

University of Nairobi

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

The Role of Sub-National Units of Government in International Relations.

A Study of the County Governments of Makueni and Mombasa in Kenya.

Gloria Katheu Mulwa

(R51/76541/2014)

Supervisor:

Dr. Patrick Maluki

**A Research Project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of Degree of Master of Arts in Diplomacy**

April 2023

Declaration

I, Gloria Katheu Mulwa hereby affirm that this research project is my original work, which has never been submitted for a degree in any other University.



Signed..... Date.....27th April, 2023.....

Gloria Katheu Mulwa

This project is submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.



Signed..... Date...27th April, 2023.....

Dr. Patrick Maluki

University Supervisor

Dedication

I thank God Almighty for giving me the courage, resilience, and direction I needed to achieve this academic endeavour.

To my spouse, Dr. Paul Joseph Mwau, whose unfailing support and inspiration drove me to complete the task at hand. Your encouragement kept me going, and I cherish it.

My wonderful children, you were my biggest source of inspiration.

PJ, my son, I appreciate your forbearance when I required time and space to work. Your quiet and gentle company throughout these instances meant everything to me.

My sweet Savannah, thank you for inspiring me to see this through. I want to be an example to you that women can and should be educated, follow their aspirations, and never stop acquiring knowledge. Wanawake wasome!

Mama Tendai, my dear sister, who kindly took in me as I went to school every weekend. Your moral support and hospitality were essential to my journey and I appreciate your generosity and kindness.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank everyone who helped finish this research project from the bottom of my heart. I want to thank my university supervisor, Dr. Maluki, for all the help and advice he gave me while I conducted this research and for the vital role he has played in my academic journey from way back as an undergraduate student.

I'd like to thank everyone who took part in this study for their insightful thoughts and efforts. The study was substantially enhanced by your readiness to provide your experiences as well as knowledge.

Sincere thanks to everyone who helped finish this study, whether they were involved directly or not.

Abstract

The objective of this research study is to analyse the role of county governments' participation in international affairs and how it relates to Kenya's foreign policy. This paper examines the motivations, challenges, and benefits of paradiplomatic initiatives undertaken by county administrations, with a specific concentration on the counties of Mombasa and Makueni as case studies. The conclusions gained from the research results regarding the intricacies of paradiplomacy in Kenya and its ramifications for the nation's foreign policy are of great significance. The findings indicate that county governments significantly contribute to Kenya's foreign policy goals through their ongoing involvement in endeavours including economic promotion, foreign direct investment attraction, conservation advocacy, and cultural exchange facilitation. These endeavours serve to an increasingly comprehensive and multidimensional perspective on foreign policy, thereby augmenting Kenya's international footprint. Nevertheless, the research also highlights obstacles such as the requirement for legal and regulatory structures, the risk of information that is inconsistent, and reservations regarding secession and autonomy. In addition to highlighting the significance of a synchronised national strategy for paradiplomacy, the inquiry finds that more investigation is required to improve the efficacy of county government engagement in diplomatic affairs and to rectify extant deficiencies in the legal framework.

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Table of Contents	vi
Table of Figures	xii
Abbreviation & Acronyms.....	xiii
CHAPTER ONE:	1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Background to the Study	3
1.3. Statement of the Research Problem.....	5
1.4. Research Questions.....	5
1.5. Objectives of the Research	6
1.5.1. General Objective.....	6
1.5.2. Specific Objectives.....	6
1.6. Literature Review	6
1.6.1. Theoretical Literature.....	6

1.6.2. Empirical Literature	9
1.7. Justification of the Study	16
1.7.1. Policy Justification	16
1.7.2. Academic Justification	16
1.8. Theoretical Framework.....	17
1.9. Hypotheses of the Study	18
1.10. Methodology of the Research.....	18
1.10.1. Research Design.....	18
1.10.2. Study Site	19
1.10.3. Target Population	19
1.10.4. Sampling Frame and Sample Size.....	19
1.10.5. Data Collection Methods.....	20
1.10.6. Reliability of the Data Collection Instruments.....	20
1.10.7. Validity of Data Collection Instruments	21
1.10.8. Data Analysis and Presentation.....	21
1.10.9. Ethical Considerations.....	21
1.11. Scope and Limitations of the Research	21
CHAPTER TWO	23
ANALYSING THE PARADIPLOMATIC APPROACHES OF MAKUENI AND MOMBASA COUNTY GOVERNMENTS	23

2.1.	Introduction	23
2.1.	Paradiplomacy in Kenya.....	23
2.2.	Comparative analysis of Paradiplomacy by Mombasa and Makueni Counties 26	
2.2.1.	Similarities.....	26
2.2.2.	Differences.....	26
2.1.	The Challenges of Paradiplomacy.....	28
2.2.	Conclusion.....	30
CHAPTER THREE		32
EXAMINING THE DRIVERS OF PARADIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT BY MAKUENI AND MOMBASA COUNTY GOVERNMENTS		32
3.1.	Introduction	32
3.2.	Economic Motivations.....	33
3.2.1.	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).....	34
3.2.2.	Tourism Promotion.....	34
3.2.3.	Trade & Agricultural Development.....	35
3.2.4.	Interplay with Other Motivations	36
3.3.	Political Motivations.....	36
3.3.1.	Political Autonomy and Influence.....	36
3.3.2.	Circumventing National Bureaucracies.....	37
3.3.3.	Advocacy for Internal Interests	38

3.3.4.	Interplay with Other Motivations	38
3.4.	Socio-Cultural Motivations: A Neoclassical Realist Perspective.....	39
3.4.1.	Leveraging Cultural Diplomacy	39
3.4.2.	Leveraging Emigrant Communities.....	40
3.4.3.	The Power of Sports	41
3.4.4.	Cultural & Religious Ties.....	41
3.4.5.	Interplay with Other Motivations	42
3.5.	Security and Environmental Motivations	43
3.5.1.	Security and Border Management	43
3.5.2.	Disaster Response and Environmental Preservation	44
3.5.3.	Interplay with Other Motivations	45
3.6.	Conclusion.....	45
CHAPTER FOUR.....		48
DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS		48
4.1.	Introduction	48
4.1.1.	Overview of the Chapter.....	48
4.2.	Profile of Respondents.....	49
4.3.	Mechanisms of Engagement.....	50
4.4.	Motivations of Engagement.....	53
4.4.1.	Attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).....	54

4.4.2.	Trade Promotion	54
4.4.3.	Environmental Preservation and Climate Change Mitigation.....	55
4.4.4.	Tourism Promotion.....	55
4.4.5.	Cultural Promotion and Exchange.....	56
4.4.6.	Circumventing National Bureaucracies and Procedures	57
4.4.7.	Seeking Support for Autonomy from the State	57
4.4.8.	Addressing Safety and Security Concerns.....	58
4.5.	The Role of the National Government in Enabling Paradiplomacy	59
4.6.	Regulatory Framework of Paradiplomacy.....	61
4.7.	Challenges to Paradiplomacy in Kenya.....	63
4.8.	Paradiplomacy and Kenya’s Foreign Policy	65
4.8.1.	Benefits to Kenya’s Foreign Policy:.....	65
4.8.2.	Threats to Kenya’s Foreign Policy:	66
4.9.	Conclusion.....	67
CHAPTER FIVE		69
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....		69
5.1.	Introduction	69
5.2.	Summary of the Study	69
5.2.1.	Hypotheses Evaluation	70
5.3.	Conclusions	71

5.4.	Recommendations	72
5.4.1.	Formulation of a Legal and Regulatory Framework	72
5.4.2.	Coordination and Guidance	72
5.4.3.	Increasing the Capacity of Intelligence	73
5.4.4.	Ongoing Assessment and Improvement	73
5.4.5.	Stakeholder Participation.....	73
5.4.6.	Public Engagement and Awareness.....	74
5.4.7.	Capacity Development	74
5.4.8.	Research and the Exchange of Knowledge	74
5.4.9.	Evaluation and Revision of Foreign Policy.....	74
5.5.	Areas for Further Study	75
	Bibliography	76
	Appendices.....	80

Table of Figures

Figure 1 Demographic Location of Respondents	49
Figure 2 Demographic Occupation of Respondents	50
Figure 3 Mechanisms of Engagement in Paradiplomacy	51
Figure 4 Motives behind paradiplomacy by County Governments	53
Figure 5 National Government Support Received in Paradiplomatic Efforts	60
Figure 6 Knowledge & use of any regulated framework in practice of paradiplomacy...	62

Abbreviation & Acronyms

AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AU	African Union
COG	Council of Governors
COK	County of Kenya
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
MCLD	Movement for Community Led Development
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council
MSMEs	Micro, Small, and Medium-sized Enterprises
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
PFM act	Public Finance Management Act
PPPs	Public-Private Partnerships
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
UNCAC	United Nations Convention against Corruption
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Sub-national governmental entities including provinces, cities, states, regions, and counties have, over the past few decades, become increasingly active in the international arena changing the nature of world politics. Beyond their domestic responsibilities, these governmental entities participate in international activities like city to city diplomacy, sports diplomacy, economic diplomacy and other public diplomacy practices. As a result, new spheres of authority and influence have developed, challenging the traditional modes of global governance. In some instances, sovereign governments have had difficulties in resolving major global concerns. The practise of paradiplomacy offers opportunity for some of these issues to be resolved at the international, regional, and local levels.¹ This practise has become more prevalent due to globalization, decentralization, and the increasing interdependence of nations, which have created new opportunities for sub-national units of government to participate in international affairs. Globalization, decentralization, and the growing interdependence of states have all led to new opportunities for sub-national units of government to engage in international affairs. As it affects the dynamics of state-to-state relations and global governance, paradiplomacy has come to be recognized as a significant part of international relations.

¹ Martínez, “Paradiplomacy in North America: Canadian Provinces’ Relations with Their U.S. and Mexican Counterparts.”

The significance and impact of paradiplomacy is multifaceted. It can be viewed from a political standpoint as a way for subnational units of government to advance their political goals, acquire autonomy, and improve their visibility and recognition on the international arena.² Paradiplomacy can also contribute to the decentralization of power and decision-making, which can result to more efficient and effective governance.³

From an economic vantage point, paradiplomacy can be seen as a tool for subnational units of government to draw in foreign investment, advance commerce, and foster economic growth.⁴ Additionally, subnational governments and their foreign partners can forge new avenues for collaboration and partnership that will benefit both parties. However, paradiplomacy is not without challenges and risks. From a legal perspective, paradiplomacy can raise questions about the legality of sub-national units of government engaging in international affairs, especially when their actions conflict with the policies of the central government.⁵ From a political angle, paradiplomacy can create tensions and conflicts between local governments and the central administration, as well as between decentralized units of government themselves, as they contest for resources and recognition.

County governments are a creation of devolution as provided for in Constitution of Kenya (COK), 2010 and came into force in 2013.⁶ Ten years into devolution provides an adequate period

² Aldecoa and Keating, *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*.

³ Martínez, "Paradiplomacy in North America: Canadian Provinces' Relations with Their U.S. and Mexican Counterparts."

⁴ Lecours, "Paradiplomacy: Reflections on the Foreign Policy and IR of Regions."

⁵ Lecours, "Political Issues of Paradiplomacy :"

⁶ Republic of Kenya, Constitution of Kenya.

to review how the entrance sub-national units of government in Kenya has influenced the country's international relations as a whole. This thesis aims to examine the practise of paradiplomacy by Kenya's county governments. It shall examine the motivations behind paradiplomatic actions by devolved units and the extent to which such activities on have on international relations. The findings of this study will contribute to the understanding of functions of sub-national levels of government in international affairs and their consequences for interstate relations in the twenty-first century.

1.2. Background to the Study

Following the implementation of a new constitution in 2010, Kenya implemented a devolved system of government, distributing authority and finances from the centre to forty-seven newly established county governments. Dating back to the colonial-era, the country's governance structure concentrated power and policymaking at the central government. In contrast, the devolved system of government sought to advance democratic participation, equitable resource allocation, and effective citizen service delivery as grassroots level.⁷

Under the devolved system of government, county governments now have the authority to decide on a variety of matters, including healthcare, education, agriculture, infrastructure, and social services. Whereas Kenya lacks precise legal and regulatory framework to govern paradiplomacy, harmony and consistency with the state's foreign policy is implied by the constitution. Article 189 of COK reads in part:⁸

“Government at either level shall—

⁷ Ngigi, “Devolution in Kenya: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.”

⁸ Republic of Kenya, Constitution of Kenya.

(a) perform its functions, and exercise its powers, in a manner that respects the functional and institutional integrity of government at the other level, and respects the constitutional status and institutions of government at the other level and, in the case of county government, within the county level;”

Paradiplomacy is a long-standing practise in international relations. Despite taking on diverse forms and operating in numerous contexts, sub-national bodies of government have been involved in international politics for centuries. In the 19th century, the rise of nation-states in Europe, for instance, sparked the decentralization of power and the creation of sub-national units of government as participants in international affairs.⁹ This trend was further augmented by the European integration and the later formation of the European Union (EU), which generated new opportunities for sub-national units of government to partake in decision-making at the regional level.¹⁰ Paradiplomacy has served an essential part in the advancement of global relationships throughout the Americas, particularly in federal states like the United States, Canada, and Brazil. Subnational levels of government in these nations have been involved in a range of international affairs activities, including trade promotion, cultural exchange, and climate change mitigation.

Current trends in paradiplomacy have been fuelled by globalization, democratization, decentralization, and the mounting prominence of municipalities, cities and regions in global affairs. The significance of this saw the inclusion of cities and communities captured under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).¹¹

⁹ Wimmer and Feinstein, “The Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816 to 2001.”

¹⁰ Curyło, “The European Union as a Laboratory of Paradiplomacy in the Context of International and Domestic Determinants of Regions’ Foreign Activities.”

¹¹ United Nations, “Sustainable Development Goals.”

While the practise of paradiplomacy in Kenya is still evolving, county governments have been actively engaging in international affairs. This study presents an opportunity to explore the role of sub-national units of government on international relations.

1.3. Statement of the Research Problem

Decentralization by many states in Africa has brought in new actors in the foreign policy of these states. These units, which include counties, cities as well as other similar unites lack express authority to contact international relations with other actors yet the nature of their governance responsibilities and functions require them to exercise some degree of autonomy to remain viable. This study aims to examine extent of paradiplomatic activities by the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa; and examine the effects of such activities on the country's foreign policy. It will further consider the consequences of paradiplomacy on international relations.

1.4. Research Questions

- a. How do the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa engage in paradiplomacy and what challenges do they encounter?
- b. What are the motives behind the paradiplomatic activities of the two county governments?
- c. How does the practise of paradiplomacy by county governments contribute to the overall foreign policy objectives of the country?

1.5. Objectives of the Research

1.5.1. General Objective

The primary objective of this study is to examine the practise of paradiplomacy by the County Governments of two counties: Mombasa and Makueni; and its significance on international relations.

1.5.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- a. To examine how the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa engage in paradiplomacy and explore the challenges they encounter.
- b. To determine what motivates the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa to engage in paradiplomatic activities.
- c. To analyse the implications of paradiplomatic activities by Kenya's county governments on the state's foreign policy.

1.6. Literature Review

1.6.1. Theoretical Literature

1.6.1.1. Classical Realism

According to this prevalent theory of international relations, nations are required to act in self-interest to retain their security and sovereignty in the global system. International politics, according to realists, is a winner take all game in which one nation's advantage is another nation's disadvantage.¹² This idea holds that states naturally want power and influence in order to further

¹² Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*.

their interests. The lust for power can result in interstate strife. Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Morgenthau are among the academics who advocated for realism.

The underlying premise of this theory is that states behave rationally and that the global order is unruly. Additionally, this view holds that states are the main players in global affairs and that subnational levels of governance are little more than the state's extensions. Realism has an inherent disadvantage of ignoring the significant role of non-state players and international organisations in world politics.

1.6.1.2. Liberalism Theory

Liberalism is a theory that highlights the significance of individual liberties, the rule of law, and unfettered economies for fostering harmony and partnerships between nations. This theory posits that international organisations and corporations may aid in establishment of mutually beneficial relationships among nations. Scholars who advocate for liberalism include the philosophers Kant, Locke, and Montesquieu.¹³

The theory assumes that states are capable of collaborating with one another and that international bodies have the ability to reduce conflict between states. It also points out the importance of economic cooperation in promoting peace and security. However, one of the drawbacks of liberalism is that it disregards the importance of power in influencing the actions of the state. Liberalism also assumes that all states hold similar goals and principles, which may not be necessarily true.

¹³ Moravcsik, "Liberalism and International Theory."

1.6.1.3. Constructivism Theory

Constructivism is a theory in global politics, which holds that social conventions, convictions, and identities contribute to state behaviour. The theory asserts that international relations are a socially constructed reality formed through the interaction of actors.¹⁴ Scholar Onuf is among the scholars who advocate for constructivism.

The theory assumes that state behaviour is dictated by social conventions and identities in addition to economic concerns. Additionally, it emphasises the significance of thoughts and conversations in moulding state behaviour. Constructivism's tendency to neglect the significance of power in moulding state behaviour is its major flaw. In addition, constructivism attempts to diminish the significance of economic interests in global affairs.

Some theories of foreign relations that attempt enlighten the practise of paradiplomacy by sub-national units of government. These theories, however, only provide different lenses through which scholars can analyse the impact of paradiplomatic activity on international relations. Scholar Kenneth Waltz cautions that international relations theories can only offer a range of possible outcomes arising from state interactions.¹⁵ They cannot predict the exact manner and nature of result. Global world order is highly dynamic but with limitations on the freedom of states, their actions and the consequences of their behaviour become broadly predictable.

¹⁴ Onuf, "World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations."

¹⁵ Waltz, "Theory of International Politics."

1.6.2. Empirical Literature

Cornago defines paradiplomacy as the participation of local governments in global affairs by the development of informal and formal relationships with foreign entities public or private , either ad hoc or permanently, in order to advance political, socio-economic, and cultural interests, and, as well as any other foreign dimension of their own constitutional authority.¹⁶

1.6.2.1. How Counties Engage in Paradiplomacy and the Challenges They Face

County governments in Kenya engage in paradiplomacy in various ways. At the National level, the Council of Governors (CoG) has established the Security and Foreign Affairs Committee. The role of this committee is to address all matters relating to security, foreign affairs; county policing; internal relations and diplomacy.¹⁷ This committee aims to facilitate the engagement of county governments with foreign governments and organizations.

Most counties have found the best practise for engagement with foreign governments to be through direct engagement with their development agencies. For instance, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has entered into Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) with many counties. In Makueni County, USAID signed MoUs with the pioneer county government.¹⁸ After the August 2022 elections, the new administration reworked and resigned the agreement to ensure continuity and alignment with the new regimes agenda.¹⁹ Other counties such

¹⁶ Cornago, “On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy.”

¹⁷ Council of Governors, “Security and Foreign Affairs Committee.”

¹⁸ Government of Makueni County, “Makueni-USAID Sign Partnership Agreement - Government of Makueni County.”

¹⁹ Government of Makueni County, “Makueni, USAID Sign KSH.1Billion Joint Work Plan.”

as Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Kisii, Kiambu, Isiolo and Kakamega have also made similar agreements. In addition, the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)²⁰ and Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)²¹ among others have also executed similar contracts.

Counties also engage in ad hoc paradiplomatic activities, such as hosting international delegations or participating in international events. However, county governments face several challenges in their paradiplomatic activities. For example, Kiambu, Nandi and Nyamira Counties collaborated with the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EACC) to host the International Anti-Corruption week in observance of United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) in 2020.²² Cities have also taken part in such activities. Konza Technopolis had joined this league with its successful proposal to host the Global Innovation Conference in 2024.²³

The conventional democratic argument in support of devolution is that it brings power closer to the masses, making it a beneficial democratic process. This should also apply to foreign policy, as paradiplomacy improves democracy by bringing some aspects of international politics closer to the people. The public policies of the state are the sum of many interests, values, and identities. This should be the case for both domestic and foreign policy.

In the Canadian province of Quebec, for instance, paradiplomacy is justified since the central government cannot sufficiently represent the culture, identity, and interests of Quebecers

²⁰ JICA, “Technical Cooperation Projects | JICA.”

²¹ Relief Web, “KOICA in Partnership with Kajiado County Government.”

²² Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EACC), “Anti-Corruption Week in Kiambu County - EACC.”

²³ Mwago, “Konza Wins Bid to Host Global Innovation Conference in 2024.”

abroad. In this context, it is asserted that the foreign activity of the Quebec government embodies the collective desire of the Quebec people and serves as a tool for advancing its interests and expressing its identity. The same can be applied to county governments in Kenya as they require the full exercise of their autonomy in order to accomplish their socio-economic objectives in their own geographical and cultural contexts.²⁴ However there is need for coordination between the distinct levels of government in order to ensure harmony at the level of the state.

County governments also encounter many hurdles in their international relations efforts. This includes lack the resources required to conduct successful paradiplomacy. Most county administrations in Kenya have little financial and personnel resources, making it difficult for them to engage in effective diplomacy beyond their borders. The majority of counties have achieved their wage bill cap. This renders the employment procedure for individuals with the necessary diplomatic abilities unjustified, especially for a function that is not statutorily delegated.

In addition, county governments lack the legal framework required for participating in paradiplomacy. Without defined legal framework and institutional backing, their paradiplomatic operations may confront legal and political obstacles. Lecours cites the absence of domestic formal-legal competence and external legitimacy to operate outside national borders as a significant hindrance for subnational governments.²⁵

Furthermore, decentralized governments have minimal recognition in the world arena because they lack the capacity to operate outside of their own nations and are not recognised as legitimate by other nations. This is due to the fact that the existing norms and practises of

²⁴ OECD, "Better Regulation in Europe: SWEDEN."

²⁵ Lecours, "Paradiplomacy: Reflections on the Foreign Policy and IR of Regions."

international politics are created by and for states, and organisations such as United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) permit the participation of states. States are also the principal participants in regional economic accords such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), military coalitions, and global economic institutions such as the World Trade Organizations. With the current world order, states are essentially the most significant actors in international affairs.²⁶

Moreover, paradiplomacy by county governments may pose a danger to the dominance of the state. Typically, a nation's central authority limits regional administrations from having an international presence. This is because the central government perceives it as a threat to their capacity to rule the country and formulate a central foreign policy. Involvement of regional governments in international matters may sometimes lead to tensions between various levels of government. For example, the Kenyan coast, also known as *Pwani*, posed an existential danger to the nation in the past by seeking independence. This agenda was championed by the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) and expressed several, long-standing marginalisation complaints.²⁷ The paradiplomatic operations of county governments in the coastal area, undoubtedly draws concern and scrutiny of the central government since they may constitute a danger to national security, given their history.

The State's drive to uphold the nation's constitution, political order, and national identity can never be underrated. Internal threats, real or perceived are thwarted and as result, subnational governments are confronted with obstacles while attempting to participate in foreign affairs.

²⁶ Lecours.

²⁷ Willis and Gona, "Pwani C Kenya? Memory, Documents and Secessionist Politics in Coastal Kenya."

1.6.2.2. Motives behind the paradiplomatic activities of county governments

Numerous academics have looked at the reasons why sub-national entities of government engage in paradiplomatic activity. Keating asserts that paradiplomacy is a tool to further financial, political and social objectives of sub-national entities.²⁸ For instance, the county governments may have economic interests in encouraging tourism, promoting foreign investment, and establishing export markets. On the other hand politicians may have objectives in advancing devolution as well as elevating the standing and authority of the county. Concurrently, county governments may want to exhibit the county's cultural legacy and encouraging cross-cultural interaction.

Some scholars presume that sub-national units of government participate in paradiplomacy in order to make up for the perceived limits of central governments in promoting their interests in the international arena.²⁹ For instance, county governments might consider that the central government does not prioritize local objectives for socioeconomic growth or that it does not provide enough resources. County governments can circumvent the central authority and advance their agendas on the world stage by participating in paradiplomacy.

However, variables such as the political ideology of the county government, the relationship between the two levels of government, and the institutional framework for county governance, may have an impact on the motivations behind paradiplomatic activities. For instance, county administrations that share the same ideologies as the central government could use paradiplomacy to promote the objectives of Kenya's foreign policy. County governments that

²⁸ Aldecoa and Keating, *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*.

²⁹ Duchacek, "Toward A Typology of New Subnational Governmental Actors in International Relations."

are politically hostile to the ruling party, on the other hand, can employ paradiplomacy to further their own goals and undermine the country's foreign policy.

Additionally, external variables like the character of the international system and the availability of resources may have an impact on the reasons behind paradiplomatic operations. For instance, if county administrations in Kenya have the financial and personnel resources to participate in paradiplomacy or if there is a favourable international environment for sub-national diplomacy, they may be more inclined to do so.

1.6.2.3. County Governments and the State's Foreign policy

Literature indicates that county governments' paradiplomatic efforts in Kenya have important ramifications for Kenya's foreign policy. First, subnational governments' paradiplomatic acts may compete with, complement, or coexist with foreign policy.³⁰ By contributing to the accomplishment of national interests and goals, supplementary paradiplomacy may increase the overall efficacy of Kenya's foreign policy. In contrast, contradictory paradiplomacy may hinder the efficiency of Kenya's foreign policy by sowing uncertainty and discord in the country's international relations.

Second, county governments' paradiplomatic efforts may either strengthen or weaken the coherence and coordination of Kenya's foreign policy. A lack of coordination and coherence may lead to disputes and difficulties in the fulfilment of foreign policy goals, especially when county governments participate in activities that are regarded as being in opposition to national interests.

³⁰ Malin, "Paradiplomacy-Competing, Reinforcing or Coexisting."

In addition, county governments' paradiplomatic operations may sometimes question the authority and legitimacy of the national government, especially when they entail discussions with foreign governments or are directed towards independence from the state. Catalonia is the ideal example of a subnational government that spearheaded a separatist movement in recent history. In a referendum in 2017, more than two million Catalans voted for independence. The regional president proclaimed Catalonia as an independent state, but no nation recognised it as a sovereign entity. In response, the Spanish government disbanded the Catalan parliament, seized control of the province, and detained and prosecuted a number of Catalan officials. The question of Catalan independence has been the subject of much debate, although according to the Montevideo Convention, Catalonia satisfies the basic international law prerequisites for statehood.³¹ The conditions include a permanent population, a defined area, a government, and the capacity to establish ties with other nations.³²

Additionally, county governments' paradiplomatic efforts may either boost or diminish Kenya's worldwide image and reputation. Positive paradiplomatic initiatives, such as cultural exchange programmes and trade missions, may improve Kenya's reputation and image overseas and promote the country as an appealing investment and tourist destination. On the other side, negative paradiplomatic operations may harm Kenya's brand and image and impede its attempts to attract international investment and tourism.

³¹ Ajumobi, "Catalonia: Potential Sovereignty in The Era of Controversial Self-Determination."

³² League of Nations, Convention on Rights and Duties of States.

1.7. Justification of the Study

1.7.1. Policy Justification

Arising from the relative infancy of devolution in Kenya, there is a gap in the literature. Consequently, decision-makers and implementers have little to no access to reference materials on the difficulties inherent in devolution and its effects on Kenya's foreign relations. This study aims to explore emerging and evolving challenges that result from counties' paradiplomatic efforts.

The necessity to comprehend how this phenomenon impacts the state's foreign policy and the possible advantages or downsides justifies the study of the role of paradiplomacy by sub-national governments on international relations. This will aid in understanding how to harmonize Kenya's foreign policy and internal governance and development strategies.

1.7.2. Academic Justification

In recent years, academic literature has given more and more emphasis to the study of paradiplomacy. Researchers have studied the facets of this phenomena. More empirical study is still required to fully understand how paradiplomacy affects international relations and how it specifically affects Kenya's county administrations. Social sciences, in particular political science and international relations, require an understanding of the evolution, change, and transitions that occur within the internal structures of the state.³³

This project will advance academic research by offering a thorough examination of how paradiplomacy affects international relations. Additionally, it will add to the body of knowledge

³³ Cerna, "The Nature of Policy Change and Implementation: A Review of Different Theoretical Approaches."

on the function of sub-national entities in international relations and the likelihood of collaboration or conflict between sub-national and national governments.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

The guiding theory of this study is the Neoclassical realism theory. It provides a lens through which scholars can analyse the role of paradiplomatic activity on international relations. With a focus on the domestic issues that influence a state's foreign policy, neoclassical realism contains elements of both classical realism and structural realism. Neoclassical realists contend that although the international system has a significant role in determining a state's behaviour, it is not the sole factor. Domestic variables including interest groups, government politics, and leaders' biases are also of importance.

The theory is championed by scholar Gideon Rose, who proposes that compared to classical realism or structural realism, neoclassical realism offers a more complex understanding of state behaviour since it acknowledges the influence of both internal and external elements on a state's foreign policy.³⁴

Neoclassical realism excels at explaining why nations can behave in ways that appear to go against their interests. For instance, a state may implement an expensive and uncertain foreign policy even if it does not immediately advance its interests in national security. By examining the domestic reasons that affect the state's foreign policy actions, neoclassical realism might aid in the explanation of such conduct.³⁵

³⁴ Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy."

³⁵ Chandra, "Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics."

Neoclassical realism has, nevertheless, drawn criticism or being ambiguous about how domestic and international factors relate to one another. It is criticised for its overemphasis on domestic dynamics while underplaying the significance of the international system. In addition, factors such as the preferences of leaders are taken into account despite being difficult to measure empirically.³⁶

Largely, neoclassical realism is an applicable theory in explaining paradiplomacy since it acknowledges the effects of the larger international system albeit with emphasis on the significant role that domestic circumstances have in driving foreign policy decisions. Researchers may have clearer insights to paradiplomatic behaviour by this theory.

1.9. Hypotheses of the Study

- a) Engagement in paradiplomacy by the County Governments attracts foreign direct investment and promotes economic development.
- b) Paradiplomatic activities of county governments are driven by socio-economic factors.
- c) Paradiplomatic activities of county governments complement and support the state's foreign policy objectives.

1.10. Methodology of the Research

1.10.1. Research Design

The study will employ a mixed-methodologies approach, integrating quantitative and qualitative research methods to give a thorough knowledge of the function of county government

³⁶ Taliaferro, Lobell, and Ripsman, *Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*.

in international relations. The quantitative component will consist of questionnaires and structured interviews, while the qualitative component will include exhaustive interviews, content analysis of pertinent materials, and case studies.

1.10.2. Study Site

The research will be undertaken across two counties in Kenya, that is Makueni county and Mombasa county. This is because the two counties have a history of international involvement and economic development partnerships with international actors. The counties will be purposefully sampled to guarantee maximum variance in size, location, and political affiliation.

1.10.3. Target Population

This refers to the precise persons or entities that a study expects to investigate. The demographics of the target population shall be individuals involved in the paradiplomatic activities of Kenya's county governments. This includes elected officials, civil servants, representatives of foreign governments or international organizations and other stakeholders who are responsible for or engaged in the paradiplomatic activities of/with county governments. The target demographic shall also include individuals who have expertise or knowledge related to paradiplomacy and international relations in Kenya, such as scholars, analysts, and policymakers.

1.10.4. Sampling Frame and Sample Size

This research study will use the Yamane formula in determination of the sample size.

$n = N / (1 + N(e^2))$. Where:

n = sample size

N = total population size

e = desired level of precision, expressed as a proportion (e.g. 0.05 for a 5percent level of precision)

In application of this formula to the study we shall target a precision level of 5percent. As there are few players in paradiplomatic activities within any county, the study shall suppose that such players may not exceed thirty organizations, officials, persons of interest et cetera from each of the two counties and therefore “n” shall be given a value of sixty:

$$n = N / (1 + 60 * 0.0025)$$

$$n = 60 / (1 + 0.15)$$

$$n = 60 / 1.15$$

The sample size shall therefore be 52.17and rounded up to 53 to ensure sufficient statistical power.

1.10.5. Data Collection Methods

Participants will be interviewed and given questionnaires to gather data for the research. Depending on the availability and preferences of the participants, these will be performed face-to-face or through online platforms. The data collecting instruments will be developed to extract information on the study's goals, including the nature of paradiplomatic activity, the obstacles faced, and the effect on international relations.

1.10.6. Reliability of the Data Collection Instruments

The dependability of the data collecting instruments will be determined by testing and piloting with a sample of respondents. This will enable modification to enhance the instruments' clarity, comprehensibility, and relevance.

1.10.7. Validity of Data Collection Instruments

The validity of instruments will be determined by a comprehensive literature study and consultation with social scientists so as to guarantee that they measure what they seek to assess and that the obtained data correctly represents the participants' opinions and experiences.

1.10.8. Data Analysis and Presentation

The data gathered will be analysed using theme analysis. The analysis will consist of discovering patterns, themes and categories that arise from the data. Tables, figures, and narrative summaries will be used to convey the results.

1.10.9. Ethical Considerations

The study will conform to ethical norms for research. This including getting informed permission from participants, preserving discretion and anonymity, and safeguarding the rights and welfare of the participants.

1.11. Scope and Limitations of the Research

The study is limited to analysing the practise of paradiplomacy by the county governments of Mombasa and Makueni. The study will examine their motivations and objectives when engaging in paradiplomacy, as well as the socio-economic impact of these activities on international relations. The study will explore the reasons Kenyan county governments participate in paradiplomacy, their goals, and the socioeconomic consequences of these activities on international relations.

The findings of this study may not be applicable to other nations or counties as the study is restricted to only two counties in Kenya. Due of the delicate nature of diplomatic actions and

the prevailing Practise of limiting government information in Kenya, there may be challenges in the acquisition of accurate and trustworthy data. Last but not least, the study can be constrained by the data's accessibility and availability, particularly in some of the smaller and less economically significant counties.

Another limitation of the study is the potential bias of the interviewees. Key stakeholders interviewed for the study may be inclined to present their views in a positive light, or withhold information that could be perceived as negative or controversial. Additionally, the researcher may encounter language and communication barriers in conducting interviews, particularly if language translators are used.

Result of the study may also be influenced by the interviewers' potential prejudices. Participants may offer their opinions which may be divergent from actual facts. They may also conceal unfavourable or contentious material though relevant.

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSING THE PARADIPLOMATIC APPROACHES

OF MAKUENI AND MOMBASA COUNTY

GOVERNMENTS

2.1. Introduction

In the ever-evolving realm of global affairs, subnational governments have emerged as consequential actors, engaging proactively in diplomatic activities that extend beyond the confines of their own nations. African states encounter several hurdles stemming from their prevailing socioeconomic and political circumstances when subnational governments attempt to participate in global matters. Nonetheless, notable advancements have emerged in recent times. This phenomenon is particularly conspicuous in decentralized and/or federal states such as South Africa and Nigeria.³⁷

Devolution in Kenya has resulted in the creation of decentralised government entities, which have created new avenues for participation at both the international and subnational regional levels. This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the paradiplomatic endeavours undertaken by Makueni and Mombasa Counties, elucidating many facets of their engagement and the consequential influence it has exerted on their respective jurisdictions.

2.1. Paradiplomacy in Kenya

³⁷ Cornago, “Exploring the Global Dimensions of Paradiplomacy. Functional and Normative Dynamics in the Global Spreading of Subnational Involvement in International Affairs.”

In the context of Kenya, paradiplomacy is mostly observed through the engagement of its constituent counties and cities. Although the scholarly literature on this particular area is lacking, it is possible to identify several instances of successful paradiplomatic practises in Kenya.

The functions and mandates of both levels of government are explicitly defined in the fourth schedule of the Constitution of Kenya.³⁸ The County Governments Act of 2012 additionally furnishes county governments with operational guidance. Counties, as a result, bear exclusive responsibility for some obligations that are not allocated to any other government agency or state department. In such case, the stakes are high and local authorities employ all viable strategies to guarantee their achievements. One such strategy is by the practice of paradiplomacy and a majority of counties have established liaison offices for this particular purpose at the national capital, Nairobi.

In addition, counties have established collaborative relationships with national authorities and state departments to enable effective coordination of paradiplomatic endeavours with the State Department of Foreign Affairs. This cooperation guarantees that actions at the county level are in alignment with national policy goals and priorities, hence boosting the overall efficacy of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Consequently, the State Department of Foreign Affairs has begun capacity building county government officials in order to build their diplomatic competence.³⁹

For economic development, county governments recognise the importance of their participation in the advancement of trade and investment. Consequently, they have embraced a

³⁸ Republic of Kenya, Constitution of Kenya.

³⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "County Officials Trained on International and Diplomatic Engagements."

proactive approach to paradiplomacy, with the objective of attracting foreign investments and cultivating international commercial partnerships. County governments have also assumed a more proactive role in engaging in trade missions and participating in investment forums, both within Africa and on a global scale. These events provide opportunities for county officials, business leaders, and potential investors to participate in networking activities, technological and skills transfer, and engage in business transactions. These activities play a significant role in fostering economic relations between counties and international counterparts.

Furthermore, many counties prioritise the provision of extensive support to Micro, Small, and Medium-sized Enterprises (MSMEs) as they endeavour to participate in global trade, particularly through the export of products. Counties have discovered that engaging in partnership with international partners is advantageous in this endeavour, as it provides training programmes, financial assistance, and access to resources that empower MSMEs to efficiently participate in the global market.

Several counties in Kenya, including Nairobi and Mombasa, have forged sister city links with international cities. These contacts facilitate the interchange of cultural values, promote economic collaboration, and establish diplomatic connections. An illustrative example can be seen in the sister city partnership established between Nairobi, Kenya and city of Raleigh, North Carolina, United States of America, which has facilitated cooperative efforts in the domains of trade, science and technology, culture, sports, health, education, personnel, among others.⁴⁰ Similar agreements have been entered into by the Mombasa City and Long Beach USA.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Nairobi City County, “Nairobi City and the City of Raleigh, North Carolina Ink Twinning Agreement.”

⁴¹ Helms, *Sister Cities International: A Global Citizen Diplomacy Network*.

2.2. Comparative analysis of Paradiplomacy by Mombasa and Makueni Counties

2.2.1. Similarities

A multitude of parallels can be identified when comparing the paradiplomatic actions of Mombasa County and Makueni County. Both governments have participated in numerous paradiplomatic endeavours, some of which comprised the following:

Makueni County and Mombasa County each have entered into Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with numerous foreign governments and international organisations. By doing so the implementation of the MOUs, cooperation has been established on a variety of issues, including medical care, educational opportunities, and investment in the economy.

Makueni County and Mombasa County have both been part of commercial delegations on a global scale. The purpose of such commercial trips has been to drum up foreign investment and highlight the goods and services of the respective counties.

Both the counties of Mombasa and Makueni have actively engaged as well as sponsored cultural encounters with peoples from other cultures. The purpose of such cultural interactions has been to foster awareness and comprehension of their own traditions in order to popularize them.

The parallels in the paradiplomatic approaches of the two counties can be attributed to the comparable obstacles that afflict both jurisdictions—including impoverishment, high rates on unemployment, and insufficient amenities. As a result of these obstacles, both sub national governments have sought global partnership and support.

2.2.2. Differences

Despite their similarities, there are also some differences between the paradiplomatic practices of Makueni County and Mombasa County. One key difference is the focus of their paradiplomacy. Makueni County has focused its paradiplomacy on promoting rural development and attracting foreign investment in agriculture and trade. Mombasa County, on the other hand, has focused its paradiplomacy on promoting tourism as well as trade and investment in its port and maritime sector.

Another difference is the scope of their paradiplomacy. Makueni County has focused its paradiplomacy on the global west, primarily in Europe and North America. Mombasa County, on the other hand, has numerous cultural similarities to the global east and as such has engaged in paradiplomacy with a wider range of countries in Asia, and the Middle East.

The differences between the paradiplomatic practices of Makueni County and Mombasa County can be explained by a number of factors. One factor is the different economic profiles of the two counties. Makueni County is a rural county with a primarily agricultural economy, while Mombasa County is a coastal city with a diversified economy that includes maritime trade, tourism, and manufacturing. These different economic profiles have led the two counties to focus on different priorities in their paradiplomacy.

Another factor is the different geographical locations of the two counties. Makueni County is located in the interior of Kenya, while Mombasa County is located on the coast. This difference in geographical location has led Mombasa County to have more opportunities for paradiplomacy with other coastal cities and countries. One of the most prominent examples of Mombasa County's paradiplomacy is Governor Abdulswamad Nassir's engagement with high ranking Danish officials culminating in an official visit to Mombasa by the Danish Government lead by the Minister of

Foreign Affairs and former Prime Minister of Denmark, Lars Løkke Rasmussen.⁴² This has been succeeded by bilateral talks focusing on potential areas of collaboration in maritime affairs through Public Private Partnerships (PPP) between the county government and Danish enterprises. With Mombasa county being strategically located on the Indian Ocean, the county government has made efforts to leverage its coastal position to become a primary logistics hub for the Horn of Africa. As such, the County government has advertised for an international expression of interest for the development of modern water transport networks in order to alleviate traffic congestion in Mombasa, through the provisions off the Public Private Partnerships Act, 2021.⁴³ Denmark's partnership with Mombasa County, , underscores the importance of reliable international allies for subnational governments. Denmark's experience in governance, economic development, and maritime expertise positions it as a valuable partner in Mombasa's quest to become a regional logistics hub. Such partnerships can facilitate knowledge transfer, technological advancements, and investment opportunities, benefiting both parties.

2.1. The Challenges of Paradiplomacy

Mombasa County and Makueni County both encounter numerous obstacles when it comes to the implementation of paradiplomacy.

Paradiplomacy is a costly endeavour, and the financial capabilities of both county governments are constrained. This scenario poses challenges for the two governments in their efforts to engage in global affairs and develop alliances with foreign stakeholders.

⁴² The Star Newspaper, “Governor Nassir Hosts Danish Foreign Minister Rasmussen.”

⁴³ National Council for Law Reporting, The Public Private Partnerships Act.

Paradiplomacy warrants an abundance of specialised knowledge in numerous fields, including but not limited to international relations, diplomacy, mediation, and negotiations across borders.⁴⁴ Both counties have a restricted workforce of persons with the requisite qualifications. This complicates the successful implementation of paradiplomatic endeavours by the two entities.

The effectiveness of paradiplomacy can be enhanced through collaboration with the national government. However, there currently exists a certain absence of teamwork between the national government and the two counties. This has impeded the successful execution of paradiplomatic endeavours by both governments.

Beyond the aforementioned broad obstacles, the counties of Mombasa and Makueni encounter unique obstacles when it comes to the implementation of paradiplomacy. Makueni County, for instance, is a rural county, which may hinder its ability to acquire foreign investments in sectors such as manufacturing and industrialization on account of insufficient amenities, including unpaved roadways and electrification. Mombasa County, despite being one of the most urban areas in Kenya, encounters distinct social issues as well as competition for foreign investment from other cities, including Nairobi. These obstacles include the exploitative treatment of local residents by travellers and a significant contention on the dependency of drugs and substances by the youth.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, both Mombasa County and Makueni County have achieved success in advancing their economic and social development objectives through the implementation of paradiplomacy. Through the paradiplomacy, both nations have attracted foreign investment and promoted their exports. Furthermore, via paradiplomacy, both nations have

⁴⁴ Bahles, "Diplomatic Skills Used for International Marketing Practice."

increased their visibility on the world map. Mombasa County and Makueni County are equally dedicated to furthering their socioeconomic objectives through the continued implementation of paradiplomacy. While establishing new paradiplomatic campaigns, the two governments are actively striving to overcome the obstacles they encounter.

In addition, the federal government is implementing measures to reduce obstacles for county governments. The Kenyan Minister of Foreign Affairs released a formal declaration in March 2023, delineating a substantial modification to the foreign policy structure of the country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was no longer required to act as a link between parties, as was customary, which enabled straightforward interaction between foreign missions and a variety of government entities, including county administrations. The action was taken in response to a build-up of complaints from foreign diplomats and government agencies, including county governments, regarding the protracted bureaucratic roadblocks they came across when attempting to obtain the appropriate authorizations via the procedures in place supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2.2. Conclusion

The paradiplomatic practices of Makueni County and Mombasa County have a number of similarities and differences. Both counties have also engaged in a variety of paradiplomatic activities, such as establishing relationships with foreign governments and subnational governments, participating in international trade fairs and conferences, and hosting foreign delegations.

Contrariwise, significant distinctions exist in the paradiplomacy strategies employed by the two counties Makueni County has a strong focus on paradiplomacy for rural development, while Mombasa County has a more diversified paradiplomatic agenda. Mombasa County also has more resources than Makueni County, which allows it to engage in a wider range of paradiplomatic activities.

Despite their differences, both Makueni County and Mombasa County have benefited from paradiplomacy. Paradiplomacy has helped both counties to promote economic development, attract investment, and build cultural ties with other countries and regions.

CHAPTER THREE

EXAMINING THE DRIVERS OF PARADIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT BY MAKUENI AND MOMBASA COUNTY GOVERNMENTS

3.1. Introduction

It is imperative to comprehend the fundamental incentives that propel paradiplomatic endeavours for an extensive array of factors. The presented study offers useful perspectives into the multifaceted factors that impact the tactical choices of subnational administrations. The work provides insightful viewpoints on the multifaceted and varied dimensions of global governance, whereby different actors function at different levels of power and diligently strive to promote their particular objectives through involvement in global endeavours. Furthermore, it offers a unique perspective on the impact that global and regional variables have on the foreign policy and international relations of a country.

This chapter aims to examine the reasons behind the decision of the County Governments of Makueni and Mombasa to engage in paradiplomacy. The motivations emanate from a range of factors, including economic, political, socio-cultural, security, and environmental issues. Furthermore, the legal structures that govern counties are central to their motives and ability to navigate in global affairs.

The application of neoclassical realism as the theoretical framework in this research offers an important viewpoint for examining the motivations of sub-national actors in the international arena. This theoretical framework amalgamates components of classical realism, which places

emphasis on power dynamics and security considerations, with the state's internal factors.⁴⁵ This serves as a recognition of the impact of local issues at the national and global levels. Within the framework of paradiplomacy, the theoretical perspective of neoclassical realism provides a comprehensive and intricate appreciation of how subnational authorities tactically manoeuvre in the global sphere.

3.2. Economic Motivations

The significance of economic interests in determining a nation's behaviour is heavily emphasized in Neoclassical Realism. According to Magone, the world is in an information era in which regions may be seen of as flexible enough structures to develop resourceful networks for economic progress.⁴⁶ Sub-national governments recognise the economic advantages that can be obtained through paradiplomacy. Both Makueni and Mombasa counties are actively pursuing the economic benefits resulting from foreign engagement.

Makueni County is situated in the major East African transit corridor, which is efficiently serviced by both the road network and the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR). In comparison, Mombasa County is recognised as the host of the most extensive port in East and Central Africa. The geographical location of these two counties provides them with a strategic advantage for participating in international commerce. The two counties are therefore driven by pursuit of trade prospects. By establishing international links, it is possible to cultivate economic partnerships, attract foreign investments, and facilitate the exportation of domestic goods. The prioritisation of

⁴⁵ Taliaferro, Lobell, and Ripsman, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy."

⁴⁶ Magone, "Paradiplomacy Revisited: The Structure of Opportunities of Global Governance and Regional Actors."

economic growth and job creation aligns with the larger development priorities of counties and the country.

3.2.1. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Neoclassical Realism acknowledges the role of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in state and sub-national economic strategies. Counties Makueni and Mombasa actively court foreign investors, leveraging their resources and unique selling points to spur local economic development. Attracting foreign investors is in tandem with national government strategies to attract foreign investors. With the national government even providing FDI incentives such as tax exemptions and allocation of land as seen in the development of the Mombasa Special Economic Zone (SEZ) and a similar upcoming SEZ in Makueni county.⁴⁷ By showcasing their investment-friendly environments and engaging in paradiplomacy, these counties seek to attract FDI that can contribute to infrastructure development, job creation, and technological advancements.

3.2.2. Tourism Promotion

One of the most important economic sectors for counties is tourism. Both the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa recognise the potential of paradiplomatic actions in boosting tourism as an economic driver. The counties can raise their awareness as tourist destinations by cooperating with international players such as, governments, tourism boards, and travel companies. This results in an increase in tourist arrivals, jobs creation and revenue generation within the counties.

⁴⁷ Ministry of Industrialization and Enterprise Development, “Project Master Plan for Development of Mombasa Special Economic Zone.”

Mombasa County, for example, is implementing a paradiplomacy-driven tourism promotion approach. The County Government of Mombasa signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Morocco's Tangier City Regional Council in 2020. The agreement, reached by former Mombasa Governor Ali Hassan Joho and Tangier Region President Fatima Al-Hasani, encourages subnational government cooperation in many areas, with a strong focus on tourism, blue economy, infrastructure, manufacturing, and the exchange of cultures. The collaboration is intended to respond to the problems that the Kenyan tourism sector has suffered as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, with Mombasa moving its focus to local and regional oriented tourism. Mombasa hopes to capitalise on Morocco's tourism potential by working with Tangier.

3.2.3. Trade & Agricultural Development

Through an agreement with the Italian government, Makueni County has secured a new income generating initiative for her people. The deal sees small holder farmers furnished with castor seedlings for free with a guaranteed market upon harvest. Produce offtake will be to the Italian biofuel conglomerate - ENI Corporation, which has set up its only processing facility in the country within the county.⁴⁸ In addition, bio waste will be utilized as animal feed further boosting the county's growing livestock production. The agreement is mutually beneficial as the relationship creates pathways for opportunities in the areas of sustainable agriculture and renewable energies it supports the decarbonisation initiatives of the Italian government and Makueni county's commitment to combating climate change through sustainable agriculture.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Nyakundi, "Makueni, Italy Signs Agreement to Pilot Castor Growing."

⁴⁹ Eni, "AICS, the Embassy of Italy in Nairobi and Eni Kick off the Programme SEMAKENYA II to Promote Agro-Ecology and Biofuels in the Country."

To illustrate these economic motivations, we will examine specific case studies and examples from Makueni and Mombasa. We will explore how these counties have actively pursued economic opportunities through paradiplomacy. Whether it's through trade agreements, investment forums, or tourism campaigns, these counties strategically engage with the international community to advance their economic interests.

3.2.4. Interplay with Other Motivations

Neoclassical Realism states that both internal and external factors affect a country's international behaviour. It's vital to understand that economic interests do not exist independently. They frequently intertwine with questions of security, sovereignty and internal politics. For instance, economic development may increase a county's influence and authority at the national level whilst also impacting the political landscape since economic growth is frequently a crucial indicator for gauging the effectiveness of elected governments. This is especially so for boarder counties such as Mombasa where maritime issues and threats to the jurisdiction of the nation may arise.

3.3. Political Motivations

3.3.1. Political Autonomy and Influence

Neoclassical Realism posits that states and sub-national entities seek to enhance their political autonomy and influence within the international system. Makueni and Mombasa, as sub-national governments in Kenya, have embraced paradiplomatic activities to assert their political identity and strengthen their positions within the nation-state. By engaging with foreign governments, international organizations, and diplomatic networks, they aim to amplify their voices and secure a seat at the international table.

For instance, in March 2023, Makueni county executed a five year MoU with the International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO) Movement for Community-led Development (MCLD) to set up the School for Community-led Development.⁵⁰ The programme demonstrates the county's determination to interact on a global scale. The county aspires to effectively tackle regional governance issues through leveraging international experience and best practises in community-led development through a partnership with an international organisation.

3.3.2. Circumventing National Bureaucracies

The interaction of the national government and the counties governments is frequently complicated and dynamic. Paradiplomacy is used by counties like Makueni and Mombasa to advocate for their interests in this complex political environment. Counties skip some national-level bureaucratic hurdles and engage in direct discussions for funding, developmental initiatives, or policy concessions that are in line with their local objectives by forging strong international partnerships. Scholars Koybasi and Ugurlu put forth that bureaucracy may have detrimental consequences on change in that decisions made in accordance with rules, laws, and generalities stifle invention and that hierarchy creates barriers to transformation and development.⁵¹

The Makueni County situation is one instance of how paradiplomacy has been successfully applied in Kenya. The German government, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank are just a few of the international partners that Makueni has developed close relations. Due to such ties, Makueni has received funding to finance

⁵⁰ The Movement for Community-led Development, "Makueni County Launches School for CLD."

⁵¹ Koybasi and Ugurlu, "The Factors That Influence Bureaucracy and Professionalism in Schools: A Grounded Theory Study."

development initiatives given perpetual deficits in the allocation of resources from the national government.

3.3.3. Advocacy for Internal Interests

Another political motivation for paradiplomacy lies in the advocacy of regional interests. Counties often possess unique regional characteristics, challenges, and opportunities. Through paradiplomacy, Makueni and Mombasa have advocated for policies and initiatives that are tailored to their specific needs. By engaging with foreign governments and international partners, they can make a compelling case for support and cooperation on a wide array of matters.

Mombasa County regularly employs paradiplomacy to boost infrastructural development. The county and the Chinese Province of Shanxi signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the development of infrastructure. Mombasa's dedication to participating in international collaboration to improve its infrastructure capacities is demonstrated by this strategic alliance. However, the agreement was signed whilst the county is engaged in a vicious legal battle with the national government over the control of the port of Mombasa. Due to the magnitude and impact of the litigation, the case is being presided over by a three judge panel of the supreme court of Kenya. The fact that the county is actively seeking infrastructural partners while demanding for control of the port implied that the county want to be ready for takeover should the supreme court decide in their favour.

3.3.4. Interplay with Other Motivations

Political motives and other paradiplomatic activity catalysts are strongly linked. As improved political status frequently translates into monetary advantages, neoclassical realism indicates that the pursuit of political self-determination and influence also overlap with financial

objectives. Furthermore, political objectives may affect how nations tackle national security, cultural preservation, and environmental challenges as they try to mould national policies and global perspectives to suit their objectives.

3.4. Socio-Cultural Motivations: A Neoclassical Realist Perspective

The philosophical structure of Neoclassical Realism attributes the participation of paradiplomatic activity to several causes, including cultural links, diaspora connections, along with additional social issues.

3.4.1. Leveraging Cultural Diplomacy

The pursuit of paradiplomatic activities in Makueni County and Mombasa County is facilitated in large part via the use of cultural diplomacy as an important channel. The theory of neoclassical realism acknowledges the importance of cultural cooperation and exchanges as a means for nations and subnational organisations to improve their status on the world stage. Communities with a significant cultural legacy and a long history of customs, are very active in promoting their cultures in order to demonstrate to the rest of the world that they are distinct. They hope that through taking part in international cultural events, festivals, and exchanges, they would be able to expand their sphere of influence, cultivate recognition around the globe and promote the county's as centres of cultural variety. Scholars argue that regions are aware that displaying their rich cultural diversity affords them the chance to demonstrate who they are, so that it promotes perception of a favourable image and assist them in accomplishing their political objectives.⁵²

⁵² Ryniejska – Kiełdanowicz, “Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication.”

For example, Makueni County has successfully taken a crucial step towards the protection of its historical and cultural legacy through its partnership with the National Museums of Kenya (NMK).⁵³ This step has been implemented in the context of a pilot project to record and digitise indigenous information and traditions. As a result of a significant amount of advocacy, the County will be one of the first areas where the exercise is carried out. The process shall include scientific documentation of its heritage sites and monuments in order to apply for protected classification as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The county hopes to have Tsavo East National Park, Tsavo West National Park, and Chyulu Hills National Park, among others fall into this category. The collaborative effort not only has the potential to protect the historical and cultural significance of the region, but it also has the potential to strengthen Makueni's standing as a renowned global travel destination, therefore increasing its attraction to tourists from all over the globe.

3.4.2. Leveraging Emigrant Communities

Neoclassical realism stresses how important emigrant ties are in shaping how regions act. People who live outside of Kenya are an important part of what makes Makueni and Mombasa work from a social point of view. The two governments are aware that keeping in touch with their citizens who live outside of their counties can bring many benefits, such as foreign direct investment (FDI) and support for local issues. The governments of these counties try to make the most of the skills of their people who have left the country by keeping in touch with such emigrant groups and helping them with cultural and economic projects.

⁵³ Government of Makueni County, "Makueni's Indigenous Knowledge Patented for Profits."

3.4.3. The Power of Sports

Both Makueni County and Mombasa County know that sports events are a unique way to practise paradiplomacy and use them to bring people from all over the world together and strengthen community ties. By supporting many sports events and campaigns, they have not only made it easier for people from different countries to connect, but they have also created chances for talented people from the region to be seen. Through these projects, it has been shown that sports can bring people from different backgrounds together and help them appreciate friendship between people from different cultures. By using things like sports that everyone can relate to, Makueni and Mombasa are not only trying to improve their sense of who they are in the places they live, but they are also trying to become big players on the international stage.

For instance, Mombasa county is in the advanced stages of a negotiated MoU with USAID for the Well-Being Talent Sports Program. The project, which is also being implemented in the counties of Nakuru and Kisumu is part of USAID's mobilization strategy for USAID Empowered Youth services, life skills training, and the promotion of health and wellbeing.⁵⁴

3.4.4. Cultural & Religious Ties

Socio-cultural motivations also drive Makueni and Mombasa to seek international partnerships. Neoclassical Realism emphasizes that states and sub-national entities form alliances and collaborations based on shared cultural values and interests. These counties actively pursue partnerships with foreign governments and international organizations that share cultural or socio-cultural affinities. By doing so, they aim to enhance their global reach, leverage resources for local development, and promote cultural exchanges that enrich their communities.

⁵⁴ Michigan State University, *USAID Empowered Youth Program*.

In the previous section we discussed the economic implications that might result from Mombasa County's sister city Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Tangier City in Morocco. Mombasa's commitment to engage in paradiplomacy with Arab nations is not only motivated by economic considerations, but places a particular emphasis on the remarkable cultural and religious parallels that connect the two regions. Mombasa County is immersed in rich Swahili history, and has significant shared cultural traits with its Arab counterparts. These include language echoes as well as comparable culinary customs. In addition to these cultural linkages, residents from Mombasa and Tangier are also connected to one another through religious ties. Both areas contain sizeable populations of Muslims, and the practise of their religion is an essential component of the distinctive cultural identities of both places. This relationship is not merely an effort at diplomacy; rather, it is a tribute of the persistent cultural and religious similarities that have grown stronger over the years. Mombasa's vigorous participation in paradiplomacy strengthens international connections, and stimulates a deeper cultural and religious interchange, which fosters a kindred spirit with the Arab World. As the gateway to East Africa, Mombasa's involvement in such initiatives is extremely important because it highlights the potential of Mombasa's pursuit in global politics which is supported by the resonant strands of heritage and religion.

3.4.5. Interplay with Other Motivations

It is important to acknowledge that social and cultural motivations are do not explain paradiplomacy entirely. Neoclassical Realism posits that these incentives can converge with economic, political, security, and environmental factors. Cultural paradiplomacy can further contribute to economic objectives through its ability to draw in tourists, investments and establish trade ties.

3.5. Security and Environmental Motivations

3.5.1. Security and Border Management

Neoclassical Realism underscores the paramount importance of security in shaping state behaviour. This principle extends to sub-national entities like Makueni and Mombasa, which recognize the significance of paradiplomatic activities in bolstering their security. Cornago states that albeit constrained, various aspects of paradiplomacy are seen as a mechanism of fostering security and regional stability.⁵⁵

The active engagement of Mombasa County in paradiplomacy holds significant relevance, particularly within the realm of security. The coastal county possesses distinct security vulnerabilities due to its status as a border city, a prominent port, and the presence of an international airport. These risks have direct implications for both the county's internal welfare and for wider national and regional security. Being situated as an ocean bordering city, Mombasa is geographically susceptible to marine attacks, including illicit weapons, drug and human trafficking. The heightened security concerns of large port cities are attributed to their function as significant hubs for maritime trade, which increases the possibility for criminal operations to occur within the crowded seaports. Moreover, the existence of an international airport necessitates the implementation of rigorous security protocols in order to safeguard against a wide array of potential risks, including but not limited to acts of terrorism which have occurred in nearby counties such as Lamu. consequently, the active engagement of Mombasa County in paradiplomacy is crucial in promoting security collaboration, exchange of information, and

⁵⁵ Cornago, "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy in the Redefinition of International Security: Dimensions of Conflict and Co - Operation."

synchronised actions at both the local and national levels in order to safeguard the safety and stability of the East African region.

3.5.2. Disaster Response and Environmental Preservation

Environmental motivations are also integral to their paradiplomatic engagements. Neoclassical Realism acknowledges that states and sub-national actors often collaborate on environmental issues that transcend borders. Makueni and Mombasa, facing environmental challenges such as climate change, natural disasters, and conservation efforts, actively engage with international partners to address these concerns. By participating in international environmental agreements, sharing best practices, and seeking support for disaster response initiatives, these counties strive to safeguard their natural resources, protect their ecosystems, and ensure the well-being of their residents.

In Makueni County, proactive involvement in paradiplomacy is crucial, especially when considering ecological problems. Makueni County, characterised by its arid climate, has a distinct array of environmental difficulties that bear significance for both its local economy and national security. Prolonged periods of drought and limited access to water resources provide ongoing challenges, directly endangering the well-being of citizens. These difficulties also include wider implications for national security, as they can give rise to disputes with regard to finite natural resources and the displacement of communities. The resulting needs are frequently unmet by the government due to limited emergency response resources.

As a result, the Government of Makueni County has sought to engage with global counterparts in order to bridge the gap. One such partnership is with Christian Aid – a humanitarian and development INGO comprised of a collective of forty-one churches located in the United

Kingdom and Ireland. Through this collaboration, the county has managed to access essential knowledge, technology, and resources in water management, sustainable agricultural practises, and mitigating the adverse effects of drought.⁵⁶ The implementation of these measures not only guarantees the environmental health of Makueni but also makes a significant contribution to the broader national security by reducing the likelihood of resource-related conflicts and promoting the development of a more resilient and sustainable region.

3.5.3. Interplay with Other Motivations

There is a relationship between security and environmental concerns with factors previously mentioned. One illustration is the potential economic consequences of security cooperation and its ability to facilitate international investments and trade. Likewise, the pursuit of conserving the environment intersect with cultural and socio-cultural principles, resulting in collaborative endeavours that encompass both environmental and cultural preservation.

3.6. Conclusion

Subnational governments hold diverse motivations that serve as the underlying basis for their paradiplomatic operations. Makueni and Mombasa counties demonstrate factors related to economics, politics, sociocultural, security, and the environment as drivers of their involvement in global politics. The arguments presented in this chapter highlights the significant importance of internal state variables, as defined by proponents from the neoclassical realism school of thought.

From an economic standpoint, it can be observed that both counties possess advantageous positions for engaging in global activities. Mombasa, owing to its important port, stands to gain significant benefits, while Makueni has deliberately prioritised the attraction of foreign investment.

⁵⁶ Farrant, "Picture Power: Understanding Christian Aid 's Impact through a Community Lens."

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the promotion of tourism play a pivotal role in their economic objectives, as evidenced by specific instances that demonstrate the practical advantages of paradiplomacy in facilitating economic expansion and employment generation.

From a political standpoint, paradiplomacy functions as a mechanism by which these subnational entities establish their position of authority inside the framework of the nation-state. Through active involvement with international organisations and foreign governments, subnational governments achieve their goals by traversing national bureaucratic procedures, get financial resources, and promote their distinct interests. The political reasons are intricately connected to economic and security factors, underscoring the complex nature of paradiplomacy.

Socio-cultural reasons, such as the strategic use of cultural diplomacy, significantly contribute to their foreign endeavours. The counties proactively engage in the promotion of their historical and cultural assets in order to cultivate relationships and bolster their international reputation. Sports, cultural, and religious ties serve as illustrative instances whereby these impulses get intertwined, so enhancing their paradiplomatic endeavours.

The significance of security and environmental considerations cannot be overstated, particularly in the context of Mombasa County, given its strategic positioning as a border city and prominent port. The practise of paradiplomacy enables subnational groups to foster cooperation in matters of security and disaster response, while simultaneously tackling environmental issues such as climate change and resource management. The objectives underlying their paradiplomatic operations are intricately linked to both national security and environmental protection, hence emphasising the multifaceted nature of these motivations.

This chapter aims to offer an extensive examination of the diverse motives that underlie paradiplomatic actions in Makueni and Mombasa counties. It highlights the interdependence of economic, political, socio-cultural, and security/environmental elements in shaping their international relations.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. Overview of the Chapter

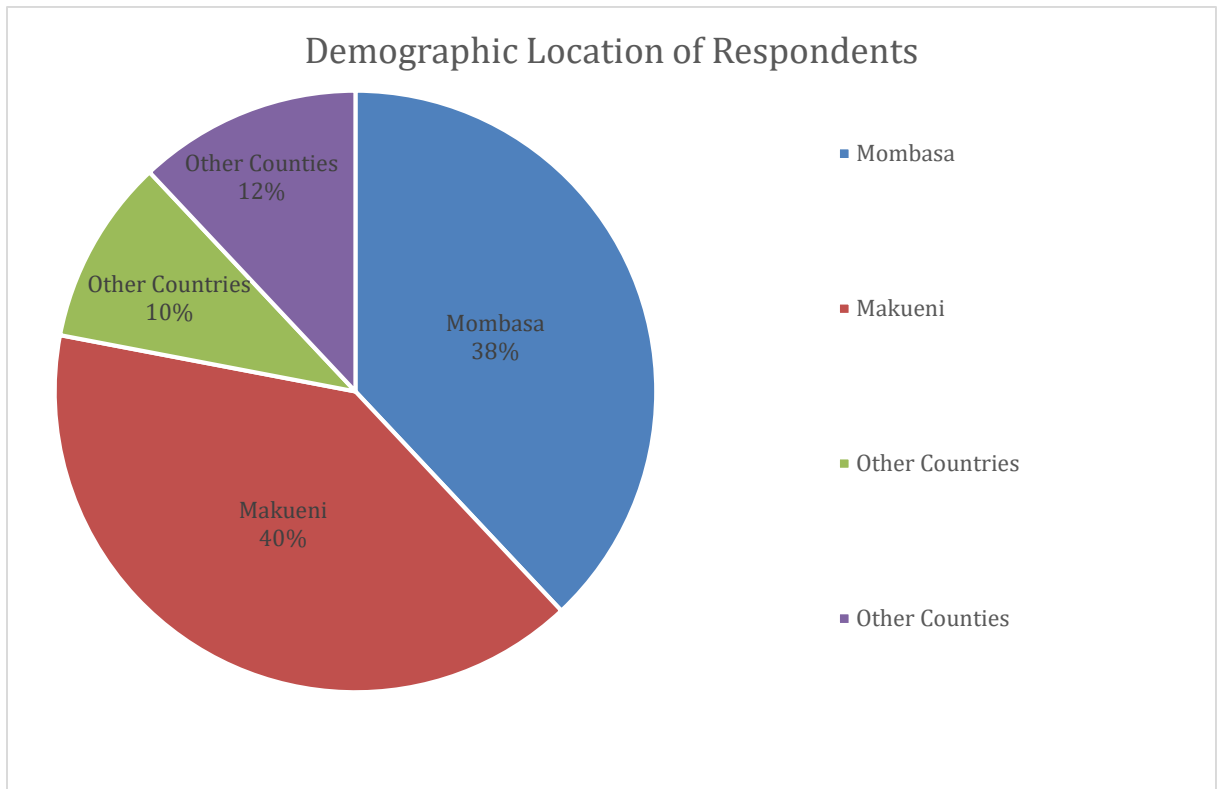
This chapter provides an analysis of the research study, shedding light on the roles of County governments in the arena of global politics. The case study of this research is on the County Governments of Makeni and Mombasa in Kenya. The chapter examines paradiplomacy, its relevance in the context of global affairs, and its consequences for the nation's foreign policy. The objective of this chapter is to present the findings of the research investigation, thus presenting an in-depth overview of the application of paradiplomacy by county governments. The objective of this study is to provide insight into the motivations, challenges, and outcomes of paradiplomatic efforts.

In order to acquire these research outcomes, a mixed-methodology strategy was implemented, integrating qualitative as well as quantitative methods of inquiry. The target demographic of the research comprised persons involved in paradiplomatic endeavours, including elected officials, civil servants, international representatives as well as international relations specialists.

4.2. Profile of Respondents

The regional spread of the study subjects is shown below to give the findings of the study some perspective as well as give a glimpse of the people who took part in the investigation:

Figure 1 Demographic Location of Respondents

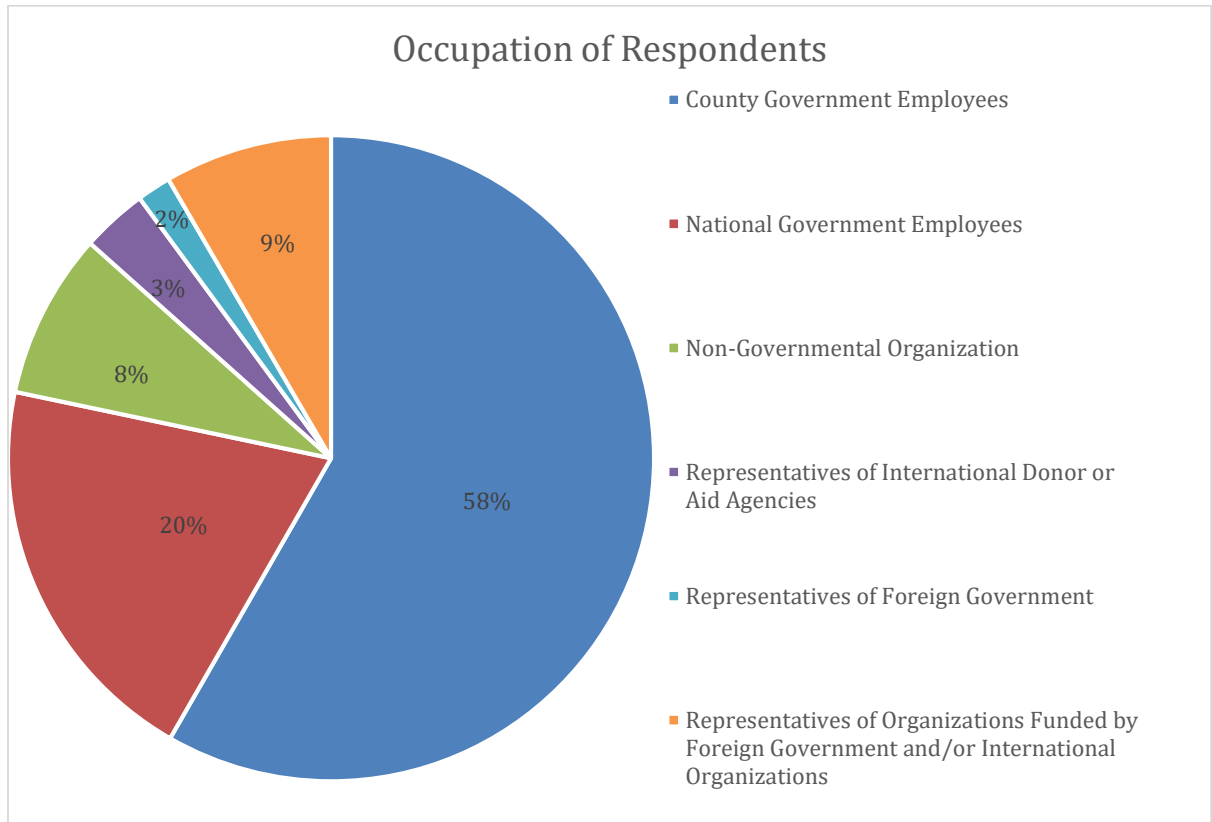


A total of 15percent of the respondents stated that their positions did not involve any interaction between county governments and international partners, whereas 85percent of the respondents indicated that their responsibilities required such interaction.

As illustrated in the following chart, the target population comprised a variety of stakeholders engaged in paradiplomatic endeavours, including elected officials, personnel from both the national and county governments, representatives of foreign governments and

international organisations, experts in international relations, and beneficiaries of foreign/international grants.

Figure 2 Demographic Occupation of Respondents

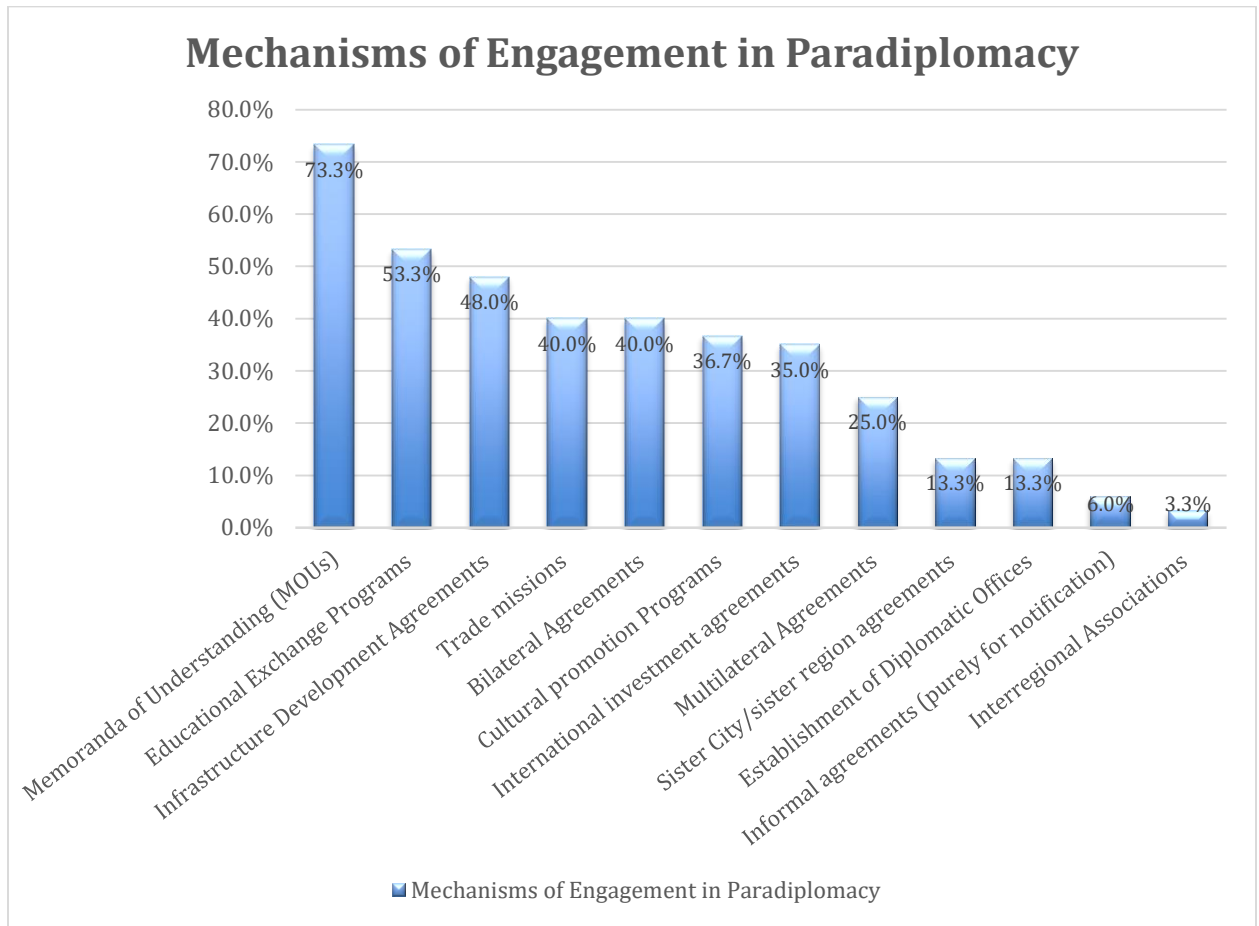


This demographic information serves as the fundamental basis for comprehending the viewpoints and experiences of individuals involved in county-level collaborations with international counterparts.

4.3. Mechanisms of Engagement

In this section, we explore the mechanisms used by county governments and their foreign government or international organization partners in their interactions. The data collected from participant's sheds light on the various mechanisms employed in county government international relations as detailed in the chart below:

Figure 3 Mechanisms of Engagement in Paradiplomacy



The findings reveal a diversity of mechanisms employed by county governments in their international relations, highlighting the versatility of their approaches and strategies. These mechanisms are pivotal in facilitating cooperation and collaboration between county governments and international partners.

County governments conduct paradiplomatic engagements with foreign governments and foreign organisations through a variety of channels. The aforementioned mechanisms encompass the implementation composed of international investment agreements to entice foreign investments, bilateral agreements to facilitate targeted cooperation with individual foreign

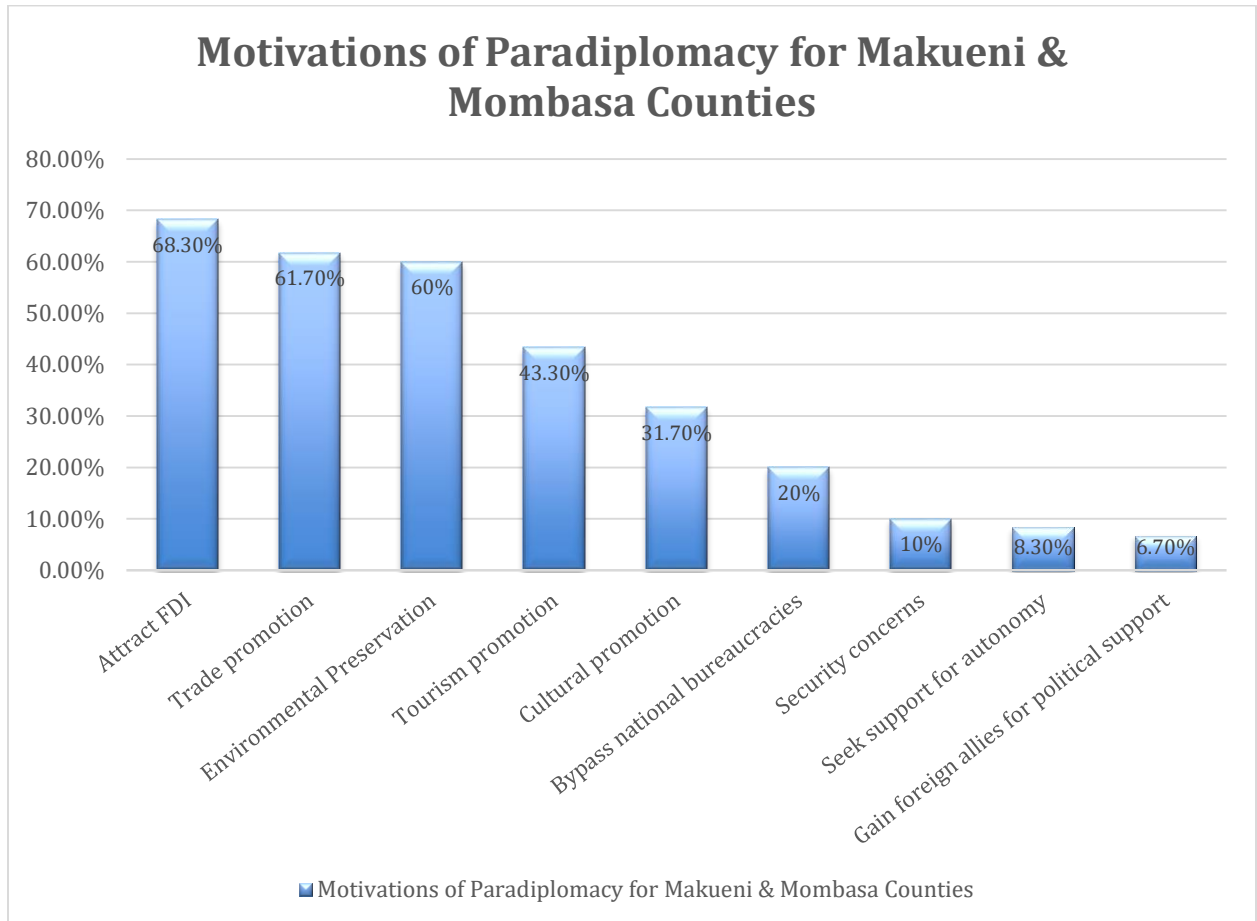
partners, and Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) to formally establish relationships and alliances. Infrastructure development agreements play a pivotal role in facilitating enhancements to the infrastructure of counties, whereas trade missions are proactive platforms for investigating trade prospects and endorsing domestic products. Knowledge transfer and cultural enrichment are facilitated through educational exchange programmes and cultural promotion initiatives. Additionally, county governments some county governments have attempted to establish diplomatic representative offices in foreign countries to support diplomatic activities and foster relationships. County governments exercise prudence when choosing mechanisms to implement, taking into account the sector or issue at hand, the nature of the partnership, and their particular objectives, notwithstanding the wide array of options available. Through the efficient implementation of these mechanisms, county governments engage in international relations in an active manner, thereby stimulating regional economic expansion, fostering cultural interchange, and promoting sustainable development.

The prodigious utilisation of these engagement mechanisms highlights the proactive stance that county governments take in the realm of Kenya's foreign affairs. They acknowledge the significance of working in tandem with foreign governments and international organisations in order to accomplish a diverse range of goals. These mechanisms function as conduits by which county governments can leverage the advantages of global involvement, ultimately making a positive contribution to the economic development and welfare of their citizens. Through active participation in partnerships, agreements, and exchanges with counterparts worldwide, county governments exhibit their dedication to advancing socio-economic development and bolstering the stature of Kenya on the global platform.

4.4. Motivations of Engagement

The study explored the root causes and intentions that propel the participation of county governments in global affairs. The insights gained regarding the principal motivations for county governments' involvement in international relations prove to be illuminating. The results of this study unveil a hierarchical structure regarding the importance attributed to the motives and goals pursued by county governments. This hierarchy is as detailed in the graph below:

Figure 4 Motives behind paradiplomacy by County Governments



4.4.1. Attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

At the forefront of county governments' international efforts is the motivation to attract foreign direct investment (FDI). A substantial 68.3percent of respondents identified this as a paramount objective. County governments recognize that FDI holds the potential to be a powerful catalyst for economic growth, as it can generate employment, enhance infrastructure development, and bolster the prosperity of their regions.

This finding is consistent with other scholar's findings about paradiplomacy in Africa. For instance with reference to paradiplomacy in South Africa, Nganje found that the paramount objective of provinces was to be commercial diplomacy, aimed at facilitating market entry and attract foreign direct investment.⁵⁷

4.4.2. Trade Promotion

In close sequential order, trade development is ranked as the second most important goal, as pointed out by 61.7percent of those surveyed. County governments actively participate in international trade initiatives with the objectives of fostering economic expansion, supporting domestic industries, and accessing untapped markets for their goods. This finding is in line with Kamiński's proposition that sub-state entities increasingly turn to economic matters as a means to find allies internationally in order to advance their economic interests abroad while also increasing regional competitiveness within the nation.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Nganje, "The Developmental Paradiplomacy of South African Provinces: Context, Scope and the Challenge of Coordination."

⁵⁸ Kamiński, "Paradiplomacy – Discourse Analysis and Research Conceptualization."

4.4.3.Environmental Preservation and Climate Change

Mitigation

Safeguarding the environment and efforts to mitigate impacts of climate change occupy the third position in the hierarchy of motivations. Notably, 60percent of the participants identified the pivotal significance of their involvement in international endeavours to mitigate global warming and safeguard the planet for posterity.

Scholars Cunha and Rei offer explanation to similar phenomena by explaining that climate changes traverse the territorial boundaries of the state because environmental balances exist as ecological continuums that transcend the territories subject to state sovereignty.⁵⁹ Environmental problems have repercussions that are inevitably and profoundly experienced on an international scale. Asserting a sense of accountability towards addressing environmental issues at every level of governance is important due to the duality of effects at both grass-root and global level.

4.4.4.Tourism Promotion

Tourism promotion follows, with 43.3 percent of respondents recognizing its value. County governments actively strive to attract international visitors by showcasing their region's distinctive attractions and cultural heritage, thereby driving tourism and spurring local economic growth. In Kenya and beyond, tourism promotion has emerged as a prominent paradiplomatic objective. Utomo proposed that tourism attracts the interest of subnational governments across the globe because of its capacity to expand various sectors of the modern day creative economy.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Cunha and Rei, "The Environmental Paradiplomacy In New International Governance."

⁶⁰ Utomo, "Paradiplomacy As the Product of State Transformation in the Era of Globalisation: The Case of Indonesia."

The counties of Mombasa and Makueni have also acknowledged the tactical value of integrating tourism promotion into their paradiplomatic endeavours. The counties proactively advertise unique tourism products, including the opportunities for experiencing niche locations such as the white sand beaches along the Mombasa shoreline and the Chyulu and Tsavo national parks.

4.4.5. Cultural Promotion and Exchange

Cultural promotion and exchange occupy the next tier, with a significant 31.7percent of respondents highlighting its relevance. County governments proactively strive to showcase and enhance their cultural affluence in order to cultivate global awareness and reverence for their distinct customs and traditions. Furthermore, they endeavour to ensure that their traditions, practises and artwork are not only extensively acknowledged but also favoured on an international level. An exemplary illustration of such endeavours can be observed in the promotion of traditional woodwork crafts in Makueni County. In order to foster the growth of this industry, the county government has formed a cooperative union and provides consistent support for its initiatives, including sponsorships to local and international exhibitions and inclusion in trade missions. In addition, it has been observed that the county government bestows gifts and awards consisting of elaborate traditional artworks upon their significant global development partners, thus enhancing the worldwide recognition of their art.

These results are consistent with Zamorano and Morató's assertion that cultural paradiplomacy comprises of elements beyond mere mechanisms of cultural exchange.⁶¹ Rather,

⁶¹ Zamorano and Morató, "The Cultural Paradiplomacy of Barcelona since the 1980s: Understanding Transformations in Local Cultural Paradiplomacy."

it is a comprehensive concept that encompasses a wide range of intellectual and artistic exchanges among nations and regions.

4.4.6.Circumventing National Bureaucracies and Procedures

20 percent of participants cited the intention to bypass national bureaucracies and procedures as a motivation. County governments believe that by-passing bureaucratic obstacles can accelerate development initiatives. In their perceptive analysis, Mukti et al. suggest that sub-state actors across the globe have utilised their capacity to facilitate the engagement of non-state actors—including community groups, financial interest groups, international businesses, and non-governmental organizations—to engage actively in global issues without being constrained by the national government.⁶² By getting around the central government, both Makueni and Mombasa counties are capitalising on the capacity of non-state actors to interact directly with foreign parties at grass-root levels. It then becomes tactically essential for bypassing redundancies within the national government.

4.4.7.Seeking Support for Autonomy from the State

Additional findings indicated that county governments actively seek out international collaborations in order to enhance their self-governance and regional autonomy. Although a lesser proportion of participants (8.3 percent) indicated that they believed that the county governments were pursuing support so as to secede from the state, it was noted that it appeared to be a motivation for some county governments.

Dickson's points out that sub-state diplomats play an essential part within the framework of subnational governments striving for autonomy from the state. In regions that desire to break

⁶² Mukti et al., “Paradiplomacy Policies and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia and Korea.”

away from the state or profoundly reconfigure the balance of authority between the central government and its subunits.⁶³ Paradiplomacy is a strategy frequently employed by these regions to gain support for their separatist goals. Dickson's observations emphasise that in their quest for autonomy from the power structure, subnational administrations may be particularly compelled to utilise paradiplomacy as a strategic instrument.

4.4.8. Addressing Safety and Security Concerns

Around ten percent of the participants cited the resolution of security and safety concerns as a significant goal. At the centre, county governments are limited in matters of security and thus seek international partnerships that will improve their communities by bolstering security and safety initiatives. By means of promoting localised collaboration, paradiplomacy proves to be an effective tool in the pursuit of peace and security at the global level. Although it may have retained a relatively low profile, its importance cannot be denied.

Cornago contends that paradiplomacy, in its capacity to foster collaboration among regions, has been instrumental in the functioning of organisations such as the Council of Europe since the wake of the Second World War.⁶⁴ Precedents in history such as the twinning of towns developed, emphasising the necessity for novel avenues of dialogue between formerly hostile entities. Such applications of paradiplomacy are numerous in history including during the Cold War where it was an instrument used for encouraging cooperation and reduce hostilities between groups from diverse military coalitions. The practise thus has potential to foster collaboration and discourse renders it a valuable instrument in the pursuit of global security.

⁶³ Dickson, "Paradiplomacy and the State of the Nation. A Comparative Analysis."

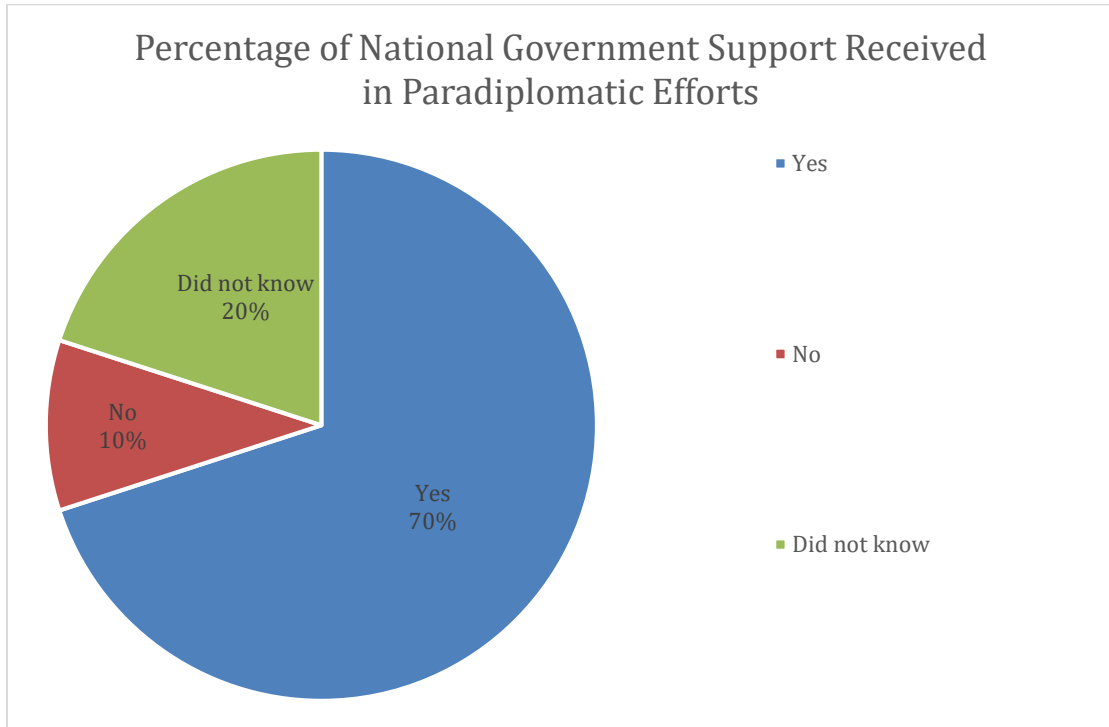
⁶⁴ Cornago, "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy in the Redefinition of International Security: Dimensions of Conflict and Co - Operation."

The hierarchical structure of motivations exemplifies the ever-evolving position of county governments in the realm of international relations. In this regard, their proactive involvement on the global stage and commitment to the welfare of the people they represent converge with socio-economic development through the promotion of trade, investments, tourism cultural and environmental preservation as leading objectives. These results shed light on the varied array of motivations that propel the paradiplomatic endeavours of the county governments of Mombasa and Makueni. In order to fully perceive the significance of county governments on international relations in Kenya, it is vital to have an understanding of these motives.

4.5. The Role of the National Government in Enabling Paradiplomacy

A crucial element in this research pertains to the manner in which the national government facilitates county governments to interact with foreign and international organisations. According to the study results, a significant majority of the participants 70 percent recognised the proactive engagement of the national government in advising and assisting county governments throughout their engagements with foreign counterparts.

Figure 5 National Government Support Received in Paradiplomatic Efforts



Participants cited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a significant actor in this endeavour, as it governs and provides counsel to county governments concerning their global interactions. It ensures that the endeavours of county administrations are in accordance with the goals of the state's foreign policy by as the governing body.

Furthermore, our analysis underlines that the regulatory strategy of the national government is evident in the establishment of institutional frameworks that dictate the interactions between county governments and foreign and international entities. this ensures that county governments' interactions with international partners remain within predetermined parameters.

Furthermore, this study points out the criticality of coordination and consultation between appropriate national authorities and county governments. It often proves necessary for county governments to obtain the advice and consent of the national government prior to establishing

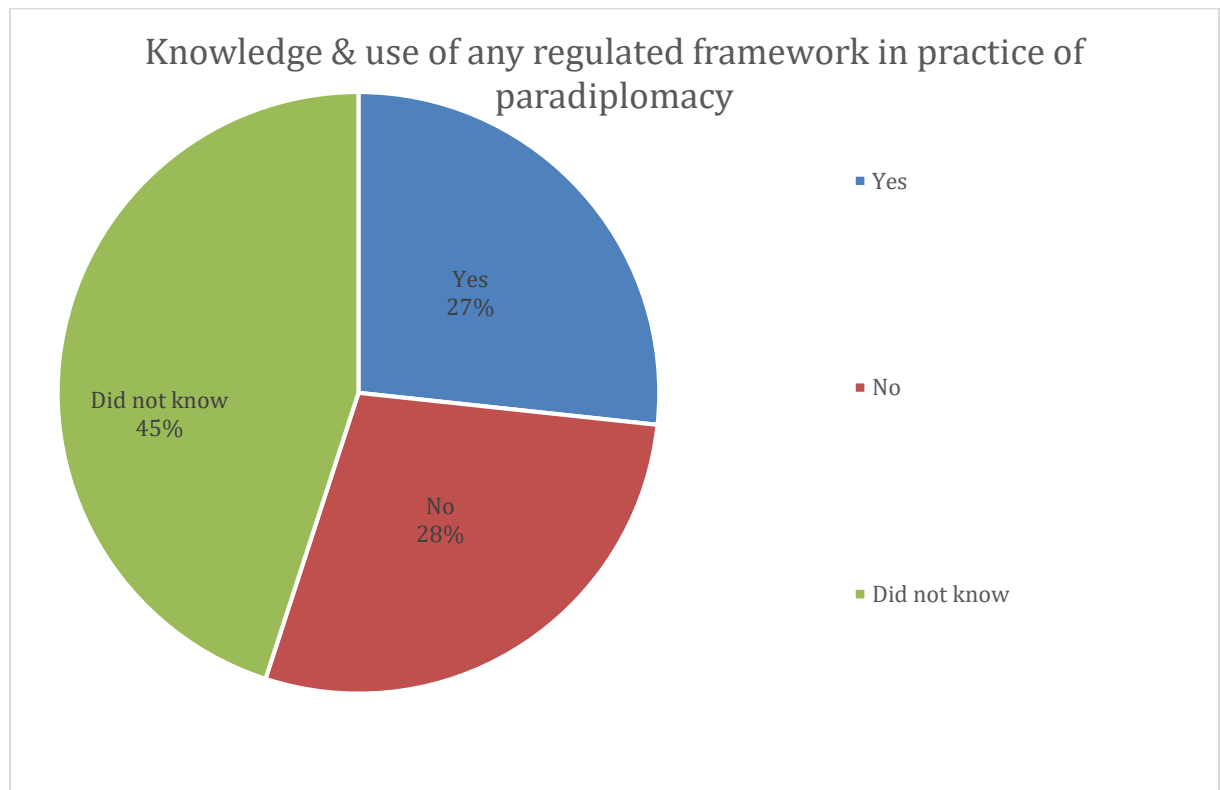
accords with foreign and international organisations. When the engagement is with a foreign government then, at the very least, the national government must issue a letter of no objection for engagement to commence. This guarantees a unified and coherent methodology in the international relations of the state.

4.6. Regulatory Framework of Paradiplomacy

This research examined the necessity of implementing regulations on the participation of county governments in paradiplomacy. A substantial 88.3 percent of those surveyed indicated their concurrence regarding the indispensability of regulation. Nevertheless, the study revealed a substantial deficiency in the legal frameworks governing the subject matter, both at the national and county levels. In lieu of regulating procedure with specialised legislation, specific stipulations or clauses from pre-existing legislation were applied judiciously to particular categories of engagements. For example, the Public Finance Management Act (PFM act), for instance, was cited in legal proceedings concerning public-private partnerships (PPPs). However, a significant deficiency existed in the form of a comprehensive legal or regulatory framework to supervise the routine implementation of paradiplomacy.

A mere 26.7 percent of the participants in the survey acknowledged the utilisation of regulatory structures designed for guiding the interactions of county governments with foreign and international organisations. This is a concerning minority, given that 85 percent of the respondents were actively engaged in paradiplomatic activities.

Figure 6 Knowledge & use of any regulated framework in practice of paradiplomacy



Additionally, only 66.7 percent of the participants indicated that they made reference to Kenya's foreign policy during these interactions. This suggests that a third of interactions took place without any effort to guarantee conformity with the foreign policy of the state.

The aforementioned results emphasise the dire necessity of implementing legal and regulatory frameworks coherent with Kenya's foreign policy to guide county governments international engagements. This underscores the necessity for a methodical and synchronised strategy towards paradiplomacy within the nation, which would rectify the current deficiencies in the regulatory framework.'

4.7. Challenges to Paradiplomacy in Kenya

The study examined the barriers and difficulties that county administrations face when interacting with international and foreign partners. The perspectives acquired from participants in the investigation provide illumination regarding the challenges and barriers encountered by county governments in their diplomatic engagements.

An important obstacle that has been recognised is the restricted legal jurisdiction of county administrations with regard to their engagement in international relations. A significant proportion of participants - 63.3 percent highlighted the fact that foreign policy is predominantly centralised at the national level, presenting a substantial obstacle.

The lack of laws and regulations at the county level to facilitate international engagements, even when such engagements are sanctioned by the national government, is an additional significant barrier as indicated by 51.7 percent of the participants in the study. In instances where the national government issue letters of no objection, or initiate the contact of counties with foreign partners, counties have no standard operating procedures on how to progress. This makes monitoring and evaluation or any form of oversight incredibly problematic.

Furthermore, a significant proportion of respondents (66.7%) cited the constraint of human capital as a barrier to successful international participation. Additionally, a considerable proportion of respondents (48%), acknowledged the difficulty posed by inadequate financial means to bolster international relations initiatives.

Furthermore, 21.7 percent of those surveyed identified resistance from the national government as a major hurdle. an additional 36.7 percent of the survey participants indicated that

they believed county governments posed an infringement to the supremacy of national government with regards to foreign policy.

Moreover, an additional 36.7 percent of the participants identified the problem of lacking legitimacy as international actors among the international community as something to contend with. This matter emphasises the necessity for enhanced international acknowledgment and reception of sub national governments who often times offer new perspectives from the perspective of the common *mwananchi*.

On a different note, 50 percent of survey respondents emphasised the lack of coherence and coordination in county-level international relations actions. Counties were noted to lack coherence and precision in international engagement which are critical components for success.

Furthermore, it was noted by 28.3 percent of the participants that county-level intelligence resources were limited and that there was inadequate access to relevant global data required to inform diplomatic action at the county level. This is a major concern as it is vital to have access to trustworthy information in order to make well-informed decisions. In addition, counties lack mandate and resources to handle both domestic and global security concerns.

Cultural and linguistic obstacles underscore the criticality of proficient dialogue and mutual comprehension in the context of global affairs. Thus it is encouraging that only 6.7 percent of those interviewed indicated that they encountered cultural and linguistic obstacles when interacting with foreign counterparts.

The aforementioned results underscore a variety of obstacles that county governments encounter when engaging in paradiplomacy; these include but are not limited to legal hurdles, insufficient resources, coordination difficulties, and cultural impediments. Comprehending these

obstacles is critical for scholars, policymakers and stakeholders who seek to augment the efficacy of county government engagement in global diplomacy.

4.8. Paradiplomacy and Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya has garnered worldwide recognition for its protracted involvement in matters of global significance. Nevertheless, the emergence of county governments into Kenya's diplomatic pursuits has brought about an unprecedented aspect to the nation's foreign policy environment. It is of the utmost importance to determine how this shifting landscape impacts the nation's foreign policy and international strategic objectives.

4.8.1. Benefits to Kenya's Foreign Policy:

According to the study, 81.67 percent of participants hold the view that the diplomatic endeavours of county administrations contribute to the multiplicity of viewpoints in Kenya's foreign policy. This illustrates the beneficial contribution of paradiplomacy towards a more holistic approach to foreign policy. The inclusion of county administrations in international relations could enable Kenya to appropriately represent a wider range of perspectives.

In addition, 78.33 percent of the people surveyed believe that county governments have the capacity to promote peace and stability at the regional level through conflict resolution and conciliation initiatives. This supports the Kenya's foreign policy objective of regional stability and suggests that paradiplomacy could serve as an effective instrument in advancing harmony.

The findings indicate that a substantial majority of participants, 91.67 percent, concur that county governments play a crucial role in fostering trade and facilitating foreign investment, thereby supporting the foreign policy goals of the state. This illustrates the capacity of county governments to foster prosperity through the expansion of the economy.

Additional findings indicate that 76.67 percent of subjects hold the belief that county governments contribute to Kenya's soft power diplomacy through the facilitation of positive relations with foreign governments at the grass-root level. This contributes to Kenya establishing a favourable global reputation, which is advantageous for the country's foreign policy goals.

76.67 percent of respondents acknowledged that county governments participate in international environmental programmes with the intention of advancing foreign policy objectives pertaining to the effects of climate change, sustainability, and the conservation of the environment. This exemplifies the potential of paradiplomacy to effectively tackle worldwide issues, thereby aiding Kenya's foreign policy goals pertaining to sustainable development.

4.8.2.Threats to Kenya’s Foreign Policy:

Contradictory Messages: Although 58.33 percent of the people polled hold the view that the actions of county governments do not convey contradictory information to the global community, 16.67 percent hold this view. This indicates that the country's foreign policy is perceived as inconsistent, which may pose a risk to the country's global profile and development goals.

Deficiency in Diplomatic Skill and Resources: 66.33 percent of those who contributed to the study hold the belief that county governments are deficient in the necessary resources, expertise, and diplomatic finesse to participate in diplomatic activities successfully. Insufficient funding and knowhow may impede the efficacy of paradiplomacy in advancing foreign policy objectives, thereby presenting a potential hurdle.

Sovereignty and Separatism Concerns: 31.67 percent of participants hold the view that the actions of county administrations have the potential to erode the authority of the state and foster

the emergence of separatist movements. This presents a matter of grievous concern given its capacity to disrupt national unity and compromise the state.

Foreign resources committed to county government programmes deflect funds and focus away from the state's foreign policy goals. According to 26.67 percent of interviewees, this preoccupation can be harmful to the accomplishment of essential national foreign policy priorities.

National Security Compromise: Although only 30 percent of those interviewed conceded that county governments participation in foreign activities could potentially jeopardise national security, it remains a substantial threat as vulnerable national security perceptions possess the ability to undermine the nation's foreign policy objectives.

Overall, paradiplomatic efforts of all county government in Kenya's exert both beneficial influences and possible risks on the foreign policy of the Republic of Kenya. Successful collaboration and guidance is crucial in order to optimise the advantages of paradiplomacy whilst minimising any possible risks it may pose to the foreign policy of the state.

4.9. Conclusion

The results laid out in this study indicate that county administrations in Kenya, particularly in Makueni and Mombasa, have effectively implemented paradiplomatic initiatives, thereby augmenting the foreign policy environment of Kenya as a whole. These endeavours significantly contribute to the augmentation of Kenya's involvement in the global community. The chapter has delineated a multitude of incentives, obstacles, and the national government's function in facilitating paradiplomacy.

A significant insight derived pertains to the wide range of incentives that propel county governments towards engaging in paradiplomatic pursuits. Among these are the following:

inviting foreign direct investment, promoting trade, safeguarding the environment, promoting tourism, facilitating exchange of culture, bypassing domestic bureaucracies, securing support for autonomy, and addressing questions related to security. County governments utilise a diverse range of mechanisms in order to promote the development of their own regions and aid in the pursuit of the nation's foreign policy objectives.

Nevertheless, the chapter also underscores a number of obstacles that county governments encounter when participating in global affairs. The obstacles encompass a spectrum of challenges including but not limited to difficulties with coordination, cultural barriers, and legal restrictions. Further threats to the state's foreign policy include the possibility of inconsistencies in communications, inadequacies in diplomatic capabilities and resources, concerns regarding supremacy and independence, and breaches to national security.

In summary, the debut of county governments in the realm of global affairs offers Kenya's foreign policy a range of prospects and obstacles. County governments have the potential to infuse Kenya with renewed energy, promote prosperity, nurture peace in the region, and bolster the country's international standing. But it is imperative that these endeavours are meticulously organised and directed by legal and regulatory frameworks that are in line with the foreign policy priorities of Kenya. By effectively tackling these obstacles and capitalising on the advantages, Kenya can maximise the success of county administrations in furthering its foreign policy objectives while mitigating possible threats. This chapter emphasises the necessity of implementing a methodical and coordinated strategy towards paradiplomacy at the national level in order to address the existing shortcomings in the legal framework and improve the effectiveness of county government involvement in international relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter functions as the pinnacle of this research study. It provides a comprehensive overview of the study's goals, approaches, and the extensive knowledge accumulated during inquiry. In this concluding section, a summary of discoveries and deductions is laid out in order to enhance comprehension of the topic and furnish pragmatic perspectives for academics and policymakers. Moreover, the significance of creating a foundation for subsequent inquiries is set through recognition that the investigation on the participation of county governments in international relations is merely a preliminary stride towards a more comprehensive understanding of this dynamic field.

5.2. Summary of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to acquire an in-depth comprehension of the ways in which the county governments of Makueni and Mombasa participate in global affairs. This investigation would go into the rationales, hurdles, and consequences of paradiplomacy on Kenya's foreign policy. The results unveiled a dynamic ecosystem within county governments international actions.

It was found that county governments engage in international politics for a variety of reasons, such as facilitating the exchange of culture, attracting foreign direct investment, fostering trade, dealing with threats to security, bringing in tourists, and avoiding redundancies caused by

government bureaucracy. These factors demonstrate a proactive stance towards international cooperation and socioeconomic progress.

Additionally, the research demonstrated that the involvement of the national government in providing counsel and support to county governments regarding their diplomatic endeavours was vital. With regards to ensuring congruence with the foreign policy objectives of the state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was especially recognised as pivotal stakeholder. Given the absence of an extensive legal and regulatory framework, resulting in the ad hoc application of existing legislation, this is especially urgent. Nevertheless, the significance of overseeing the paradiplomatic activities of county governments was universally agreed upon.

Furthermore, the research findings indicate that county administrations face an extensive array of obstacles, such as hurdles related to coordination, differences in culture, credibility concerns, and legislative limitations. Risks that have been identified include dangers to national security, inconsistent communications, shortcomings in diplomatic skills, worries regarding sovereignty, and the redirection of resources away from national foreign policy priorities.

5.2.1.Hypotheses Evaluation

The following is the outcome arrived through the investigation in comparison of the presented hypotheses:

a) Hypothesis 1 posits that county governments' participation in paradiplomacy fosters economic development and attracts foreign direct investment. Our findings corroborate this hypothesis, which identifies fostering trade and foreign direct investment as primary drivers and outcome domains of paradiplomacy.

b) Hypothesis 2 posits that county administrations' paradiplomatic activities are founded on by socio-economic interest. The results of the study provide support for this hypothesis by demonstrating a range of socio-economic motivations.

c) Hypothesis 3 posits that county governments execute paradiplomatic endeavours that serve to complement and support the state's foreign policy objectives. The results support this as counties are found to pursue economic prosperity, regional peace and stability, cultural exchange, and environmental conservation.

5.3. Conclusions

The findings of this research, which have been pointed out in the previous sections, offer significant knowledge regarding the incentives, advantages, and difficulties linked to this developing aspect of Kenya's diplomatic relations. The findings of our research have shed light on a wide array of incentives that propel the county governments of Mombasa and Makueni to take a proactive role in paradiplomacy. In order to accomplish these objectives, the counties utilise an array of strategies, which demonstrates their assertive nature and dedication to improving their socioeconomic status.

It was determined that county government participation in paradiplomacy could substantially improve the achievement of Kenya's foreign policy priorities. A significant percentage of those who participated in our research hold the belief that county governments have the capacity to augment the spectrum of perspectives in Kenya's foreign policy, encourage positive relations with foreign governments, support economic expansion, and contribute to the resolution of global environmental problems. The aforementioned advantages serve as evidence of the capacity county administrations possess to foster a more comprehensive foreign policy for Kenya.

Nonetheless, prospective hazards and obstacles associated with county government paradiplomacy were also revealed by the findings. These uncertainties comprise of issues which include inconsistencies in communications to the international community, inadequacies in diplomatic competencies and resources, issues related to sovereignty and separatism, the reallocation of foreign resources in opposition to the essential objectives of national foreign policy, and possible threats to national security. It is of the utmost importance to mitigate the risks and maximise the benefits of county government paradiplomacy by tackling these issues.

5.4. Recommendations

Based on the results obtained, the subsequent suggestions are provided to assist policymakers, county governments, and other relevant parties to maximise the benefits of paradiplomacy in addition minimising the threats that it entails.

5.4.1. Formulation of a Legal and Regulatory Framework

A necessity is the establishment of all-encompassing legal and regulatory structures, spanning from the local to the national level, to oversee the execution of paradiplomacy. It is recommended that state and local governments work together in order to develop these frameworks, with consideration for the specific requirements and conditions of each county.

5.4.2. Coordination and Guidance

It is crucial to improve the level of coordination and consultation between county governments and national authorities. By adopting this partnership-based strategy, Kenya's international relations will be guided by a seamless and unified approach. Integration and efficient communication between the national and county levels are indispensable for the nation to accomplish its foreign policy goals.

5.4.3. Increasing the Capacity of Intelligence

In order to optimise the efficacy of paradiplomacy by county governments, county-level intelligence resources must be fortified. In order to identify opportunities and challenges in international engagements and to make sound choices, access to pertinent universal information and analysis is crucial. Counties ought to allocate resources towards enhancing their intelligence capacities in order to bolster their diplomatic endeavours and advance national security and foreign policy objectives.

5.4.4. Ongoing Assessment and Improvement

It is recommended that county governments institute systems in place to consistently assess and enhance their international involvements. Periodic evaluations must be incorporated into this system to ascertain that its operations maintain alignment with the intentions of national foreign policy. It is imperative for county governments to be receptive to input from others, adaptable in response to emerging situations, and diligent in honing their tactics in accordance with the emerging national priorities.

5.4.5. Stakeholder Participation

It is imperative to actively involve a diverse array of stakeholders, such as diplomatic envoys, civil society organisations, and multinational collaborators. County governments ought to proactively pursue relationships and alliances with these interested parties in order to promote the progress of their global endeavours. Collaborations may offer paradiplomacy initiatives invaluable resources, skills, and guidance.

5.4.6.Public Engagement and Awareness

Additionally, county administrations should place citizen participation and inclusion at the forefront of their global efforts. Demonstrating to the populace the objectives, results, and advantages of paradiplomacy can cultivate backing and nurture a feeling of proprietorship within the populace. In global politics, responsibility and openness can bolster the credibility of actions taken by county governments.

5.4.7.Capacity Development

The implementation of programmes to strengthen capacity would furnish county government officials with the essential competencies and understanding required to engage in effective paradiplomacy. Providing county officials with instruction in mediation and negotiation would significantly augment their success in the global sphere.

5.4.8.Research and the Exchange of Knowledge

For the advancement of paradiplomacy in Kenya as a discipline, county administrations should conduct investigations and exchange information. This entails the dissemination of effective approaches, standards of excellence, and insights gained to and from other counties and national authorities. The influence of paradiplomatic activity on global politics, foreign policy, and economic development can be understood with greater clarity through interconnected study initiatives.

5.4.9.Evaluation and Revision of Foreign Policy

At regular intervals, national authorities ought to assess and revise Kenya's foreign policy in order to align with the evolution of status quo at the grass-root level on the global stage. This

evaluation ought to encompass an assessment of the merits, drawbacks, and potential advantages that county government paradiplomacy offers, while also verifying the continued applicability and attainability of foreign policy goals.

5.5. Areas for Further Study

In order to enhance our comprehension of county government paradiplomacy in Kenya additional research is required to address current voids in knowledge, offer perspectives on emergent trends, and guide subsequent policymaking and academic investigation. Study may be in the areas listed below and beyond:

- a) Evaluation of the Effects of County Government Paradiplomacy on national security, regional stability, and economic growth.
- b) examination of public sentiment and opinion regarding paradiplomacy by county governments to establish the level of citizen inclusion and consciousness surrounding global affairs.
- c) Comparative Evaluation of Paradiplomatic actions of various County Governments.
- d) an inquiry into the capacity and competence of county government representatives in the realm of international diplomacy and negotiations.

Bibliography

- Bahles, Michael. "Diplomatic Skills Used for International Marketing Practice." *Central European Business Review* 3, no. 4 (2014): 37–42.
- Cornago, Noé. "Diplomacy and Paradiplomacy in the Redefinition of International Security : Dimensions of Conflict and Co - Operation." *Regional & Federal Studies* 9, no. 1 (2014): 40–57.
- . "Exploring the Global Dimensions of Paradiplomacy. Functional and Normative Dynamics in the Global Spreading of Subnational Involvement in International Affairs." *Workshop on Constituent Units in International Affairs*, no. 613 (2000): 1–24.
- Cunha, Kamyla, and Fernando Rei. "The Environmental Paradiplomacy In New International Governance," 2019, 563.
- Dickson, Francesca. "Paradiplomacy and the State of the Nation. A Comparative Analysis." Cardiff University Submitted, 2017.
- Eni. "AICS, the Embassy of Italy in Nairobi and Eni Kick off the Programme SEMAKENYA II to Promote Agro-Ecology and Biofuels in the Country," December 8, 2022. <https://www.eni.com/en-IT/media/news/2022/12/kick-off-the-programme-semakenya-ii.html>.
- Farrant, Amanda. "Picture Power: Understanding Christian Aid 's Impact through a Community Lens," 2015. <https://www.christianaid.org.uk/resources/about-us/picture-power-understanding-impact-through-community-lens>.
- Government of Makueni County. "Makueni's Indigenous Knowledge Patented for Profits," 2023.

Helms, Ronald G. *Sister Cities International: A Global Citizen Diplomacy Network*. *Global Education Journal*. Wright State University, 2016.

https://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/teacher_education/28/.

Kamiński, Tomasz. “Paradiplomacy – Discourse Analysis and Research Conceptualization.” *Paradiplomacy in Asia. Case Studies of China, India and Russia*, 2018.

<https://doi.org/10.18778/8088-615-5.02>.

Koybasi, Fatma, and Celal Teyyar Ugurlu. “The Factors That Influence Bureaucracy and Professionalism in Schools: A Grounded Theory Study.” *Journal of Education and Practice* 8, no. 8 (2017): 196–207.

<http://ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ1139040&site=ehost-live>.

Magone, José M. “Paradiplomacy Revisited: The Structure of Opportunities of Global Governance and Regional Actors.” *The International Relations of the Regions: Sub- -National Actors, Para-Diplomacy and Multi-Level Governance*, 2006, 1–36.

<http://www.paradiplomacia.org/upload/downloads/66fc7ecc666b857d415ee890307ab79cjosemagonefinal.pdf%5Cnhttps://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5768474.pdf>.

Michigan State University. *USAID Empowered Youth Program. Quarterly Report October – December 2022*. USAID, 2023.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. “County Officials Trained on International and Diplomatic Engagements,” n.d. <https://mfa.go.ke/county-officials-trained-on-international-and-diplomatic-engagements/>.

Ministry of Industrialization and Enterprise Development. “Project Master Plan for Development

of Mombasa Special Economic Zone.” Edited by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 2015.

Mukti, Takdir Ali, Laode Muhammad Fathun, Ali Muhammad, Stivani Ismawira Sinambela, and Sugeng Riyanto. “Paradiplomacy Policies and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia and Korea.” *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 9, no. 2 (2021): 139–52. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jhi.v9i2.8931>.

Nairobi City County. “Nairobi City and the City of Raleigh, North Carolina Ink Twinning Agreement.” Accessed September 9, 2023. <https://nairobi.go.ke/nairobi-city-city-raleigh-north-carolina-ink-twinning-agreement/>.

National Council for Law Reporting. The Public Private Partnerships Act (2021).

Nganje, Fritz. “The Developmental Paradiplomacy of South African Provinces: Context, Scope and the Challenge of Coordination.” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 9, no. 2 (2014): 119–49. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-12341273>.

Nyakundi, Patrick. “Makueni, Italy Signs Agreement to Pilot Castor Growing.” *Kenya News Agency*. December 14, 2022.

Republic of Kenya. Constitution of Kenya, National Council for Law Reporting § (2010). http://www.parliament.go.ke/sites/default/files/2017-05/The_Constitution_of_Kenya_2010.pdf.

Ryniejska – Kiędanowicz, Marta. “Cultural Diplomacy as a Form of International Communication.” *Institute for Public Relations BledCom Special Prize*, 2009, 1–21. http://www.instituteforpr.org/wp-content/uploads/Ryniejska_Kiędanowicz.pdf.

- Taliaferro, Jeffrey W, Steven E Lobell, and Norrin M Ripsman. "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy." In *The Realism Reader*, 253–58. Routledge, 2014.
- The Movement for Community-led Development. "Makueni County Launches School for CLD," 2023.
- The Star Newspaper. "Governor Nassir Hosts Danish Foreign Minister Rasmussen," August 22, 2023. <https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2023-08-22-governor-nassir-hosts-danish-foreign-minister-rasmussen/>.
- Utomo, Ario Bimo. "Paradiplomacy As the Product of State Transformation in the Era of Globalisation: The Case of Indonesia." *Janus.Net, e-Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 1 (2022): 63–78. <https://doi.org/10.26619/1647-7251.13.1.5>.
- Zamorano, Mariano Martín, and Arturo Rodríguez Morató. "The Cultural Paradiplomacy of Barcelona since the 1980s: Understanding Transformations in Local Cultural Paradiplomacy." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 5 (2015): 554–76.

Appendices

A. Appendix I: Questionnaire

Section	Question	Response Options/Format
1	Name (optional)	
2	Position/Role	
3	Does your role operations entail engagement between county government and international partners?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
		No <input type="checkbox"/>
4	Which of these organizations do you best align with?	<input type="checkbox"/> County Government - Makueni county
		<input type="checkbox"/> County Government - Mombasa county
		<input type="checkbox"/> County Government - all other counties
		National Government <input type="checkbox"/>
		Non-Governmental Organization <input type="checkbox"/>
		International Donor/aid agency <input type="checkbox"/>
		Embassy/High commission <input type="checkbox"/>
		Other
5	Are you aware of any engagements between county governments and foreign/international organization?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
		No <input type="checkbox"/>
6	If you answered yes above to what extent is the engagement?	1 – Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>
		2 - To a limited extent <input type="checkbox"/>
		3 – Moderately <input type="checkbox"/>
		4 – Extensively <input type="checkbox"/>
7	What are the primary objectives or motivations behind the engagement of county governments and foreign/international organization? Tick all that apply.	<input type="checkbox"/> Attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
		Trade promotion <input type="checkbox"/>
		Tourism promotion <input type="checkbox"/>
		Seek support for autonomy from the state <input type="checkbox"/>
		Gain foreign allies for political support & influence <input type="checkbox"/>

		To circumvent national bureaucracies and procedures that may delay or derail development <input type="checkbox"/>
		Cultural promotion and exchange <input type="checkbox"/>
		Address safety and security concerns <input type="checkbox"/>
		Environmental Preservation and climate change mitigation <input type="checkbox"/>
		Other <input type="checkbox"/>
	If "other" please provide more details	
8	What engagement mechanisms is used between the county government and foreign/international organizations? Tick all that apply.	Bilateral Agreements <input type="checkbox"/> Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) <input type="checkbox"/> International investment agreements <input type="checkbox"/> Trade missions <input type="checkbox"/> Infrastructure Development Agreements <input type="checkbox"/> Interregional Associations <input type="checkbox"/> Sister City/sister region agreements <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural promotion Programs <input type="checkbox"/> Educational Exchange Programs <input type="checkbox"/> Diplomatic Representation <input type="checkbox"/> Legal Frameworks <input type="checkbox"/> Consultation and Coordination <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>

	If "other" please provide more details	
9	Does the county government have policy documents to guide engagement with foreign/international partners?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
		No <input type="checkbox"/>
10	Does the county government rely on national instruments to guide engagement with foreign/international partners?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
		No <input type="checkbox"/>
11	Does the national government support the engagement of county governments with foreign/international partners?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
		No <input type="checkbox"/>
12	What challenges or obstacles have you observed as relating to the engagement of counties and international/foreign partners? Tick all that apply.	Limited Legal Authority to engage in international relations/ centralization of foreign policy by national governments. <input type="checkbox"/>
		Lack of county legal instrument to engage in international relation even when approved by the national government. <input type="checkbox"/>
		Limited human resources compared to engage in international relations. <input type="checkbox"/>
		Limited financial compared to engage in international relations. <input type="checkbox"/>
		Political Opposition by the national government due to perceived challenge of its authority/ national foreign policy.

		<p>Lack of Recognition as legitimate international actors by the international community. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Poor coordination and/or coherence of international relations efforts at the county level. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Limitation on intelligence resources thus there is a lack access to relevant international information to inform decision making on international relations <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Cultural and Linguistic Barriers with international partners. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Limited authority and resources to address security issues effectively. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Other <input type="checkbox"/></p>
	If "other" please provide more details	
13	In your opinion, do the diplomatic activities of county government impact Kenya's national foreign policy?	<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>No <input type="checkbox"/></p>

4	Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a.	County governments engaging in their own foreign activities may send conflicting messages to the international community, undermining the central government's foreign policy objectives and creating confusion.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Diplomatic activities of counties undermining national unity and hinder the ability to present a unified foreign policy front.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	County governments overreach by trying to participate in international relations as they lack the resources, expertise, or diplomatic finesse to effectively engage in diplomacy thus their actions could lead to diplomatic missteps and damage the country's reputation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	The involvement of county governments in trade negotiations may pursue interests that do not align with the national foreign policy. This can lead to trade disputes and conflicts with trading partners, affecting the country's overall trade relationships.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	The participation of county governments in international relations can lead to a loss of control over the country's foreign policy and undermine the national governments authority.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	The participation of county governments in international relations threatens the nations sovereignty.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Foreign aid/funds/resources directed to county government initiatives, divert funding and attention from national foreign policy priorities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Diplomatic activities of counties exacerbate internal tensions, as counties compete for foreign investments or international recognition. These tensions can spill over into national foreign policy and damage diplomatic relationships.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Actions by county governments that are perceived negatively by other countries can lead to international isolation or backlash, harming	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	the country's ability to pursue its foreign policy goals effectively.					
j.	Diplomatic activities of counties lead to a fragmented foreign policy landscape with different counties pursuing their own foreign agendas. This fragmentation can make it challenging to coordinate a coherent national foreign policy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k.	County governments engaging in foreign activities compromise national security and threaten the country's sovereignty if not properly coordinated with the national government.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5	Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a.	Diplomatic efforts of county governments enable them to voice their unique perspectives and interests on the international stage. This diversity of voices can enrich the country's foreign policy discussions and provide a more comprehensive approach to global issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	County governments can engage in conflict resolution efforts by fostering peace and stability at the regional level, paradplomacy can contribute to a more peaceful and cooperative national foreign policy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	County governments enhance attraction of foreign investment and promote regional exports, aligning with the national foreign policy objective of expanding economic ties and fostering international trade agreements.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	County governments engage in cultural diplomacy, showcasing their region's cultural heritage and identity. This enhances the country's soft power, and influences foreign policy by fostering goodwill and stronger international relationships.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Environmental Diplomacy: In cases where environmental concerns align with regional interests,	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

f.	County Governments engage in international initiatives to support foreign policy objectives related to sustainability, climate change and environmental preservation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	County governments contribute to the prevention of conflicts or disputes with neighbouring regions or countries. By maintaining peace and stability at the regional level, the national foreign policy can focus on proactive conflict prevention rather than crisis management.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Appendix IV: Plagiarism Report

The Role of Sub-National Units of Government in International Relations. A Study of the County Governments of Makueni and Mombasa in Kenya

ORIGINALITY REPORT

6%

SIMILARITY INDEX

6%

INTERNET SOURCES

2%

PUBLICATIONS

2%

STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1

erepository.uonbi.ac.ke

Internet Source

1%

2

erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080

Internet Source

1%

3

etd.aau.edu.et

Internet Source

<1%

4

www.shsu.edu

Internet Source

<1%

5

dokumen.pub

Internet Source

<1%

6

David Crikemans. "Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today", Brill, 2010

Publication

<1%

7

Submitted to The Sage Colleges

Student Paper

<1%

8

orca.cf.ac.uk

Internet Source

<1%