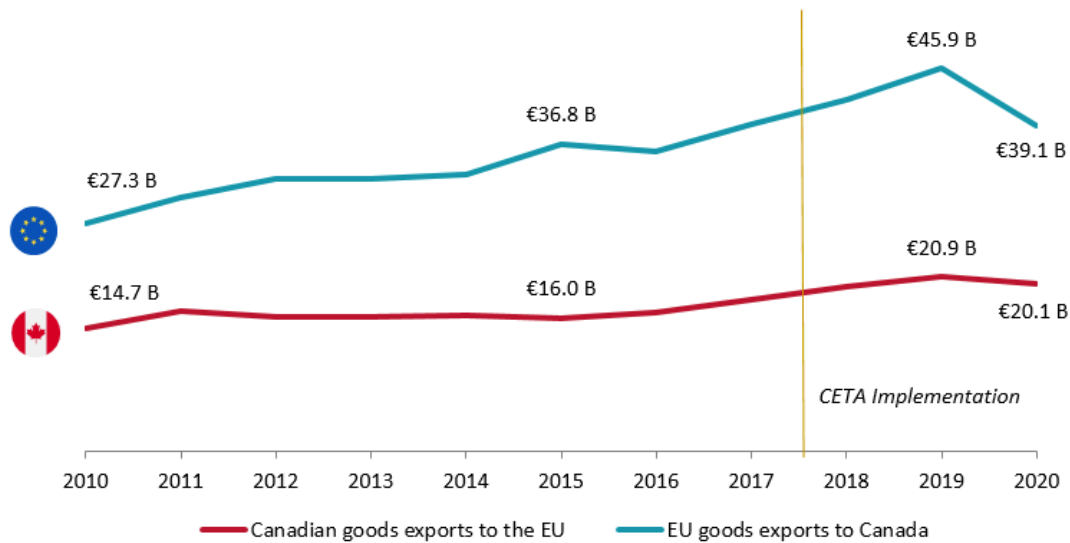


Figure 13: Canada-EU Goods Trade, 2010-2020, in €billion

Looking at changes in bilateral goods trade, figure 13, it can be noted that Canada’s pre-CETA goods exports to the EU increased by 25.0%, to reach €20.9 billion in 2019. The corresponding figure for the increase in EU pre-CETA goods exports to Canada, on the other hand, was 28.0 percent, resulting in a value of exports of nearly €46 billion in 2019.

These results are quite intuitive and in line with the differences between economies. The European Union represents in fact the second most important commercial partner in order of importance for Canada in merchandise trade, following the United States. Similarly, Canada’s share in the EU market also improved, although not in a relevant way, up from 1.0% of total EU imports from the world in 2016 to 1.2% in 2020, becoming the EU’s 11th most important trading partner. As a result, CETA’s increased economic-trade ties and relationships are supposed to bring a better benefit to the Canadian economy. The variations in percentage terms are low for both parties and this indicates that the integration of economies is already present thanks to the WTO multilateral agreements.

It should certainly be stressed that COVID-19 has had an immediate and strong impact on Canada-EU bilateral trade and their respective trade with the world. As a consequence, bilateral trade in goods between Canada and EU dropped to €59.2 billion in 2020 compared to

2019, a decline of 11.4%. Nevertheless, Canada-EU bilateral trade value in 2020 was still 12.5% higher than it was pre-CETA in 2016.

CETA also encouraged greater trade diversification by incentivising more firms to export to the market of the FTA partners. For instance, 2019 has represented an increase of 6.9% in Canada merchandise exporters active in EU, while EU firms imported from Canada increased of 5.0% compared to 2016.

For what concerns goods, figure 14, trade agricultural products, which represents 9.3% of total bilateral trade between Canada and the EU, was 14.8% higher in 2019 compared to the pre-CETA level in 2016. A large portion of this rise came from agricultural exports from the EU. Simultaneously, Canadian exports of oil seeds, fish, and shellfish to the EU also surged significantly.






Sector	2016	2019	2020	Growth 2016-2019 (%)	Growth 2016-2020 (%)
Total Canada-EU Trade					
Agricultural products	5,399	6,200	7,274	14.8	34.7
Non-agricultural products	47,167	60,470	51,884	28.2	10.0
 Machinery	9,204	11,864	9,769	28.9	6.1
 Pharmaceutical products	4,790	6,845	6,899	42.9	44.0
 Ores, slag and ash	1,766	3,483	3,625	97.2	105.3
 Mineral fuels ⁵	2,912	4,219	2,100	44.9	-27.9
 Motor vehicles and parts	5,187	6,025	4,363	16.2	-15.9

Figure 14: Total Canada-EU Goods Trade, Sectors with Largest Growth, in €million

At the sector level, the post-CETA growth was even further remarkable, up 28.2% compared to the pre-CETA level in 2016. Machinery, pharmaceutical items, ores, slag and ash, mineral fuels, and motor vehicles and parts have seen the greatest growth in absolute value in total Canada-EU trade in goods. In 2019, these five chapters accounted for 48.7% of all bilateral commerce between Canada and the EU. With the exception of mineral fuels and motor vehicles and parts, these most traded sectors grew in 2020 in comparison to 2016.

Over the last decade, Canada-EU service trade has expanded considerably. Both Canadian service exports to the EU and that of EU to Canada increased substantially from 2010 to 2019. Total Canada-EU services trade has increased by 39.0 percent between 2016 and 2019, with Canadian services exports to the EU up 36.6 percent and EU services exports to Canada up 40.6 percent.

Finally, rising greenhouse gas emissions and growing concerns about climate change in both Canada and the EU have given rise to an increase in trade in environmental goods, such as recycling pipes and tubes, prefabricated building structures, energy-efficient machinery, and pollution measurement equipment. Total bilateral trade in environmental goods increased 17.2 percent from 2016 to 2019, from €6.1 billion to €7.1 billion. Specifically, exports of environmental goods from Canada reached €1.6 billion in 2019, up 23.0% from €1.3 billion in 2016. Likewise, EU environmental goods exports to Canada increased 15.8% from €4.8 billion in 2016 to €5.5 billion in 2019. In comparison to their pre-CETA levels, all of these items witnessed post-CETA increase in 2019. Except for energy efficient machinery, which suffered a significant setback in 2020 due to COVID-19, trading levels remained strong compared to pre-CETA.

In this regard, one of the most redundant criticisms is that CETA could lead to a significant increase in CO₂, due to transport on trans-ocean routes and the incentive that Canada has to increase the extraction of hydrocarbons and minerals for the industry. Furthermore, even though both parties agree that “more trade and investment should strengthen, not weaken, environmental protection and labour rights”, CETA does not mention in the slightest the 2015 Paris Agreement. To correct this incorrect trend, the idea is to introduce a carbon tax with the aim of making companies internalise the negative externalities due to the release of pollutants in the environment. In this way, industries should be directed towards a more sustainable approach. It was for this reason that, during the third meeting held in videoconference on 21 January 2021, the EU and Canada exchanged information on their respective work regarding Carbon Border Adjustment mechanisms. In the context of Canada's transition to a low-carbon economy, the government highlighted the approval of the European Green Deal and said it is also looking at the possibility of border carbon adjustments. The EU underlined that the

establishment of a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism, or CBAM, was designated in the European Green Deal as one of the tools to aid in the transition to a greener, more sustainable economy. The EU further informed Canada that the instrument's design prioritises compliance with WTO standards.

3.4. Italy-Canada economic-trade relations

In the international economy it exists an empirical model, known as “Gravity Model”, that captures the relationship between distance, size and volumes of trade between countries. It foresees an intensification of trade as the Gross Domestic Product of a country increases, while the effect is inverse for distance (*Krugman, Obstfeld and Melitz, 2018*).

According to the criterion of remoteness, since the Atlantic Ocean separates Europe from Canada, with its high costs and long transport times, the volume of bilateral trade between these two countries should not be very high. However, the geographical distance is offset, at least in part, by other factors, such as institutional similarities and historical-cultural proximity. Indeed, as previously stated in the previous paragraphs, there is a sizeable Italian, and European in general, community in Canada, which encourages trade.

According to the economic dimension, however, there is a strong empirical relationship between the size of a country’s economy and the value of both its imports and its exports. Indeed, total and per capita GDP both Canadian and Italian are among the highest in the world. Therefore, between the two countries there is a strong “gravitational” attraction in terms of trade volumes. The reason for this is due to the country's citizens' ability to spend their wealth. Because a high GDP results from high income earned by the selling of their goods and services, people are more inclined to buy and import.

Turning to numbers, the Italian economic and commercial relations with Canada will be illustrated by trying, where detailed databases are available, to use the same analytical

subdivision made so far in this chapter.

In concordance with the latest data of 2021 from the Canadian National Statistical Agency, Statistics Canada, in 2020 Italy, despite the crisis, has confirmed itself as the seventh supplier country in absolute and second European supplier, after Germany. In 2020, imports of Italian goods in Canada amounted to 9 billion CAD, a decrease of 5.0% compared to the previous year, with about 3.7 billion CAD of Canadian exports to Italy (Statistics Canada). The chart below shows bilateral trade data between the two countries from 2020. The trade balance is, therefore, favourable to Italy with a very significant positive balance, in the order of 5.3 billion CAD. After closing 2019 with a 5 percent of growth, 2020 had also started positively for the Italian country and Italy's exports to Canada increased by 8.6 percent in the first two months of 2020 when compared to the same period the previous year. Due to the pandemic, there has been a slowdown in trade, however, the Italian trade has been the most moderate decline among all the main trading partners of Canada, after China and South Korea.

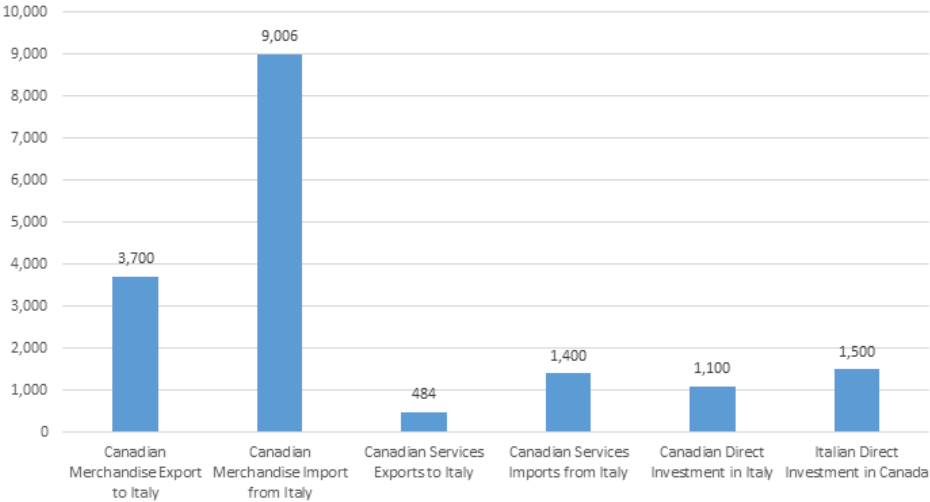


Figure 15: 2020 Trade and Investment between Italy and Canada (C\$ million)

Source: Statistics Canada

In addition, during the last 25 years both the exports of Italy to Canada and that of Canada to Italy have increased. Specifically, the first one have expanded at an annualised rate of 3.46%,

from \$2.23B in 1995 to \$5.21B in 2020 while that of Canada to Italy have increased at an annualised rate only of 1.67%, from \$1.68B in 1995 to \$2.55B in 2020. Therefore, this means that Italy exports many more products to Canada than its North American partner.

Using data from the most recent accessible year, it shows out that the separation between commodities and services is essentially the same as what has been stated previously for the totalitarian European domain. In practice, nearly two-thirds of all transactions occur outside of Italy, with the remaining third handled by services. Instead, in the entrance toward Italy, the distribution of goods is far more visible, and the motivations are always linked to Canada's factorial equipment.

As regards, in particular, trade in goods, machinery and equipment, food, beverages (wine and grape must alone have a profit equal to \$399M), clothes, including leather, chemicals, especially packaged medicaments (\$180M), non-metallic mineral processing goods, and modes of transportation, such as motor cars, trailers, and semi-trailers, are among the exports from Italy to Canada with substantial value. Chemicals, namely packaged medicaments with \$558M (23.18%) of profits, mining, and agricultural items, especially wheat \$447M (14.88%), on the other hand, are notable imports from Canada to Italy. In addition, crude oil purchases accounted for €381 million, 4.58%, of the total.

Moving on to services, also historically presented a growing trend for Italian exports while Canadian imports have decreased or remained unchanged. The effect is therefore an increase in the trade surplus from year to year. The Italian exports are composed for more of the half of the total from travels, which is understandable considering the tourist attraction of Italy. Commercial services, transportation, and government services account for the remaining exports. Imports, on the other hand, are rather evenly distributed among the various commodities, notwithstanding their unpredictable development. Between 2012 and 2016, the Canadian economy recorded trade deficits in every year and in every service group item. This demonstrates how Canada places a high value on Italian services.

Finally, when considering the various values mentioned above in relation to the size of the Italian and Canadian economies, Italy appears to be a higher contributor than Canada,

contrary to what we have seen at the European Union level. In fact, according to Eurostat and Banca d'Italia data, in 2020, the Bel Paese invested in the North American superpower 4032 million euros as a foreign direct investment, while Canada only invested 950 million euros.

3.5. Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec

After analysing the economic framework of bilateral trade between Italy and Canada and having previously explained the mechanism of operation of the Italian Chamber of Commerce abroad, we will move to the central focus of this research: the Italian Chamber of Commerce based in Quebec (CCIC).

With a history dating back 50 years, the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec serves as a vital connector for trade relations between Italy and Canada. The organisational structure is divided into executive, marketing, project and event department. For a total of about 500 annual members, the most important Italian companies on the Canadian market are part of the associative network of the Chamber. In particular, members number continues to fluctuate as there are both Canadian and Italian in it and their membership varies between corporate, supporters or patron. Obviously, even if the network of contacts in the Chamber extends over the entire Canadian territory, from a logistical point of view, having its headquarters in Quebec, this province is the territory on which their activity focuses most. The advantage of CCIC, in contrast with other Italian organisations abroad, is to work simultaneously on the market and for the market. Composed organically by Italian entrepreneurs rooted within the social and cultural fabric abroad, it provides at the same time support services and rooting of Italian entrepreneurial presence abroad. The principle of bilaterality is the cornerstone of each chamber activity, and small and medium-sized Italian companies are the main subjects to which the activities of chamber support are addressed. Therefore, its presence is crucial for the economic link between the two States, especially given the geographical distance that could discourage any entrepreneurs interested in starting a business in Canada.

As previously seen the services offered by a Chamber abroad, the aforementioned Chamber is no exception. It offers the publication of business commercial ads, advertising through the chamber channels including the facebook page, assistance in the organisation of trade fairs and face-to-face business missions. In addition, the Chamber is responsible for the processing of market statistics, in order to produce points of encounter between local demand and the offer of Italian partners, accompanying them with a translation and interpretation service, in the specific case between Italian, English and French.

The information bulletins on past and future events affecting the two countries, are also published as a newsletter format, once every two weeks. Specifically, in the year 2021, the CCIC's communications managers produced a total of 12 newsletters in French and 11 in Italian in a new digital format, adapting the contents of each edition according to the market, on the content and current affairs of the two countries. The aim of the newsletter is to create and establish an informal and direct contact with the network of Italian and Canadian stakeholders, as well as chamber members and bodies with which the Chamber has strong relations. The chamber newsletter is also an important tool for the promotion of Made in Italy in Canada and is a point of reference for relations between Canada, in particular Quebec, and the Bel Paese. The new digital format and the targeted distribution strategy allow to reach individually, via personalised email, a network of more than 3,000 Canadian stakeholders and more than 1,200 Italians. Some of these newsletters, for example, offered a current picture of the most important sectors for the economies of their respective countries with a particular focus on the fields of artificial intelligence, mobility, green and sustainable economy and food and wine. Important place is also given to the Chamber news on virtual events missions organised for Canadian buyers, as well as internationalisation initiatives and projects. All newsletters are finally published on the CCIC website and shared on social media cameral pages, such as on Facebook, with about 3,200 followers.

It can thus be described as an entrepreneurial organisation that is founded not only on financial benefit but also on the migratory, social and cultural origins that make the two sides privileged subjects in agreements.

Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic has not only changed the macro-economic context, business opportunities and commercial channels, but it has also had a direct and immediate impact on the CCIC's portfolio of services and its organisational modalities. However, with the passage of the third year of the pandemic, there have been some positive developments, in fact the country has largely recovered from the economic damage caused by COVID-19, and is laying the foundations for solid future growth. The rapid recovery is largely due to the rapid and effective support measures implemented by federal and provincial governments for their businesses and the population. The CCIC was thus able to benefit directly from the subsidies and aid granted by the Canadian Government. In particular:

- Canada Emergency wage subsidy (CEWS), which covered a part of the wage cost for organisations that have recorded a reduction in turnover.
- Temporary 10% wage subsidy (TWS), a subsidy that reduced the taxable amount, subject to wage taxation.
- Canada emergency commercial rent assistance (CECRA), intended for small businesses to cover part of the costs of renting their headquarters.
- Canada emergency rent subsidy, intended for non-profit organisations, which allowed to benefit from aid for the costs of renting and operating its headquarters.

Despite all, throughout the pandemic year, the CCIC continued to define the content and organisational modalities of its services, starting from the first lock-down in March 2020. Specifically, it enhanced the adoption of digital technologies throughout the process: from assessment and design activities, training and awareness-raising projects; from matchmaking activities to support the market rooting phase. During this period, the CCIC has been able to offer its customers highly professional services, using the best technology available to meet their business objectives. Furthermore, it continued to welcome, albeit remotely, Italian students in order to assist and provide concrete help in the work of the chamber. On the whole, the speed with which the CCIC has adapted its services has been facilitated, firstly, by the skills already accumulated in the CCIC staff. For instance, the first activities of so-called digital business to business were launched in 2009 and for five years the CCIC has launched its own digital marketing and social media communication activities. The first is Wine & Travel Italy (<https://wineandtravelitaly.com/>), a digital platform dedicated to the

communication and promotion of wine and territory partnerships. It has approximately 20,000 targeted followers and over 200,000 views. Second, the consolidation of network' subject matter experts, such as online communication agencies, contributed to its preparation. Finally, the strong fiduciary relations with partners and customers, both in Italy and in Quebec, as well as the strong cohesion of the CCIC staff, ensured the remote control not only of the services, but also of the same internal organisational modalities. Once the province's health measures allowed it, the CCIC was able to organise two large-scale events. The first activity was held with the media and influencers to introduce a new identity to the province, while the second, the Venice Prize Evening, was established for its members, prominent figures of the business community, opinion leaders, and stakeholders of the province to honour companies, people, and institutions that maintain or develop working or commercial relations with Italy.

To conclude, the future of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Quebec will certainly be played more and more in a digital context, giving greater importance to technological development and communication. The strategic sectors on which both the Canadian State and the chamber of commerce itself have shown their interest are renewable energy, smart farming and major transport projects. In this sense, the CCIC shall be, as it has egregiously been during these pandemic years, increasingly modern and dynamic, adapting to the situation and following what the market requires.

CHAPTER 4

OTHERS ACTORS INFLUENCING FOREIGN TRADE

After analysing the thoughts on non-state actors of some of the best-known theories of international relations and politics in chapter 1, tracing the main stages of the development of chambers of commerce in the Italian peninsula and the French and British models in Chapter 2, and later, in Chapter 3 going deeper with the Italian Chamber of Commerce as a case study, in this fourth and last Chapter it will explore other Italian entities who aim, in the same way that the chamber of commerce, to spread Italian foreign trade.

First of all, soft power as an alternative to hard power has become an increasingly popular topic in the international relation context in addressing the peaceful rise of the world's economy. Politicians, business leaders, and academics all over the world have repeatedly emphasised the importance and benefits of employing soft power rather than hard power to manage international relations. In this short chapter, I will attempt to investigate if Chambers of Commerce can fulfil soft power elements and can implement a more peaceful and effective dialogue among countries. Additionally, due to the growing emphasis on the use of soft power, my research will focus on two questions; are Chambers of Commerce in line with the increased emphasis on the use of soft power and can Chambers of Commerce employ its soft power in cooperation with other similar bodies, in this instance, for the implementation of the italianisation abroad?

Before examining all the questions, I will provide a theoretical framework in the first section of this chapter. I will discuss the meaning and the content of soft power as described by several political analysts and theorists, most notably by Joseph S. Nye Jr.

On the other hand, the purpose of the second section is to give an idea of other entities, which availing themselves of soft power strategies. To achieve this, two of the Italian public bodies abroad, that aim, on a pair with Chambers of Commerce, to spread the Italian spirit in the world, will be briefly analysed. Specifically, I will, firstly, focus my attention on “Sistema Paese”, and secondly, on the Embassy and on the Italian Trade Agency (ITA), also known as

ICE. At the risk of oversimplifying their characteristics and functions, I will concentrate in depth on ICE functions and exclude Embassy commercial and economic functions, with the exception of briefly summarising the role of its commercial and economic office.

Finally, it will lay out the analytical tools for the third section in which it will shed some light on the relationship between the different Italian entities abroad by an interview with ICE Amman manager, Dr. Filippo Covino, First Secretary of the Head of Mission office, Dr. Valeria Romare and First Secretary of economic-commercial office, Dr. Emilio Fralleone. A conclusion on what resulted from the interview can be found at the end of the paragraph.

4.1. Soft Power or Hard Power

Although researchers' definitions of power differ considerably, power is commonly used to describe an actor's ability to affect or influence the conduct of another actor. Power, according to Robert Dahl (1961), is the ability to persuade others to obtain something they would not otherwise do. This type of definition of power entails not only capabilities but also an understanding of others' goals. Therefore, actors employ a variety of power methods, which may be classified as either hard or soft power, in order to achieve their intended outcomes and political aims.

Since this theme is very broad and complex, it is worth specifying that this paragraph is aimed at describing only the essential elements useful to the central theme of the discourse. Therefore, it does not want to be a purely generalistic paragraph but rather a specific focus on the role of chambers of commerce as soft power.

The traditional distinction between hard and soft power is focus on the behaviour changing ability of the former by making use of threats of coercion, inducements and payments; while the latter relies on attraction and persuasion. Specifically, according to Joseph S. Nye, who coined the term "soft power" in the late 1980s, hard power resources comprise coercive capacities namely through the use of military or economic weapons, whereas soft power strategy is founded on culture, values, and institutions. This last method, built on what Peter Bacharach and Morton Baratz (1963) named the "the second face of power", "co-opts people rather than coerces them" (Nye, 2008).

Along with soft power's popularity, its concept has been roundly criticised and misunderstood for their conceptual and theoretical flexibility not only by the lay public but also by experts in the study of international politics.

For instance, according to Brantley Womack, the concept itself suffers from "analytical fuzziness". Womack specifically critiques soft power's ambiguous theoretical framework of attention, attractiveness, and persuasion, claiming that each of these should be studied

separately. Firstly, Womack believes that attention has to be followed by the concentration of capabilities and resources. Hence, for its features, the United States of America is frequently at the center of focus. Certainly, other actors may be able to attract attention, but, because of lack of capabilities, they are incapable of influencing others. The second dimension, attraction, namely promoting positive images of one's country not only with other governments but with a broad range of alternatives, is based on personal or collective judgment influenced by the receiver's interests. Finally, persuasion, the third dimension, is a highly interactive concept that underpins soft power. For this reason, persuasion as a notion is not straightforward because it also requires the receiving side to accept the use of soft power and to be adaptive to it. Therefore, persuading is the process of compliance without the use of coercion or punishment.

According to Alexander L. Vuving (2009), another expert on soft power, the mainstream interpretation of soft power suffers from misunderstandings, one of these is to consider power and power behaviour in terms of power resources. This "vehicle fallacy," as Vuving describes it, stems from the reality that any application of power necessitates the expenditure of resources. Vuving claims that power is always realised with the use of some resource but, at the same time, is not identical with its resources and so it can produce different kinds of behaviour. For instance, a common "soft power resource," such as a moral value, can be used to persuade someone when the person privately agrees with it, as well as to compel someone else when it is utilised to establish societal pressure. In order to come to a solution to the previous dilemma, Vuving distinguishes between "power currencies" and "power resources". Specifically, power currency is itself a property of resources and activities that causes in turn power to be generated.

In addition, according to him, soft power is the ability to attract, and the currencies of attraction of which it is composed and generated are benignity, brilliance, and beauty.

Vuving describes benignity as the attitude of the soft power wielder toward the soft power clients. Its efficacy is based on reciprocal altruism, which results in gratitude, sympathy, and indirect benignity.

Instead, brilliance relies on the high performance of accomplishing things and it is formed from the tendency of learning from the successes of others. Consequently, brilliance produces soft power through the production of admiration. Specifically, in international relations, brilliance can take many forms, such as a prosperous and lively economy, a vibrant and rich culture, or a peaceful and well-run community.

Finally, beauty refers to the actor's ideals, values, causes, and visions, which generate soft power among other actors who share similar principles, visions, and morals. Among the most noteworthy examples of beauty mechanisms are the desire to unite with like-minded people, the tendency to join forces with others who share a common objective, as well as the need for moral support and guidance, and the desire for aesthetic pleasure. Thus, beauty mechanism develops soft power through the production of inspiration.

There are numerous additional definitions of soft power in addition to Nye's, Womack's, and Vuving's ones. Steven Lukes, for example, in his seminal book "Power: A Radical Approach" identifies "three faces of power". The first face is the capacity to make and implement decisions, while the second one is the ability to establish the agenda and limit or expand the scope of the discussion. The third one, which Luke developed on his own, is the ability to control what others believe they want.

Walter Russell Mead (2004), another scholar, suggests a three-tiered distinction. While Nye sets military might and economic might under the same heading of "hard power," Mead claims that military force is "sharp" and economic might is "sticky." In particular, economic power, or sticky power, differs from both sharp and soft power in that it is neither based on military coercion or sheer coincidence of wills. It is based on the involvement of an international monetary system, on economic integration and free trade of goods. The interruption of a friendship among countries would mean financial collapse and the beginning of war. Therefore, sticky power is important for the welfare of a state as it, firstly, helps to prevent war, and, secondly, if war comes, it helps states to win. However, to exercise power in the real world, the different powers must go hand in hand. Sharp, sticky, and soft power work together to sustain state's hegemony.

In concrete terms, focusing of the central theme of this thesis, although power currencies exist in both the state and society as a whole, states may and actually utilise policy tools deploying them to other agents in order to achieve goals. States usually have a variety of hard and soft power currencies at their disposal, which they can use to outsource societal agents, who serve as the states' clients during the initial phase of the power process. In the two-stage power process, sociocultural actors might outsource states and, in turn, become the first agents (*Vuving, A.L., 2009*). For example, human rights NGOs in democratic countries encourage their governments to undertake humanitarian assistance in a foreign country suffering from domestic war. Similarly, other non-state actors, such as chambers of commerce, can in various ways advocate economic and social welfare of the countries for which they cooperate.

According to Vuving, a small and non-exhaustive list of policy tools that governments commonly employ in soft power procedures can be traced.

First of all, cultural events, exchange programs, broadcasting, or teaching a country's language, as well as encouraging the study of a country's culture and society, are widely perceived as a tool of soft power. These acts, however, do not immediately produce soft power. Instead, they can promote understanding, positive images, and myths that are favourable to the source country. As a result, they represent a crucial first step in the translation of benignity, beauty, and brilliance into soft power.

Governments, as well as chamber of commerce and other organisations, can create incentive programs for international students and youth, as well as foreign citizens in general. Benignity is the primary power currency generated by these programs and can be even more strongly and efficient when a government invests time, energy, and money cultivating foreign partners, having frequent and close connection with them.

Thirdly, diplomacy and the promotion of peace are other examples of benign behaviour. States can demonstrate their goodwill by simply paying attention to others, listening to them in international forums, or engaging in bilateral or multilateral dialogues with foreign states. Therefore, multilateralism can be viewed in this sense as a sort of benignity that states might use to exert soft power.

Another method through which states express benignity and beauty and thereby project soft power is through the conduct of foreign policy through multilateral institutions and

organisations. As a result, international institutions and organisations provide a platform for states to develop goodwill and collectively exercise soft power.

Some other common acts of benignity include a variety of forms of economic assistance, through ODA and FDI or through the provision of economic benefit to other countries, humanitarian assistance, and diplomatic support. While humanitarian assistance frequently serves as an indirect channel of soft power, diplomatic support serves as a more direct channel of soft power. The conduct of domestic and foreign policies based on normative principles allows for the projection of soft power through beauty and, to a lesser extent, benignity. As mentioned in the previous chapter regarding the large waves of Italian migration to Canada, the global migratory currents themselves suggest that more people prefer life in a liberal democracy to life in an authoritarian society.

In conclusion, despite the apparent distinctions between hard and soft power, the former being coercive and the latter non-coercive, both definitions have certain theoretical caveats. Power, both hard and soft power, can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, and what constitutes soft power differs among scholars. More specifically, as Nye points out in his article “Think Again: Soft Power,” the popular interpretations of “soft power” encompass a narrower and broader sense. In the narrower sense, soft power is similar to cultural influence and economic resources are considered hard power, while, in the broader sense, soft power is synonymous with non-military power and includes both cultural power and economic strength. Nevertheless, there are certain universal characteristics of power. First and foremost, power is always founded on resources or inputs. Second, actors who wield power aim at achieving a certain result that benefits them. Finally, the way inputs and results are used or achieved is not always determined by them. It goes without saying that successful nations require both hard and soft power, namely the ability to coerce others as well as the ability to mold their long-term attitudes and preferences.

4.2. “Sistema Paese”

Italy is the eighth largest exporter and tenth largest importer worldwide in 2020 (WTSR 2021). According to WTO statistics, Italy exported 159,863 million US dollars in the fourth quarter of 2021 while importing 149,332 of the total merchandise in the same period. Furthermore, taking the same indicator into account, it can also be seen that the Italian economy is constantly growing. For this reason, and especially in a period of economic crisis such as the one we are experiencing as a result of the pandemic emergency and the conflict at the gates of Europe, the economic well-being of a State has become a priority for policymakers around the world.

Having been recognized that exports produce great benefits for the entire national economy, promoting exports is equivalent to encouraging the growth of a country, as demonstrated by the above data. It is then clear how it is in the interest of the States to promote the internationalisation of their businesses. However, there is a strong debate about the effectiveness of support activities for internationalisation. For some, promotion is a waste of resources and prevents the natural development of the market, while for others it is essential to support companies that approach foreign markets with an information deficit compared to local businesses.

Taking Italy as a case study, unlike the United States, it does not have the freedom to pursue its own trade strategy. In fact, the EU has sole authority in this area. In general, it is up to individual Member States to organise the promotion of their enterprises' internationalisation. In particular, the Italian “Sistema Paese” is understood, according to the study “Sistema Paese in support of internationalisation”, as the set of institutions aimed at promoting the export and expansion abroad of Italian companies and excludes, by choice, the attraction of foreign investments in Italy, such as Invitalia SpA and il Desk Italia.

The articulation of the “Sistema Paese” in Italy is extremely complex due to the lack of unified sector legislation and has recently been the subject of broad legislative interventions.

This section depicts the articulation of the country system, primarily in its public dimension, with the goal of highlighting the issues of coordination between multiple actors on the domestic and foreign sides, as well as the overlap of skills between the same subjects.

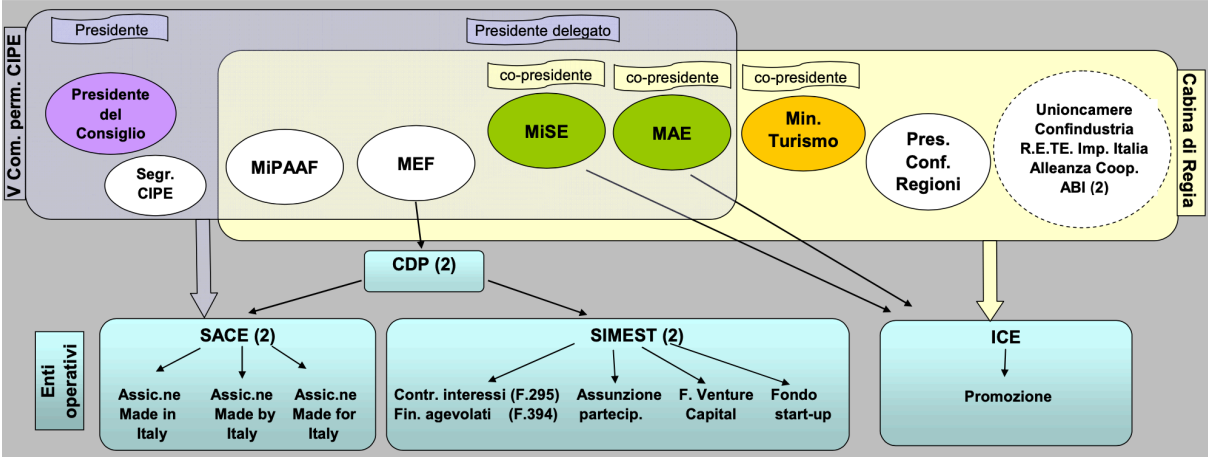


Figure 16: “Sistema Paese”, actors and their functions
 (Source: Banca d’Italia, 2013)

As depicted in figure 16, which provides a graphical representation of the country system in its current articulation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MAE), the Ministry of Economic Development (MISE), which is responsible for foreign trade, and the Ministry of Tourism are at the top of the country’s system. These ministries, as delegated by the President of the Council of Ministers, chair the two existing coordination committees, the “V Permanent Commission of the CIPE” (purple area in the figure) and the newly established “Steering Committee” (yellow area). The Steering Committee, in particular, includes both regions and public subjects, indicated with continuous line, and private ones, with hatching. The Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) and the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Forestry (MAFF) are also represented on the two committees (MiPAAF).

The implementation of the commercial policies and interventions is entrusted to a group of public actors referred to collectively as “operational entities”. These include the Institute for Foreign Trade (ICE), analysed in detail in the next paragraph, Foreign Trade Insurance

Services (SACE), the Italian Company for Foreign Enterprises (SIMEST), the system of Chambers of Commerce in Italy and abroad, regional promotion bodies, as well as Finest, Informest, and the Italian National Tourist Board (ENIT).

Figure 16 depicts not only the different composition of the coordinating bodies, but above all the absence of a single ministerial administration at the top of the Sistema Paese, with the consequent difficulties in ensuring an integrated strategy to support commercial and productive internationalisation of the enterprises.

Even at the level of “operational entities” there is a further dimension of complexity. Competence boundaries do not appear to be clearly defined among the various actors, not only within the state sector, but also between public and private entities (Figure 17). The traditional activities of a “Sistema Paese”, promotion, advice, financing, and training, are carried out in collaboration between various entities. Only export insurance and equity capital acquisition, which are unique to the Italian experience, can be traced back to a single and well-identified actor.

	Institute for Foreign Trade (ICE)	CDP	SACE	SIMEST	Regional Promotion bodies	Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Crafts	Italian Chambers of Commerce Abroad	Business Associations (Confind., Business Network, ABI)
Promotion	X				X	X	X	X
Consulting	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Funding		X	X	X				
Formation	X		X	X		X	X	X
Venture capital				X				
Insurance			X					

Figure 17: Functions of the operational entities of “Sistema Paese”

(Source: Banca d’Italia, 2013)

The Italian System is, therefore, fragmented into a plurality of agencies and subjects both abroad and in Italy (ICE, SACE, Simest, Chambers of Commerce, Embassies, Regions, Enit). From a study carry out by Vergara Caffarelli F. and Veronese G., analysing companies opinions abroad, it appears that, especially in the most dynamic markets, there is a considerable Italian delay compared to the other partners, since they are more aggressive and with a more precise institutional mandate. In addition, according to them, in parallel with the system of public bodies, there are private actors who carry out an equally incisive promotion action, but which often tends to overlap with the state, creating confusion for entrepreneurs and a dispersion of resources. Nevertheless, there is evidence, the so-called “Learning by exporting”, of how much one could quickly learn and improve by imitating from other partners’ experiences. This could trigger a virtuous circle of coordination between public support system and companies.

The analysis of the operational entities, in the following sub-paragraph, focuses mainly on the ICE and the Embassy, excluding from the analysis the other entities for the sake of brevity as they are not suited part of such elaborate. In describing the operational entities, their functions and their competences in the commercial and economic field, a chronological criterion is followed in order to better highlight the succession of legislative interventions. They have sometimes been contradictory to each other, with heavy repercussions also on the operatively of the same agencies and on the effectiveness of the services offered to the enterprises.

4.2.1 ICE and its functions

The ICE agency, also known by the acronym ITA, is a government agency charged with assisting Italian companies in the process of internationalisation, promoting the image of the Italian product in the world and attracting foreign investment.

Through an articulated and complex structure, the ICE is currently present in 66 countries around the world through the Rome Headquarters, formed by 22 management organisational units divided into 4 operative areas of activity, the Milan Office and the Foreign Network

formed by 78 operational units: 64 Offices and 14 Points of Correspondence. The geographical situation is therefore very varied and many markets have differences, not only in legal tradition, but also in social, economic and cultural contexts, which certainly affect the activity of these units.

Nonetheless, the ICE has suffered, especially since the second half of 2011, very complex vicissitudes due to a strong legislative uncertainty. In the July 2011 economic measure, the Institute was abolished with the consequent transfer of staff and resources. In addition, its offices abroad had been dissolved and replaced by the sections for the promotion of exchanges at the diplomatic representations, coordinated by the respective Heads of Mission. Following that, in December, with the measures of the decree “Salva Italia,” the decision was made to reassign these functions to an autonomous body known as the “Agency for promotion abroad and internationalisation - ICE Agency”. Specifically, it was subject to the supervisory and guidance powers of the Ministry, jointly with the MAE. The ICE-Agency for the promotion abroad and the internationalisation of Italian companies was therefore established by art. 14, cc.17-27, DL n.98 of 06.07.11, converted to L. n.111 of 15.07.11, as replaced by art. 22, c.6, DL n.201 of 06.12.11, converted to L. n.214 of 22.12.11 and subsequent modifications. After about 12 months of transitional management, with the D.P.C.M. of 28 December 2012, from 1 January 2013 the new ICE Agency is operating in support of Italian exports and investments in the world and to encourage foreign investments in Italy. More recently, Law No. 132 of 18 November 2019, of conversion of D.L. No. 104 of 21.9. 2019, has attributed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation the competences in the field of international trade and internationalisation of the country system. For this reason, the ICE-Agency is subject to the powers of guidance and supervision of the MAECI, which exercises them, for matters of their respective competence, in agreement with the Ministry of Economic Development and after consulting the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance. Finally, with the decree of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation n.3622/bis of 6/7/2020, the operation of the ICE offices abroad in relations with the new vigilante Ministry is regulated, setting out its general principles.

As an Agency similar to the model outlined by Legislative Decree n. 300 of 30 July 1999, it has legal personality under public law and regulatory autonomy, administrative, patrimonial, organisational, accounting and financial. In particular, the Mission of the Agency is to *“Increase the presence of Italian companies in international markets in close collaboration with other stakeholders responsible for the internationalisation of the Italian System. To this end, the Agency provides integrated services of promotion, information, guidance, advice and training, also contributing to the attraction of foreign investments in Italy”*.

In concrete terms, the agency assists Italian companies that want to sell their products in different foreign markets by providing the following services:

- To orient themselves in the market of interest, providing information on the markets, on the commercial opportunities, on tenders and tenders, financing, profiling foreign operators, product sheets, customs information, necessary certifications and tax regulations
- To access to the market of interest through customised market research, of foreign customers and partners, organisation of b2b, events, participation in fairs, study tours and training courses
- To get grounded in the market of interest by providing dispute resolution assistance, investment advice abroad, foreign media advertising, customised training courses, legal and customs interventions

ICE also performs important functions of protection of the Made in Italy through the Anti-Counterfeiting Desk, providing information and assistance to SMEs on Intellectual Property and carry out monitoring of barriers to trade. Finally, through its area for the Attraction of Foreign Investment (AIE) promotes the establishment and development of projects of foreign companies in Italy, promotes investment opportunities in all sectors and supports investors throughout the investment lifecycle. Finally, to counter the pandemic crisis caused by Covid-19, the ICE has also undertaken a re-modulation of its support for SMEs by adopting strategies aimed at accelerating the process of digitalisation of promotional activity, already started in previous years, improve internal organisational and operational processes, develop the skills of its staff and provide for appropriate measures to ensure integrity, transparency and simplification. In this regard, agreements with numerous marketplaces with the aim of involving Italian companies in 59 initiatives in e-commerce channels, as well as the platform

“Fiera Smart 365,” which allows a virtual participation in the event with b2b interaction between exhibitors and visitors 365 days a year, can be mentioned.

To conclude, the ICE-Agency operates abroad within the Italian diplomatic representations, in synergy with business organisations and other public and private stakeholders, ensuring coordinated support to companies and national networks that are engaged in the process of internationalisation with the aim of promoting both the image of the Italian product in the world, both the same Country as destination of the investments-foreign countries.

4.2.2. Embassy and its functions

The MAECI, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, known for its institutional authority and presence throughout the diplomatic network, is responsible for representing, protecting and coordinating Italian interests internationally, including for commercial and economic ones. In this context, the Directorate General for the Promotion of the “Sistema Paese”, DGSP, is responsible for ensuring the overall consistency of the promotion, support and enhancement activities abroad of the country and all its components. In particular, it has the task to coordinate the activities of integrated promotion of Made in Italy in its cultural, scientific-technological and commercial components and to foster the growth of Italian companies in the international markets. The Central Directorate for the internationalisation of the country system operates within it, promoting internationalisation and following relations with the Italian production companies and their trade associations and with the Regions. Abroad, the support for internationalisation is provided through the diplomatic activity of a network of 129 embassies, 83 consulates and 513 honorary consular offices and others representations to international bodies, coordinated by the DGSP.

Specifically, the Embassies have the task of coordinating the representations of the state administrations present in the foreign country to make their activities consistent. In other words, Embassies, but also consulates, have an advocacy role with foreign public administrations for the protection of investments and the protection of Italian economic

interests abroad. In addition, in collaboration with the ICE Offices and the Italian Chambers of Commerce abroad, the diplomatic-consular network implements promotion and communication initiatives for the benefit of the Italian System and the aggregation of Italian business communities abroad, thus encouraging the creation of associations and networks of Italian-foreign business communities.

Among the functions carried out by the embassy there is also the promotion of economic relations with the accreditation country. This activity is carried out by the economic and commercial offices, which are responsible, in particular, for fostering contacts between national and local economic operators, maintaining and promoting relations with relevant national authorities and reporting key investment and business opportunities to businesses. Indeed, the head of the diplomatic representation, usually the Ambassador, and the holder of the commercial office participate by right in the meetings of the collegial bodies of the Italian chambers of commerce abroad and of other organisations. Moreover, with the aim to strengthen the bilateral economic relations and to highlight opportunities of trade and investment for Italian companies interested to foreign's market, the Commercial Office follows up on the macroeconomic and financial situation of foreign country and on the most important projects, called “mega-projects”, promoted by foreign authorities. However, as will be noted by the Fralleone’ words in the interview below, the effectiveness of coordination and the uniformity between the various organisations depends strongly on the initiative of the Heads of Diplomatic Representations. It also depends on the possession of specific economic and commercial competences available within the representation itself, which are still very variable between headquarters.

In detail, the activities of the Commercial Office, which is relevant for such research, include keeping regular contacts with key Italian players and Institutions, such as ICE, SACE, Simest, Regions authorities and local institutional partners, Ministries, as well as with the Chamber of Commerce system. Furthermore, the Office, together with the others EU embassies, is part of a network coordinated by the Delegation of the European Commission which gathers monthly and arranges a number of meetings with accreditation Institutions and international players, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, coming on technical missions

to the other country. It also provides assistance to Italian and foreign companies regarding commercial information and visa issues, following up on calls for tenders and for Twinning's proposal. Finally, it also updates of the institutional website and releases of the quarterly newsletter.

The set of such initiatives allows to support not only the interest of companies, both large and small and medium-sized enterprises, but positively influences the prestige and visibility abroad of the "Sistema Paese" as a whole. Not surprisingly, Rose (2007), considering the specific effect of economic diplomatic missions on exports, argues that stable political and economic relations between countries, fostering an environment of mutual trust, would reduce the risk of future trade conflicts. In fact, he estimated the impact of the presence of embassies and consulates on the amount of exports, coming to the conclusion that, on average, every entity established abroad is associated with a bilateral export growth of between 6 and 10%. Secondly, the networks of embassies and consulates would stimulate a greater knowledge of the opportunities of development of the different markets of outlet by the enterprises of the country of origin, reducing the fixed costs of export and investment. On these grounds, there is no doubt that the Embassies have the instruments to coordinate all the subjects of the "Sistema Paese" abroad.

4.3. Role of Chambers of Commerce through the voices of the protagonists

Turning specifically to the complementary actors of the chambers of commerce, I had the opportunity and the honour, during my second master's internship in the Italian Embassy in Amman, to do an online interview with three voices.

The first two interviewed are respectively Dr Valeria Romare, First Secretary of the Office of the Head of Mission and Dr. Emilio Fralleone, First Secretary of the Economic, Commercial and Cultural Office. Finally, the last interviewed is Dr Covino Filippo, current director of the ICE office in Amman and responsible for trade relations with Jordan, Iraq and Palestine.

The purpose of the interview, held on 20 February 2022, is to have a direct opinion on the impact of Italian internationalisation in the Jordanian context and on the possible evolution, especially since, until now, there is no Italian chamber of commerce in Jordan. I will also try to understand their thought of the role of chamber of commerce and if there is cohesion and synergy between the organisations of the Sistema Paese, especially between ICE, Embassy and Chamber of commerce.

Below will be provided, in summary, my questions and their answers:

- Thanks to the press review made during the internship I read an article that reported that Italy is the second European country that exports to Jordan and the third EU destination for Jordanian exports. I also read that it is desirable to increase trade in the coming years (Exportiamo, 2020). Another article also referred to the “role of public-private cooperation and coordination to facilitate investment transactions and intensify promotion of Jordan as an "attractive" investment destination” (Jordan News, 2022). Therefore, **is it feasible to establish an Italian Chamber of Commerce in Jordan in the near future? Can a new Italian chamber of commerce in Jordan play a role of facilitator of public-private cooperation and coordination?**

Covino Filippo: First of all, in order to answer your question, I would like to give you some data. According to the latest data, January-November 2021, on the Italy-Jordan exchange and we continue to be the second European partner, after Germany. Instead we lost positions in Jordan’s exports to Europe, we dropped after Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, France, the United Kingdom and Germany. Until three years ago, we were in a good position. In the total interchange, in the data of November, we are to 450 million euros of Italy towards Jordan, while we have meager numbers to the contrary (41 million euros of Jordan exported to Italy). As for the major products, we have pearls, precious stones, both incoming and outgoing. Italians also export machines and machinery both electrical and mechanical equipment. The fourth item is furniture and medical equipment, that is, furniture designed for medicine. Coming from Jordan to Italy, instead, in first place

we have pearls and precious stones, semi precious and then, as a second item, we have clothing. Then other incoming products are chemical and inorganic, as phosphate and potassium are their raw materials.

From our experience with the Jordanian chambers of commerce, they are a valid counterpart to find and indicate the Jordanian companies that want to operate with the Italian market. At the same time there is a good dialogue. For example, just a few days ago, we were contacted by headquarters to inform us about new Jordanian companies that want to invest in Italy and to ask for informations. Therefore, we, in our turn, ask the Chamber of Commerce to give us the Business Profile, which gives us some indications, even though not entirely precise, and helps a lot to understand the company, especially on the turnover and similar things.

As for the Italian chambers of commerce, they are present where there is a fairly stable Italian business community. In Jordan, for example, there are not many Italian companies and it is difficult to find an Italian who stays here permanently. If necessary, Italian companies have a branch, or there are Italians but they come for a short time. They come, for example, to win the contract and do the work but then they go away. However, there has been in the past some attempt to make Italian-local chambers of commerce, but, in the end, the numbers between Jordanian and Italian companies was disproportionate. Indeed where there is the Italian-local Chamber of Commerce is a strong signal that there is a fertile ground for business.

As regards the relationship between chambers of commerce and ICE, they are regarded as competitors. In fact, they are since their functions are more or less the same. The only difference is that the ICE has an office on site and so many times the Chambers of Commerce rely on ICE to organise an event, to do a workshop or to carry out a commercial mission. However, in the end, the work is done together. Indeed, where there is healthy competition you work better.

Fralleone Emilio: At the overall macro-economic level, I would like to point out that the budget law for 2022 is currently being debated in Parliament. The budget for this year should be particularly large, with a massive increase in government spending. Coming from a two-year post-pandemic, the government will commit to provide funds in an

attempt to increase and help the recovery, especially on the domestic consumption front. Of course, this has already been and will continue to be translated into a continuous widening of the range between import and export. Although Jordanian exports started to grow again in 2021, in parallel with the recovery from the recession caused by the pandemic, imports also increased significantly. So, Jordan is a country with a lot of trade imbalance and, of course, a very high deficit. Nevertheless, the country will continue to increase its budget deficit and the GDP debt ratio is expected to grow further this year, from 88% to 91%. This growth is mainly aimed at combating many of the phenomena that plague the local economy, especially the high youth unemployment. I conclude this introductory part by saying that this government attempt to revive the economy has been defined by the Monetary Fund as “Rising Recovery,” suggesting a series of reforms, including local economic recovery.

At the level of the Chamber of Commerce, a well-known actor here, and with whom we cooperate, is the Joint Italian Arab Chamber of Commerce, JIAC, based in Rome. However, it has a focus on the whole Arab world and therefore has no bilateral structure Italo Giordana. In July 2019, it had contributed to the first bilateral trade forum Italo Giordano. Unfortunately, it took place six months before the outbreak of the pandemic and the work stopped a little.

As for an Italian Chamber of Commerce presence in Jordan, the Italian entrepreneurial presence on the spot is what it is. Surely, there is interest in the Jordanian country and there are many sectors in which there are synergies and cooperation but Jordan is not a country where there is a plethora of groups present in a stable way. Most of the work is entrusted to local intermediaries who manage the ordinary tasks in view of the extraordinary ones, which may be for example the tendering procedure. In the areas of our traditional presence, however, those who are there enjoy the full institutional support of the embassy and all the institutional partners present.

- **From your answers I therefore have another question, do you believe that the chambers of commerce are then really essential for a good dialogue between the parties, or will they be destined in the long run to be merged further or even**

eliminated?

Covino Filippo: In countries where they are now rooted they have a historical function and work well, instead, in other places it is difficult because there is not an adequate number of Italian companies. The chambers of commerce are rooted in the territory, and certainly carry out the territorial interests, then confronting the interests of the country of destination. Hence, it is an important network and if they continue to be on the territory for ICE definitely does well. However, the Italian presence abroad is always an added value. Confindustria does too. Therefore, being present on the territory, especially abroad and for medium and small Italian companies, is always essential. The local Italian Chamber of Commerce or the ICE or any other body almost acts as a marketing office or promotion office for companies that are really small. Here in Jordan, for example, France has set up a Franco Jordanian Chamber of Commerce, Air France, Société Générale and Carrefour. So, their presence is visible when they organise something.

Fralleone Emilio: It is one of those situations where a little healthy competition stimulates the final production. The point is that there must be a sufficiently broad basis for all the players to make the most of this positive competition mechanism. Obviously the trend of recent years is to achieve economies of scale, merging rather than polarising. Nevertheless, in sufficiently structured contexts, in which chambers of commerce play their role, which is undoubtedly useful, I would not necessarily give them on the path to extinction.

Valeria Romare: I think that in general the added value of the Chambers of Commerce is to be present in the territory, giving a level of detail that other organisations, always working for networks, do not have. Perhaps it is an added value especially for an economic system like the Italian one that is strongly constituted by small and medium-sized enterprises. Certainly, Italy also has large companies that do not need a Chamber of Commerce to do their economic diplomacy, but it also has many medium and small businesses that benefit from a useful network like that of a Chamber of Commerce.

- What is the difference between chambers of commerce and ICE?

Covino Filippo: The ICE is a government body while the Chambers of Commerce are more local. However, there are many actors, also because internationalisation is now not only national but regional. Therefore, it is an activity to which many, perhaps too many, are dedicated, but it cannot be said. Moreover, the fact that in Italy there are many SMEs means that there are many entities working for the same objective. However, no one excludes the other. We, as ICE, until 15 years ago we also had offices on the Italian territory but now there are only the Office of Milan and Rome. Briefly, ICE is less present in Italy but more present abroad. For this reason, there is a certain complementarity and no one sees obvious duplicates in the different organisations.

- **In your opinion, are the economic trade relations between Italy and Jordan at the highest level of exploitation? Furthermore, do you think that the two countries are properly linked in terms of international relations and policies? What more could be done?**

Fralleone Emilio: Bilateral relations between the two countries are excellent. However, from a purely economic commercial point of view, relations could improve further. Now we are in a contingent phase due to Covid-19 and it is necessary to bring the situation back to pre-crisis commercial levels and proceed to further expand the Italian spirit. On the other hand, Jordan is a very special country where two-thirds of the surface is desert and the raw materials are substantially non-existent. Thus, there are structural limits on the type of production that can become exportable and, conversely, the need to make use of an import. However, these dynamics are outside the bilateral relationship and concern rather the conditions of Jordan as a country as a whole. Another issue is how Jordan complements the productive field of other partners. For example, we have excellences that complement the productive fabric of the country very well. Much can certainly still be done, but many of the problems stem from a structural situation on which it is very complicated to intervene, especially in the short term.

Romare Valeria: Starting from the consideration of what are the limits in the country (lack of resources and a population that grew very quickly compared to the territory and the available

resources) perhaps one of the possible interventions could be to increase, not so much the hard sectors of the economy, but rather an orientation towards the services sector. Jordan is a country that has a good level of human resources, such as education and preparation, especially in medical and scientific. It is no coincidence that Jordan is a medical tourism destination from the region. I think that if there is a way in which it could invest positively it is precisely to increase the availability and provision of services. Moreover, one of the drivers that, both the Monetary Fund and the World Bank have underlined, is that of public-private partnerships within major infrastructure projects, such as water projects, electricity grid connection projects, infrastructure, railways, etc. These, clearly planned, could also be a good driving force for economic development. Firstly, because they could employ people and, secondly, they could attract the capital of large and small companies from abroad. Hence, this is another element on which, even externally, it gives input to the authorities to try to be effective and to engage in a positive confrontation with investors. Clearly, to have an infrastructural work that attracts investors in a serious way, the planning must be very convincing. It is clear that the trigger comes from the public actor and then it activates the private investor.

- **Can embassies and public bodies in the absence of Chambers of Commerce, as in Jordan, act as an intermediary between Italian and local companies?**

Fralleone Emilio: I would respond with a joke that Embassies can do everything; it's easier to say the work we do not do than what we do. We try to channel local interests to Italy and Italian ones to the foreign country, putting in contact, supervising and facilitating relations. Personally, I have never found myself in a situation in which there is no kind of presence, neither institutional nor subjects, such as chambers of commerce. However, I can hardly believe that in many situations, where there is no other kind of presence on the territory, the Embassy, being the collector of all kinds of requests, tries to compensate even with a service of this kind. Its contribution, however, should be a little more institutional than a comparison between individual companies.

On the level of confrontation, I had an experience at our embassy in Bucharest. Romania is a country where there is much more bilateral trade than Jordan. There is the ICE, Confindustria

in a massive way and a double Chamber of Commerce. People make a big difference. Indeed, it really depended on the kind of human balance that individual actors could find in the field to try to integrate well into their work. Since these are very similar works, it is up to individuals to find ways of working in a jovial and complementary manner.

Romare Valeria: The idea is that the embassy, or whatever the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, should act as an eyeshadow to all this complexity of actors and try to synthesise the various vocations, more generalistic or detailed, rather than a link between individual enterprises and individual economic actors. This is also the meaning of the last reform for which there was a merger between the various institutions. It is also the outcome of a ten-year evolution of our ministry that was born as a ministry mainly of diplomacy, understood as politics diplomacy, then became political and cultural, policy and trade and now is basically all that is the projection of Italy abroad, the famous “Sistema Paese”. The functions of the embassy work a little bit like an accordion. Where the actors are not there, the Embassy will expand by filling that role. Where these actors exist, the role of the Embassy becomes increasingly institutional and coordinating. Hence, its functions vary according to situations and needs. On the whole, the work is of great synergy and collaboration between the Embassy and the ICE, mainly, and then, with other actors that intervene sporadically.

For example, in my previous experience in Sudan, the Embassy was present, but not the ICE or a Chamber of Commerce. This makes it clear that the Embassy’s commercial office was actively trying to provide for tasks that are usually handled by other actors. There is, however, to put in order cause-effect. It is not that, since there is no ICE or the Chamber of Commerce or another actor, the Embassy replaces and is overwhelmed by requests of commercial nature. Probably, Sudan was a reality in which, for a series of reasons, Italian interests were not, from an economic commercial point of view, of such a magnitude as to justify the presence of an ICE office rather than a Chamber of Commerce. Generally, more the “Sistema Paese”, namely the various Italian identities, including the private ones, is present and numerous, the more the institutional framework is structured and multiple. If the structure is simpler, it can be a reflection of a less numerous Italian reality. Overall, in the case of the Italian Embassy in Sudan, it compensated. Clearly the larger the country and the stronger the ties with Italy the more the Italian presence is needed. Jordan is a medium-sized country, but if we imagine large

countries there is a panoply of actors. Size or articulation can also depend on the reality in the country. This is not to say that it is so forever, because if conditions change, it can also change the articulation of the institutional presence.

Covino Filippo: For example, in Russia there are two chambers of commerce and two associations of Confindustria. There was some problem of duplication and misunderstanding, but, as Valeria said, that depends on the situation in the country. It can happen that a country slowly loses its attractiveness. There have been countries where ICE was present with offices and then it has been closed, while there are countries where there has never been an office and then it has been opened. Therefore, it also depends on economic interests and how much appeal a country can have.

- What are your expectations for the embassy and the ICE in terms of Jordan-Italy relations in the near future? Are there any initiatives in the near future that you want to implement or that are already at the end?

Covino Filippo: We hope that relations will improve, we are doing everything we can, such as organise events and respond to Italian companies that contact us. In fact, after Ramadan we will have initiatives on the agro-industry and agribusiness starting from the visit of Minister Di Maio. They are finalised by embassy with ministry and then operationally and technically implemented as ICE. We also have ICT initiatives and many missions to encourage Jordanian operators to come to fairs in Italy. Many fairs were scheduled for January then move to February, March, April. In the end the goal is always to try to increase the relations, the exports of Italy or to respond to the needs of local companies.

Fralleone Emilio: The objective is, net of excellent relations and also from the point of view, as far as possible, economic relations, to work to ensure that the already present desire of Italy, which is in the Jordanian Community, grows further and vice versa. We, as Italy, start from a credit, from art to culture, and we are here highly appreciated. It is necessary to ensure that this request of Italy, that is undeniably at many levels, gradually continue to grow. The modalities change and the challenges are to always try to move forward, in this case in

particular from the economic and commercial point of view, even with all the well-known circumstances that can set limits.

From what emerged from the interview it can be said that the presence of chambers of commerce abroad is effective only where the presence of Italian companies is conspicuous. Therefore, in Canada its presence is favourable and well rooted given the large presence of Italians. On the other hand, in Jordan in the near future its presence is not expected as there is no stable and rooted Italian community. Secondly, the main difference between the chambers of commerce and ICE, which have many similar functions, is that chambers of commerce are present on a specific territory, thus providing a level of detail that other organisations do not have, while the ICE works on the Italian general picture in great synergy with the Embassy. Finally, in countries with several Italian institutions with similar functions, there is full cooperation and complementarity. However, what makes collaboration and synergy between organisations effective are the people who are part of it. Since organisations' functions are very similar, it is up to individuals to find ways of working in a jovial and complementary manner.

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