



International Journal  
Social and Political Sciences



## Local Government as Linkage Actors: Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy in the United States

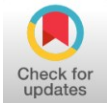
Grace Natali Simbolon<sup>1</sup>, Leony Agustin<sup>2</sup>,  
Ledy Krishonni Sianturi<sup>3</sup>, Mirna Wahyuni<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji, Tanjungpinang City. Indonesia

Corresponding Author: [gnatalisimbolon@gmail.com](mailto:gnatalisimbolon@gmail.com)<sup>1</sup>

<https://doi.org/10.69812/ijspss.v3i1.242>

### Article Info



### Article History

**Received:**

April 19, 2026

**Revised:**

April 25, 2026

**Accepted:**

April 30, 2025

### Abstract:

This article examines local government as linkage actors in shaping the domestic sources of foreign policy in the United States. Although foreign policy is formally understood as the constitutional responsibility of the federal government, contemporary global challenges increasingly intersect with local governance responsibilities. Issues such as trade, foreign investment, climate change, migration, public health, infrastructure development, port governance, and transnational cooperation are experienced directly by states, cities, counties, and regional institutions. Using a qualitative descriptive approach based exclusively on secondary data, this study analyzes academic literature, policy documents, government publications, and institutional materials related to paradiplomacy, federalism, city diplomacy, subnational governance, and Foreign Policy Analysis. The findings show that local governments influence foreign policy not by replacing federal diplomatic authority, but by connecting local interests, regional development priorities, and community needs with broader national and international policy agendas. Local governments perform three major roles: institutional intermediaries that translate global issues into domestic policy responses; functional actors that participate in international arenas through economic, environmental, social, and urban networks; and policy mediators that provide implementation capacity, local knowledge, and policy feedback to federal institutions. The article argues that U.S. foreign policy should not be viewed only as a top-down process produced by national elites, but as a multi-level governance process shaped by interaction among federal, state, and local actors.

**Keyword:** Local Government, Linkage Actors, Domestic Sources



### INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy has long been understood as the formal domain of the national government, particularly in a state such as the United States, where constitutional authority over diplomacy, treaty-making, war, and international negotiation is institutionally concentrated at the federal level. However, the increasing international

engagement of local and state governments challenges the conventional assumption that foreign policy is produced exclusively through national executives, foreign ministries, and federal security institutions. In practice, governors, mayors, county executives, city councils, municipal agencies, state economic development offices, port authorities, universities, and regional development coalitions have become increasingly involved in cross-border cooperation, trade promotion, climate diplomacy, migration governance, humanitarian initiatives, sister-city relations, and international policy advocacy. This article therefore examines local government as linkage actors, namely domestic institutions that connect local needs, regional interests, and transnational opportunities to broader foreign policy processes in the United States (Aldecoa & Keating, 1999; Kuznetsov, 2015; Antunes et al., 2024; Tubilewicz & Omond, 2021).

The central issue addressed in this article is not whether local governments formally replace the federal government in foreign affairs, but how they influence the domestic foundations through which foreign policy is interpreted, contested, implemented, and localized. In the United States, subnational actors often enter international arenas through economic and functional pathways rather than through formal diplomatic authority. States and cities seek foreign investment, promote exports, build international partnerships, participate in climate networks, respond to global health risks, and represent local constituencies affected by international decisions. These activities show that foreign policy is not only a matter of national strategic calculation but also a process shaped by domestic actors whose policy problems are increasingly global in character. Local governments therefore operate as linkage actors because they translate global pressures into local policy agendas while also projecting local priorities into international networks (McMillan, 2008; Kincaid, 1990; Schiavon, 2020; Tatham, 2016).

This article is positioned within the broader literature on paradiplomacy, city diplomacy, federalism, and Foreign Policy Analysis. Previous studies have shown that subnational governments participate in international relations through various forms of cooperation, ranging from economic missions and cultural exchanges to institutionalized offices abroad and transnational policy networks. The paradiplomacy literature has made an important contribution by demonstrating that regions, states, and cities are not passive administrative units but political actors capable of pursuing external engagements according to their institutional capacities and local interests. Nevertheless, much of this scholarship has focused on the visibility of subnational actors in international arenas, while less attention has been given to their role as domestic sources of national foreign policy formation. This article contributes to that gap by treating local governments not merely as external actors but as intermediary institutions that connect domestic governance structures with foreign policy processes (Curtis, 2018; Manfredi-Sánchez, 2022; Adamovská, 2023; Nganje, 2016).

The importance of this issue is particularly evident in the United States because its federal system produces multiple centers of political initiative, policy experimentation, and interest representation. Local governments are directly exposed to the material consequences of globalization, including industrial restructuring, port development, immigration, climate risk, infrastructure competition, tourism flows, supply-chain vulnerability, and international investment. These issues often appear local in administrative form but international in origin and implication. As a result, local governments develop external strategies not simply to gain symbolic visibility, but to secure resources, protect local economies, build resilience, and influence policy choices that affect their jurisdictions. Their international engagement may complement federal

foreign policy, fill implementation gaps, or at times create tension when local priorities diverge from national diplomatic positions (Reinsberg, 2023; Morgan & Bickers, 1992; Fry, 1998; Hocking, 1999).

The United States provides a particularly significant case because local governments engage foreign policy through both formal and informal channels. On the formal side, state governments establish trade offices, organize investment missions, sign memoranda of cooperation, and maintain relations with foreign consulates and international organizations. On the informal side, cities and counties participate in global networks, build technical partnerships, engage diaspora communities, and cooperate with foreign municipalities on shared policy problems. These practices reveal that the domestic sources of foreign policy are not limited to Congress, political parties, public opinion, interest groups, or executive agencies. Local governments also shape foreign policy indirectly by mobilizing economic interests, framing international issues in local terms, and building transnational relationships that generate policy feedback for the national level (Karim et al., 2024; Eppler et al., 2024; Omiunu, 2024; Ye, 2025).

The author's approach in this article is to analyze local government as linkage actors through three interrelated dimensions: institutional position, functional engagement, and policy mediation. Institutional position refers to the constitutional and administrative status of local governments within American federalism, which limits their formal diplomatic authority but does not prevent international activity. Functional engagement refers to the practical policy sectors that encourage local governments to act internationally, such as trade, climate, public health, infrastructure, education, technology, and migration. Policy mediation refers to the ability of local governments to connect local demands with global policy networks and to translate international commitments into locally grounded governance strategies. Through this approach, the article argues that local governments should be understood as domestic actors that mediate between national foreign policy and the lived realities of communities affected by global processes (Soldatos, 1990; Duchacek, 1990; Michelmann, 2009; Lecours, 2008).

Table 1. Analytical Focus of Local Government as Linkage Actors in U.S. Foreign Policy

Analytical Dimension	Core Explanation	Relevance to U.S. Foreign Policy
Institutional Position	Local and state governments operate within a federal system that gives the national government formal authority over foreign affairs while allowing subnational policy initiative in practical sectors.	Explains why local governments can influence foreign policy indirectly even without formal diplomatic sovereignty.
Functional Engagement	Local governments participate internationally through trade promotion, investment attraction, climate networks, public health cooperation, port governance, education partnerships, and urban diplomacy.	Shows how global issues enter domestic governance through local policy responsibilities.
Policy Mediation	Local governments translate international agendas into local programs and communicate local	Highlights their role as intermediaries between communities, federal

Analytical Dimension	Core Explanation	Relevance to U.S. Foreign Policy
	interests to national and transnational institutions.	institutions, and global policy networks.
Linkage Capacity	Linkage capacity refers to the ability of local governments to connect local constituencies, economic actors, civil society, and foreign partners.	Demonstrates how domestic political interests become connected to foreign policy debates.
Potential Tension	Local initiatives may complement, supplement, or conflict with federal foreign policy positions.	Clarifies why subnational diplomacy can strengthen policy implementation but also create coordination challenges.

Source: Author, 2026

The originality of this article lies in its attempt to move beyond the conventional distinction between domestic politics and foreign policy by showing that local governments operate at the intersection of both. Rather than treating foreign policy as a top-down product of national decision-making, this article views it as a multi-level process in which local actors generate interests, knowledge, networks, and implementation capacities. This perspective is important because many contemporary foreign policy issues—such as climate change, trade competitiveness, maritime security, migration, cyber governance, and pandemic preparedness—cannot be fully understood without considering how they affect local jurisdictions and how local institutions respond. By focusing on linkage actors, the article offers a conceptual bridge between paradiplomacy studies and domestic foreign policy analysis (Finke, 2023; Lai, 2014; Rose, 1999; Xiaolin, 2024).

This article is scientifically significant because it strengthens the understanding of foreign policy as a layered governance process shaped by multiple domestic sources. It shows that local governments are not marginal actors outside the foreign policy system, but strategic intermediaries whose activities reveal how international affairs are domesticated, localized, and operationalized. In the United States, this perspective helps explain why subnational governments remain relevant in areas where federal authority is legally dominant but practically dependent on local implementation, economic networks, public legitimacy, and policy experimentation. Therefore, analyzing local government as linkage actors contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of how domestic institutions shape foreign policy from below while simultaneously responding to global pressures from above.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research design based on secondary data analysis to examine local government as linkage actors in shaping the domestic sources of foreign policy in the United States. The qualitative approach is considered appropriate because the study focuses on interpreting concepts, institutional roles, policy narratives, and the relationship between domestic governance structures and foreign policy processes rather than measuring variables statistically. The descriptive orientation enables the article to explain how local and state governments engage in international activities through trade promotion, climate cooperation, sister-city relations, migration governance, public diplomacy, and transnational policy networks.

The data used in this study are entirely secondary, consisting of academic journal articles, books, policy reports, government publications, legal documents, institutional websites, and relevant archival materials that discuss paradiplomacy, federalism, city diplomacy, subnational governance, and Foreign Policy Analysis in the United States (Bowen, 2009; Yin, 2018).

The data collection process was conducted through a structured document-based review by identifying, selecting, and organizing relevant secondary sources according to their connection with the research topic. The selection of documents was carried out purposively, with priority given to scholarly literature, official government documents, and policy materials that provide conceptual, empirical, and institutional insights into the international roles of local governments in the United States. The inclusion criteria covered sources that discuss subnational foreign relations, domestic determinants of foreign policy, federal-local relations, and the role of cities or states in global governance. Data analysis was conducted using qualitative content analysis and thematic interpretation by classifying the collected materials into several analytical categories, including institutional authority, functional engagement, policy mediation, linkage capacity, and potential tension between local initiatives and federal foreign policy. This analytical procedure allows the study to identify patterns, meanings, and conceptual relationships within the selected documents (Krippendorff, 2019; Miles et al., 2020).

Because this study relies exclusively on secondary data, it does not involve direct interaction with human participants, interviews, surveys, experiments, or field observations. Therefore, issues related to informed consent, respondent confidentiality, and institutional review board approval are not directly applicable. Nevertheless, ethical standards were maintained by ensuring accurate interpretation of sources, proper citation of all referenced materials, and careful avoidance of misrepresentation in analyzing existing literature and policy documents. The methodological structure of this study is designed to ensure transparency, conceptual rigor, and analytical consistency, enabling readers to understand how the article constructs its argument on local government as linkage actors within the broader framework of domestic sources of foreign policy in the United States.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **1. Institutional Position of Local Government in the Domestic Structure of U.S. Foreign Policy**

The findings indicate that local governments in the United States occupy an ambiguous but strategically important institutional position in relation to foreign policy. Formally, foreign affairs remain concentrated at the federal level through constitutional authority over treaties, diplomacy, national security, and interstate relations. However, secondary literature and policy documents show that the practical effects of foreign policy are often experienced directly at the local level, especially in areas such as trade, migration, infrastructure, public health, climate adaptation, and regional economic competitiveness. This creates a governance condition in which local governments do not formally produce foreign policy, but they contribute to its domestic foundations by articulating local interests, responding to global pressures, and translating international issues into administrative action within their jurisdictions. In this sense, local government functions as a linkage actor because it connects community-level needs with broader national and international policy environments (Putnam, 1988; Hudson, 2005).

This institutional position shows that the domestic sources of foreign policy cannot be understood only through the federal executive, Congress, political parties,

national interest groups, or public opinion. Local governments also shape the context in which foreign policy preferences are formed and implemented. Their influence is often indirect, but it becomes visible when cities and states mobilize around economic development, climate cooperation, immigration policy, port management, or relations with foreign investors. The evidence suggests that local governments influence foreign policy not by claiming diplomatic sovereignty, but by transforming external issues into domestic policy demands that require national recognition.

The U.S. federal system provides space for this linkage role because policy authority is distributed across multiple levels of government. Although local governments are legally subordinate to state governments and foreign policy remains a federal responsibility, the practical administration of many globally connected issues depends on local institutions. For example, international trade agreements may be negotiated nationally, but their employment effects are felt in local labor markets. Similarly, climate commitments may be announced by federal authorities, but implementation frequently requires local planning, zoning, transportation reform, and infrastructure investment. This illustrates that foreign policy outcomes are partly shaped by domestic administrative capacity below the national level.

The study also finds that local governments participate in foreign policy processes through institutional adaptation. Cities and states develop international offices, economic development agencies, sister-city programs, climate departments, port authorities, and public-private partnerships that enable them to engage with foreign actors. These institutional arrangements are not always labeled as foreign policy instruments, yet they perform foreign-policy-relevant functions. They help local governments build international networks, attract foreign resources, and respond to transnational challenges. This confirms that the boundary between domestic governance and foreign policy has become increasingly porous.

Another important finding is that local governments often act as policy interpreters. They interpret national foreign policy according to local priorities and translate it into programs that reflect regional economic, social, and political contexts. For example, a national policy on trade diversification may be interpreted by local governments as an opportunity to promote ports, logistics, manufacturing, or tourism. A national climate commitment may be translated into local resilience planning or clean-energy transition. This interpretive role gives local governments a distinctive position in foreign policy because they connect abstract national objectives with concrete community-level consequences.

Therefore, local governments should not be viewed merely as administrative units operating outside foreign policy. They are better understood as domestic linkage actors that mediate between federal authority, local constituencies, and global policy environments. Their institutional significance lies not in replacing federal diplomacy, but in shaping the local foundations of foreign policy implementation, legitimacy, and policy feedback. This finding supports the broader argument that U.S. foreign policy is not produced only from the top down, but also shaped from below through the governance practices of cities, counties, states, and regional institutions.

## **2. Functional Engagement of Local Governments in International Policy Arenas**

The findings show that local governments engage internationally through functional rather than sovereign pathways. Their external activities are usually connected to concrete policy responsibilities such as economic development, climate governance, disaster management, public health, education, migration, tourism, transportation,

maritime logistics, and urban planning. This functional engagement allows local governments to enter international arenas without directly challenging federal authority over foreign affairs. In the U.S. context, this means that local governments become relevant to foreign policy not because they possess formal diplomatic power, but because they manage policy sectors that are increasingly shaped by global interdependence. Their international engagement is therefore practical, problem-oriented, and often driven by local development needs (Acuto, 2013; Barber, 2013).

Economic development is one of the most visible areas of local government engagement in international affairs. Many states and cities promote trade, attract foreign direct investment, support export-oriented industries, and build partnerships with foreign companies. These activities are deeply connected to foreign policy because they influence how international economic relations are experienced domestically. Local governments may not negotiate national trade agreements, but they help determine whether local economies can benefit from international markets. They also provide policy feedback when global economic shifts create pressure on employment, industrial competitiveness, supply chains, or regional development.

Climate governance provides another strong example of functional engagement. Many local governments in the United States participate in transnational climate networks, adopt emission-reduction commitments, develop resilience plans, and cooperate with foreign cities on sustainability initiatives. These activities demonstrate that local governments can sustain international cooperation even when national political priorities fluctuate. In this area, local governments function as implementers, innovators, and symbolic representatives of domestic commitment to global environmental governance. Their actions help bridge the gap between international climate norms and local policy implementation.

Migration and social integration also reveal the foreign-policy relevance of local governance. Immigration policy is formally shaped at the national level, but cities and local communities are responsible for many practical dimensions of integration, including housing, education, health access, public safety, and community relations. As a result, local governments become directly involved in managing the domestic consequences of international migration. Their responses may support, modify, or contest national immigration priorities. This shows that foreign policy is not only about border control or diplomacy, but also about how international mobility is governed within domestic communities.

The maritime and port sectors further demonstrate the linkage role of local governments. Port cities, regional transportation authorities, and local economic agencies participate in international logistics systems that connect domestic regions to global trade routes. These actors are involved in infrastructure development, customs coordination, environmental management, and investment promotion. Although port governance often involves federal and state agencies, local governments play an important role in shaping how global trade flows affect land use, labor markets, environmental risk, and regional development. This makes local port governance a functional entry point into foreign-policy-relevant decision-making.

Overall, the functional engagement of local governments shows that foreign policy is increasingly embedded in domestic policy sectors. Local governments do not need formal diplomatic status to influence international relations; they influence them through the everyday governance of globally connected issues. Their role is especially important because they provide operational capacity, local legitimacy, and sectoral expertise. This finding strengthens the argument that the domestic sources of foreign policy include not

only national political institutions, but also local governments that manage the practical interface between global change and community-level governance.

### **3. Local Government as Policy Mediator Between Federal Authority and Local Interests**

The findings reveal that local governments operate as policy mediators between federal foreign policy authority and local social, economic, and political interests. This mediation role is important because foreign policy decisions made at the national level often produce uneven consequences across regions and communities. Some localities benefit from international trade, foreign investment, tourism, and global connectivity, while others experience economic displacement, environmental burdens, migration pressures, or security-related disruptions. Local governments respond to these differentiated impacts by translating local concerns into policy narratives that can reach federal institutions, international partners, and transnational networks. This mediating function reflects the growing importance of transgovernmental and network-based relations in contemporary governance (Keohane & Nye, 1974; Slaughter, 2004).

One important form of policy mediation is the articulation of local interests. Local governments identify how national foreign policy affects their jurisdictions and communicate those effects through lobbying, intergovernmental forums, regional coalitions, public statements, and cooperation with congressional representatives. For example, a city affected by port congestion, export dependence, refugee resettlement, or climate risk may frame these issues as matters requiring federal attention. In this way, local governments convert geographically specific concerns into policy inputs within the broader foreign policy system. Their influence emerges from their ability to show how international decisions produce concrete domestic consequences.

Local governments also mediate policy by building networks with non-state actors. They frequently cooperate with universities, businesses, civil society organizations, diaspora communities, chambers of commerce, port authorities, and international organizations. These networks strengthen their capacity to participate in global governance without relying solely on formal diplomatic channels. Through such networks, local governments can access information, resources, expertise, and international visibility. This makes them important connectors between local constituencies and external actors who may influence development, investment, climate action, public health, or cultural exchange.

The mediating role of local governments is also visible in policy implementation. Federal foreign policy commitments often require domestic implementation through local institutions. International climate commitments, infrastructure cooperation, refugee support, export promotion, health security, and educational exchange all depend on local administrative capacity. If local governments lack resources or political support, national foreign policy goals may be difficult to operationalize. Conversely, when local governments are active and capable, they can strengthen the credibility and effectiveness of national commitments. This shows that foreign policy success depends not only on negotiation, but also on local governance capacity.

Another dimension of mediation involves policy adaptation. Local governments rarely implement national or international agendas in a mechanical manner. Instead, they adapt these agendas to local conditions, political cultures, institutional resources, and community needs. A climate policy may be adapted to coastal resilience in one city, transportation reform in another, and energy transition in another. An economic diplomacy agenda may be adapted to manufacturing, tourism, agriculture, technology, or

maritime logistics depending on regional advantages. This adaptive capacity allows local governments to make foreign-policy-related commitments more relevant to local realities.

This study therefore finds that local governments are not passive recipients of national foreign policy. They actively mediate, reinterpret, and operationalize foreign policy through local governance structures. Their mediation role gives them influence over how foreign policy is understood domestically and how international agendas are implemented in practice. By connecting federal authority with local interests, local governments help transform foreign policy from a national-level decision into a multi-level governance process. This supports the article's main argument that local governments function as linkage actors within the domestic sources of U.S. foreign policy.

#### **4. Theoretical Implications for Foreign Policy Analysis and Multi-Level Governance**

The findings have important theoretical implications for Foreign Policy Analysis because they show that the domestic sources of foreign policy extend beyond national institutions and elite decision-makers. Traditional foreign policy studies often focus on presidents, foreign ministries, legislative actors, bureaucratic politics, interest groups, and public opinion. While these actors remain central, the role of local governments reveals that foreign policy is also shaped through multi-level governance processes. In the U.S. case, local governments contribute to foreign policy by producing local knowledge, mobilizing domestic interests, implementing international commitments, and creating transnational policy linkages. This expands the analytical scope of foreign policy from national decision-making to domestic-international interaction across multiple levels of governance (Gourevitch, 1978; Rosenau, 1969).

This theoretical implication is significant because it challenges the assumption that foreign policy is separated from domestic administration. The findings show that foreign policy is increasingly embedded in local policy sectors, including economic development, urban governance, climate adaptation, migration management, infrastructure planning, and public health. These sectors are not traditionally treated as core foreign policy domains, yet they shape how international relations are experienced within domestic society. Therefore, Foreign Policy Analysis must account for how local governance transforms international pressures into domestic policy responses.

The concept of linkage actors provides a useful analytical framework for understanding this transformation. Linkage actors are institutions that connect different levels of political authority, policy problems, and social interests. Local governments perform this function by linking communities to federal institutions, domestic policy to international networks, and local consequences to national debates. They also link policy implementation with policy feedback, because they can identify whether national foreign policy commitments are feasible, effective, or politically accepted at the local level. This makes local governments important not only as implementers, but also as knowledge-producing actors.

The study also contributes to multi-level governance theory by showing that foreign policy authority may remain formally centralized while foreign policy practice becomes functionally dispersed. The federal government retains constitutional authority over diplomacy, but cities and states participate in the policy environment that makes diplomacy meaningful, legitimate, and operational. This distinction between formal authority and practical influence is essential for understanding contemporary foreign policy. Local governments do not necessarily challenge national sovereignty; instead, they

reveal that sovereignty is exercised through complex domestic networks that require coordination across institutional levels.

At the same time, the findings show that local involvement in foreign policy can produce coordination challenges. Local governments may support federal foreign policy, fill gaps created by federal inaction, or pursue initiatives that diverge from national priorities. This creates both opportunities and tensions. On the one hand, local governments can enhance innovation, responsiveness, and implementation capacity. On the other hand, fragmented initiatives may complicate national diplomatic coherence. This means that the role of local governments must be analyzed not only as a source of democratic responsiveness, but also as a potential site of intergovernmental conflict.

## **CONCLUSION**

This article concludes that local governments in the United States occupy a significant position as linkage actors within the domestic sources of foreign policy. Although formal authority over foreign affairs remains constitutionally concentrated at the federal level, the practical dimensions of foreign policy increasingly intersect with local governance responsibilities. Issues such as trade, climate change, migration, public health, infrastructure, port development, investment promotion, and transnational cooperation are not experienced only as national policy matters, but also as local administrative and political challenges. Therefore, local governments contribute to foreign policy not by replacing federal diplomatic authority, but by connecting local interests, community needs, and regional development priorities with broader national and international policy agendas.

The findings show that local governments perform three major roles in shaping the domestic foundations of U.S. foreign policy. First, they function as institutional intermediaries that translate global issues into local policy responses. Second, they engage functionally in international arenas through economic, environmental, social, and urban policy networks. Third, they mediate between federal authority and local interests by providing policy feedback, implementation capacity, and locally grounded knowledge. These roles demonstrate that foreign policy is not merely a top-down process produced by national elites, but a multi-level governance process shaped by interaction among federal, state, and local actors. In this context, cities, counties, states, and regional institutions become important actors in determining how international commitments are interpreted and implemented domestically.

The article also contributes to the broader field of Foreign Policy Analysis by expanding the understanding of domestic sources beyond conventional actors such as the president, Congress, bureaucracy, interest groups, and public opinion. By positioning local governments as linkage actors, this study shows that foreign policy is increasingly shaped by local institutions that manage the everyday consequences of global interdependence. This perspective is important for understanding contemporary U.S. foreign policy because many global challenges require local implementation, public legitimacy, and intergovernmental coordination.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

-

## **REFERENCES**

Acuto, M. (2013). *Global cities, governance and diplomacy: The urban link*. Routledge.  
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203073810>

- Aldecoa, F., & Keating, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Paradiplomacy in action: The foreign relations of subnational governments*. Frank Cass.
- Antunes, S., Guimarães, M. H., & Egan, M. (2024). Made in the USA? The paradiplomatic strategies of California and Illinois to the EU. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 12(18), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2023.2218418>
- Barber, B. R. (2013). *If mayors ruled the world: Dysfunctional nations, rising cities*. Yale University Press.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- Curtis, S. (2018). The foreign policy of cities. *The RUSI Journal*, 163(6), 8–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2018.1562014>
- Duchacek, I. D. (1990). Perforated sovereignties: Toward a typology of new actors in international relations. In H. J. Michelmann & P. Soldatos (Eds.), *Federalism and international relations: The role of subnational units* (pp. 1–33). Clarendon Press.
- Eppler, A. (2024). More cooperation than conflict despite no “third level”? Subnational paradiplomacy in the European Union. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2024.2369111>
- Fry, E. H. (1998). *The expanding role of state and local governments in U.S. foreign affairs*. Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Gourevitch, P. (1978). The second image reversed: The international sources of domestic politics. *International Organization*, 32(4), 881–912. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002081830003201X>
- Hocking, B. (1999). Patrolling the “frontier”: Globalization, localization and the “actorness” of non-central governments. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 9(1), 17–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597569908421071>
- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign policy analysis: Actor-specific theory and the ground of international relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2005.00001.x>
- Karim, M. F., Mursitama, T. N., Riyadi, S. F., Affandi, R. A., & Muzdalifa, F. (2024). Informality, paradiplomacy, and cross-border cooperation: The development of tourism on Bintan Island, Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 48(2), 370–388. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2023.2259080>
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1974). Transgovernmental relations and international organizations. *World Politics*, 27(1), 39–62. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009925>
- Kincaid, J. (1990). Constituent diplomacy in federal polities and the nation-state: Conflict and co-operation. In H. J. Michelmann & P. Soldatos (Eds.), *Federalism and international relations: The role of subnational units* (pp. 54–75). Clarendon Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Kuznetsov, A. S. (2015). *Theory and practice of paradiplomacy: Subnational governments in international affairs*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315817088>
- Lecours, A. (2008). *Political issues of paradiplomacy: Lessons from the developed world*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations “Clingendael”.
- Manfredi-Sánchez, J. L. (2022). The political economy of city diplomacy. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 17(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-BJA10076>
- McMillan, S. L. (2008). Subnational foreign policy actors: How and why governors participate in U.S. foreign policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 4(3), 227–253. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2008.00068.x>

- Michelmann, H. J. (2009). Foreign relations in federal countries. In H. J. Michelmann (Ed.), *Foreign relations in federal countries* (pp. 1–10). McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Morgan, D. R., & Bickers, K. N. (1992). Domestic discontent and the external use of force. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 36(1), 25–52. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002792036001002>
- Nganje, F. (2016). Sub-state diplomacy and the foreign policy-development nexus in South Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 23(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1154889>
- Omiunu, O., & Nganje, F. I. (2024). Contemporary expressions of the foreign relations of subnational governments in Africa: Introduction to the special section. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 34(3), 247–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2024.2361677>
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: The logic of two-level games. *International Organization*, 42(3), 427–460. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027697>
- Reinsberg, B. (2023). The domestic politics of international cooperation. *Review of International Political Economy*, 30(5), 1746–1770. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2022.2069145>
- Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy. *World Politics*, 51(1), 144–172. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100007814>
- Rosenau, J. N. (1969). Toward the study of national-international linkages. In J. N. Rosenau (Ed.), *Linkage politics: Essays on the convergence of national and international systems* (pp. 44–63). Free Press.
- Schiavon, J. (2020). *Comparative paradiplomacy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351012317>
- Slaughter, A.-M. (2004). *A new world order*. Princeton University Press.
- Soldatos, P. (1990). An explanatory framework for the study of federated states as foreign-policy actors. In H. J. Michelmann & P. Soldatos (Eds.), *Federalism and international relations: The role of subnational units* (pp. 34–53). Clarendon Press.
- Tatham, M. (2013). Paradiplomats against the state: Explaining conflict in state and substate interest representation in Brussels. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(1), 63–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012453031>
- Tatham, M. (2016). *With, without, or against the state? How European regions play the Brussels game*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198758624.001.0001>
- Tubilewicz, C., & Omond, N. (2021). *The United States' subnational relations with divided China: A constructivist approach to paradiplomacy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003166429>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.